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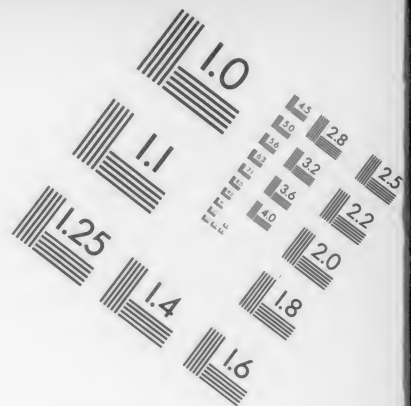
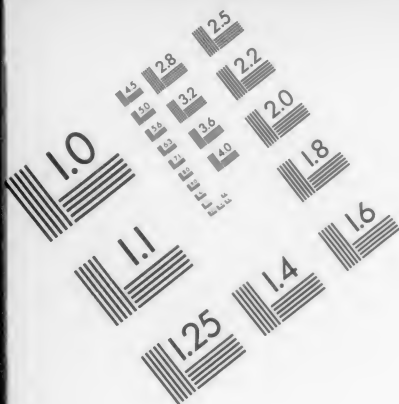
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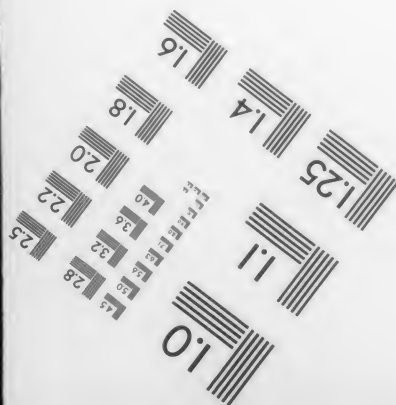
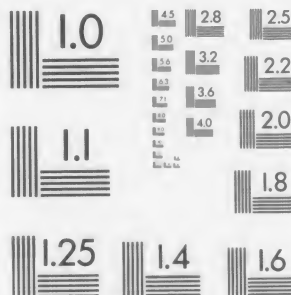
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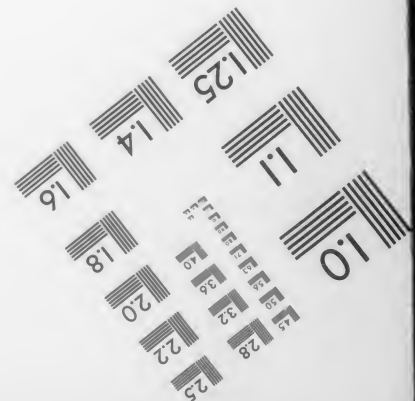
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HISTORY OF ROME

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THE ROMAN PEOPLE.



ANTONINUS PIUS.

Marble Statue found in the Grounds of the Conservatorium delle Mendicanti (Vatican).

HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

BY

VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

EDITED BY THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY,

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

AND COMPILED AND ARRANGED BY KELLY & CO.

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NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

VOLUME V.

(HADRIAN, ANTONINUS, MARCUS AURELIUS; AND ROMAN
SOCIETY IN THE EARLIER EMPIRE.)

WITH 348 WOOD ENGRAVINGS, 2 MAPS, PLAN, AND CHROMO-LITHOGRAPH.



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CHAPTER LXXX.

HADRIAN (117-138 A.D.).

I.—BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN; FORTIFICATION OF THE FRONTIERS.

HADRIAN, the cousin and ward of Trajan,¹ had been carefully brought up according to the best ideas then held respecting education, perhaps at Athens, where he showed such a strong taste for the literature of Greece that he gained the name of "the little Greek." It is even supposed that Plutarch was his master. Naturally inquisitive, he wished to learn everything: medicine and arithmetic, geometry and music, judicial astrology and the secrets of the Eleusinian mysteries.² He studied all the current philosophic systems, even that of Epictetus, for whom he had a liking, though without following his precepts; he also painted pictures, chiselled statues, and composed both verse and prose; but it is probable that his painting was on a par with his poetry,³ of which a few specimens have come down to us. His varied studies had not given him, as regards literature, a sound judgment; he preferred Antimachus to Homer, Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Virgil, although he consulted, as a trustworthy oracle, the Virgilian *sortes*; and one might almost have feared from his showing so false a taste in literature, that he would not have a just judgment in politics, were we not aware of the fact that great writers are often poor statesmen, and that Richelieu placed Chapelain above Corneille.

¹ Publius Ælius Hadrianus. His family, originally from the country of the Picentini, was of Italica, in Spain; but he was born at Rome, 24th January, 76. His mother belonged to Cadiz, and his grandfather, Marcellinus, was the first of that house who wore the senatorial laticlave. The inscriptions always write *Hadrianus* and not *Adrianus*.

² *Curiositatum omnium explorator*, says Tertullian. "He was fond of flute players, laughed at the buffooneries of mimes, baited the hook, and was assiduous at the palæstra" (Fronto, *ad M. Ant. de fer. Als.*, 3). *Eleusinia sacra . . . suscepit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 13).

³ . . . *de suis dilectis multa versibus composuit, amatoria carmina scripsit . . . cum professoribus et philosophis, libris vel carminibus invicem editis, sæpe certavit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 14-15).

Without any solid proofs for the charge, he has been universally reproached for his vanity and his jealousy of superior men—defects in a prince which must prevent his doing anything great, and yet we shall see that Hadrian did great things. What is more certain is that, while of doubtful taste in respect of literature, he possessed all the military qualities that a prince can employ in times of peace, for, as emperor, he had no occasion to show them in war; and he governed well, since the Empire was indebted to him for twenty-one years of prosperity. In person he was tall and well made, with an intelligent and mild countenance. Like Francis I., he introduced the fashion of letting his beard grow to hide the scars on his face. So, when in a collection of the busts of the emperors one has studied this original face, which does not seem to belong to the race of the Cæsars, we quite expect to find a new history in his reign. His head is bent as if to understand better, his eyes of marble, whose look is yet so penetrating, his half-open lips, which seem to breathe—represent a man whose wish is that nothing should escape his vigilance or his curiosity. His cotemporaries were struck, just as we are, with this strange physiognomy; and, in order to set forth gnostic doctrines, which at that time found an entrance into many minds and into all religions, the unknown author of a book long famous in the East¹ concocted a conversation between the prince who desired to know everything and the philosopher who professed to reveal everything.

He ascended through all the successive grades of office, was vigintivir, legionary tribune, quaestor (101), an office which admitted him to the senate, tribune of the people, prætor, legionary legate, and finally consul a few months before reaching the legal age.² He followed Trajan in all his expeditions, and in them proved himself hardened against fatigue, brave in danger, but, besides, invincible at table, which was another way of gaining favour

¹ The *Sentences* of Secundus. Cf. the *Mémoire* of M. Revillout, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1872, p. 256.

² This is the ordinary *cursus honorum*. The list of his titles is more complete in the inscription of the *C.I.L.*, vol. iii. No. 550, which was found in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens. Mommsen suggests the following dates: for the tribunate, 105; for the prætorship, probably 107; for the legateship of Lower Pannonia, the beginning of 108. His first consulship has been fixed, by means of a military diploma recently discovered, in the year 108, that is, when Hadrian was still only thirty-two years of age, and the rule required that he should have been thirty-three; Trajan was thirty-eight when he received the fasces.

with the prince.¹ Charged with the command of the legions of Pannonia, he imposed on the Sarmatæ respect for his name, on the soldiers respect for discipline, on the officers of the treasury moderation.

Trajan had given to him in marriage Sabina, daughter of Matidia and grand-daughter of his sister Marciana, an alliance which brought his ward closer still to the supreme power, since he was now Trajan's nephew. After some successes in the second Dacian war, Trajan had sent him the ring set with diamonds which he had himself received from Nerva at the time of his adoption, and put him in a position to do honour to the offices with which he invested him: his liberal gifts, for example, enabled Hadrian to give magnificent games to the people during his prætorship. In short, relying on his ability as a writer as much as on his political skill, he charged him with the drawing up of the imperial speeches pronounced before the senate, and which up to that time had been composed by Licinius Sura. These favours were more than promises. A second consulate and the government of Syria strengthened Hadrian's hopes, who, moreover, counted on the empress, whose affection for him aided his fortunes and at the last moment decided them. It is pretended that Plotina had extorted from the emperor just before death the adoption of his nephew; others even believed that this adoption had never taken place, and the father of the historian Dion Cassius, who was governor of Cilicia under Marcus Aurelius, related to his son that the letters addressed by Plotina to the senate, to inform it of the choice of the new prince, were forged. A man, it is said, placed in Trajan's bed, had, behind the hangings and in the gloom, muttered in a dying voice that he had adopted Hadrian as son and successor.

The mediocre minds whom we have now to consult to give us information on the history of this period take pleasure in seeking trivial causes for great events. So this governor seems to me to have picked up, fifty years after the event, in the small talk of a remote province, a rumour invented for the sake of the many lovers of wonderful stories. But this story, like so many

¹ "He kept his seat well at table at sumptuous dinners" (Fronto, *ibid.*).

others set afloat by a system of calumny, cannot prevail against probability. Trajan felt it his duty to leave the Empire to him whom, in his confidential conversations, he had pointed out as his successor. The confidant of all his thoughts, Licinius Sura, well knew this, and repeated the secret, and Trajan, in order to facilitate the accession of his nephew to the principate, had beforehand shown disfavour to those who had the power to oppose it, among others two senators, Palma and Celsus, whom we shall presently see conspiring against the new emperor. After Sura's death, Hadrian was in the whole Empire the man most closely connected to Trajan by consanguinity, by the honours with which he had been invested, by the powers which had besides been conferred on him, together with the command of the largest army and the most important province. To select another successor after having awakened so many hopes and delegated so much power, would have been to declare a civil war, and we have no right to impute this fault to Trajan. The reason why the decree of adoption written at Selinus had not been drawn up at Antioch was, that Trajan had a strong dislike, so long as he did not despair of his own strength, to seem to need, like Nerva, a younger colleague to put down seditions. Besides, being desirous, up to the last moment, of treating the senate considerably, he had wished to proclaim his heir only in that assembly, whither he was returning when death stopped him. As regards the idea that, in neglecting to name his heir, Trajan proposed to imitate Alexander, without having, like him, the excuse of youth, which gave long hopes to the Macedonian hero—this is another puerility foreign to so strong a mind.² The delay in regulating the succession to the imperial throne was



Coin commemorative of Hadrian's Adoption.¹

¹ Trajan and Hadrian shaking hands; reverse side of a denarius. (Cohen, No. 52.)

² It has also been said that the maternal affection of the staid Plotina for Hadrian arose from the love of power (Dion, lxi. 1 and 10). Against this charge are the age of Plotina, her reputation attested by Pliny (*sanctissima femina*), by medals (cf. Franke, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-34, and Cohen, vol. ii. p. 90), by Dion himself, who forgets in lxi. 1, what he has said in lxviii. 5: *Καὶ οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς διήγαγεν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐπιγορίαν οἰεῖν*; lastly, by the author of the *Epitome*, xlii., who, two centuries later, honoured her as the worthy consort of Trajan. The date of her birth is unknown, but it is known that she had been married to Trajan long before his accession; she died in 129. Vopiscus (*Aur.*, 14) recounting the different adoptions made by the emperors, cites that of Hadrian by Trajan.

not the less a misfortune, for the powerful conspiracy which threatened Hadrian as soon as the year 119 arose from the manner in which he seemed to glide into power, in secret and by the instrumentality of a woman, instead of entering upon it with bold mien, presented by the proud emperor to the senate, the people, and the army.

Hadrian learned at Antioch the death of his uncle from a despatch which preceded by two days the official courier: a circumstance quite comprehensible, without any occasion for supposing a mystery (August 9th and 11th, 117). Thus he had time to be quite prepared for a success, in other respects certain. His procedure was very simple: to the soldiers he promised a double *donativum*, to the senators he addressed an exceedingly modest letter. The former were no more capable of resisting the money than the latter were the fair words, backed by seven legions: each got his share and felt satisfied.

Hadrian had lived in camps a long time. Was he going to continue the warlike reign of his predecessor? Nothing of the kind: Augustus once more succeeded Cæsar, a genius for administration to one for conquests. In fact, whilst the golden urn which contained the remains of the hero was being solemnly conveyed to Rome, and whilst the senate was voting the apotheosis of the deceased prince, a temple, and Parthian games, Hadrian abandoned the countries which Trajan had thought to conquer by merely crossing them. Of the four provinces recently formed in the East—Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Arabia—he kept but one, the last, because it was out of the reach of the Parthians. It showed wisdom to withdraw the Roman eagles behind the Euphrates and on that side to resume the ancient frontier; but it was a mistake to give up making Armenia an impregnable barrier, which this country would have been, in the hands of the Romans, for the Oriental provinces. Armenia returned into that state of uncertain independence which had always been its relation to the two empires which surrounded it.

Hadrian has been accused of having tried, by this conduct, to tarnish his predecessor's glory; yet so strong a conviction existed of the emptiness of the last expeditions that not a murmur was raised against the new policy; and when he re-entered Rome, in

the middle of the year 118, he was received with the customary acclamations. The senate even wished him to celebrate in his own name the triumph voted to his predecessor. He refused this double act of injustice, and the statue of Trajan was carried in triumph to the temple of Jupiter; this was even too much, since there had been in the Parthian war no lasting successes. As regards the Jewish insurrection, in Cyprus, on the banks of the Nile, and at Cyrene, Hadrian had quelled the last remains of it; but this success was nothing more than a large measure of police—the repression of outbreaks which on the spot seemed formidable, but of which no one even made mention at Rome.



Double Congiarium given by Hadrian.¹

The soldiers had received their *donativum*, the people theirs: at first three pieces of gold (£3), and after the conspiracy of Nigrinus a double *congiarium*. Italy was exempted from furnishing the *aurum coronarium*; the provinces gave only one part of it; and the treasury did not demand the arrears which had been due for sixteen years.²



Remittance of Arrears.³

As regard the senators, Hadrian acted as Nerva and Trajan had done; he regularly sat at their meetings, and both at the senate house and the palace, under all circumstances, he lavished on them formal marks of consideration. He had renewed the oath not to condemn any one of them to death; he filled up the senatorial list from all those who had lost their qualification from no fault of their own, and prohibited any member of that exalted assembly from appearing before judges who did not belong to their own rank. When one day he saw one of his slaves walking between two senators, he

¹ PONTIF. MAX. TR. POT. COS. II.; on the exergue, LIBERALITAS AVG. S. C. Hadrian seated on a stage; before him a man making the distribution; behind, Liberty seated. Large bronze. (Cohen, No. 954.)

² Dion, lxxix. 8. The passage in Dion is incomprehensible; but the annexed medal witnesses to the remittance of 900,000,000 of sesterces. Forty-six years after, Marcus Aurelius likewise cancelled all that was due to the treasury since Hadrian.

³ RELICVA VETERA HS. NOVIES MILL. ABOLITA S. C. A licitor setting fire to a mass of papers. Large bronze. (Cohen, No. 1,046.)

sent some one to give him a box on the ear to teach him to preserve the distance between him and those who might become his masters. When he received the senators he stood up, remembering that Caesar had given accomplices to his assassins from not condescending to rise up before the senate. He admitted their most distinguished members into the number of those then styled the *friends* or *companions* of the prince, and who later on were designated by the title of *counts* [*comites*]; he honoured several of them with two, even three consulates; he referred to the senate house, in place of deliberating on them in his privy council, the most important affairs, and prohibited any appeal respecting them to the emperor from a judgment of the senate,¹ a decision very flattering to the *Patres* and without danger to the prince, who had no fear that the Curia would give any sentence contrary to his opinion. To mark this complete union between the two powers, Hadrian caused medals to be struck, on which are seen Rome contemplating the Genius of the senate and the prince, who are offering their hands; some others had the inscription *Libertas publica*, with the image of Liberty wearing the sceptre and the Phrygian head-dress. The *imperator* was hidden behind the *princeps senatus*, and these republican appearances were confirmed by republican declarations: "I desire," he often repeated, "to govern the republic in such fashion that it may be seen to be the patrimony of the people and not mine."² He spoke thus, without persuading any one that he was not the master. The consular Fronto, friend of Marcus Aurelius, avowed later on that he always was in great fear of Hadrian; but everybody was agreed to be satisfied with words.



Rome and Hadrian shaking Hands. Gold Coin. (Cohen, No. 172.)



Hadrian and Liberty. Gold Coin. (Cohen, No. 316.)



He loved to administer justice, and for all ordinary cases he filled, in all places and at all times, like our ancient kings, the office of judge, seated on his tribunal, with the public round him on all sides. One day a woman stopped him in the street and

¹ Digest, xlix. 2, 2.

² *Execratus est princeps qui minus senatoribus ceteriscent* (Spart., *Hadrian*, 8).

wanted to submit some matter to him. He refused to hear her, and sent her away. "What are you emperor for?" she asked him. He immediately heard her. For instruction in and the decision of important cases he was assisted by magistrates of the highest dignity, senators of the first rank, and the most celebrated juriconsults, whom he asked the senate to be added to his court,¹ a demand which was an act of homage rendered to the "most illustrious" order. Consequently, at the first conspiracy which was formed, the *Patres* showed their zeal in defending the friend of the senate.

The plot was dangerous, for it had four consulars for its chiefs, personages of importance in the army or at Rome. How is it that this plot was so speedily formed? On the day after his accession Trajan had a panegyrist, as if he had already accomplished actions of note; hardly had his heir reached Rome than he found there assassins. The reason is that Hadrian, kept by his uncle in a state of half-obscure, which was increased by the dazzling splendour of the great conqueror of Dacia, was as yet only known as a man of culture; and since his accession he had had neither time nor opportunity of showing that energy which commands obedience or submission. There were not wanting those who said that "the elect of Plotina" did not merit the position to which artifice had raised him, and the military chiefs who had crossed the Carpathians or passed the Tigris despised "the little Greek," stuffed with scholastic lore, whose first act of government had been the abandonment of their last conquests. The conspiracy must have exhibited the reaction of the military spirit of the former reign against the civil spirit of the new one. Two needy generals, Cornelius Palma, conqueror of the Arabs, and Lusius Quietus, the best captain of the army of the East, were the movers of the plot. The former, who was Hadrian's old enemy, had lost the favour of Trajan; the latter, a Moor by race, a restless and unquiet spirit, had been dismissed from the army,² but had regained the favour of Trajan by important services in the wars of Dacia and the East. This prince conferred on him the title of prætor, the consular fasces,

¹ *Quos tamen senatus omnis probasset* (*ibid.*, 17).

² Καταγνωσθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ τότε μὲν τῆς στρατείας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ ἡγεμώθη (Dion, lxxviii. 32).

and at the moment when the Jews of Egypt revolted, the government of Palestine, doubtless with that of Arabia, to prevent the rebellion reaching the Oriental provinces.¹ Hadrian, who feared his turbulence and ambition, had at first relegated him to the obscure government of Mauretania, but then recalled him on account of the fresh intrigues which agitated that province.

Lusius and Palma, old in service, had not, although consulars, their residence in Rome. They therefore were obliged, for acting in the city, to ally to themselves men who had influence there: two other consulars, Publius Celsus and Avidius Nigrinus, were associated in their designs. We know nothing of the former except that he had a second time obtained the consulate in 113, before Hadrian's second consulate. As regards Nigrinus, he must have been well known, although still young, for Trajan had given him in Achaia one of those extraordinary missions² which were intrusted only to important personages, and Spartian, who wrote Hadrian's biography with that emperor's *Memoirs* before him, assures us that the new prince, whose marriage still continued without issue, had thought of this person for his successor.³ But Hadrian was only forty-three; his health was good; the expectation was therefore remote. Nigrinus, whom Spartian calls "a dangerous intriguer—*insidiator*," probably thought that he would hasten matters by a conspiracy.

To these four consulars were added many individuals⁴ unable to resist the temptation of plotting in secret an enterprise of murder and revolution. Their fathers had not ceased acting similarly under the Flavii, still more under the Julii, and some of them were still, in the time of Nerva and Trajan, faithful to the tradition of assassination. Every epoch has its moral malady: to our knights of the Middle Age private wars were necessary; duels to the nobles of Henry IV. and Louis XIII., as outbreaks are to modern agitators. For the idlers of the

¹ Dion, lxxviii. 32. A rabbinic tradition connects Quietus with two Jews of Alexandria, who had come to Palestine to propagate the revolt there. (Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, p. 406.) But I am compelled to say that the history of Quietus from Jewish sources is not in agreement with that from Roman sources.

² *Ad ordinandum statum civitatum*.

³ Lucius Verus, adopted later on by Hadrian, was Nigrinus's son-in-law.

⁴ . . . multis aliis (Spart., *Hadr.*, 7).

Roman senate the great distraction and most serious business was a plot. It was agreed to kill Hadrian either during one of the sacrifices which his position imposed on him, or at the hunting, which he loved.

The emperor had just been summoned to the Danube by a movement of the barbarians. The conspirators were therefore obliged to await his return, but some imprudent expressions revealed their intentions. The senate speedily instituted proceedings, and knowing well enough that in a despotic state every claimant to power is liable to punishment by death, did the emperor the service of having the guilty executed without asking orders. After his hurried return, the prince complained of such prompt justice, by declaring that he would have extended pardon, at least of the capital sentence. One has reason to doubt the sincerity of these words spoken after the execution; yet, when it is seen that Hadrian, a short time after, changed the two prefects of the prætorium who had urged the senate to these extreme resolutions, and later on chose as his adopted son the son-in-law of one of the victims, we are obliged to believe with Marcus Aurelius that the *Patres* showed too great haste in testifying their fidelity. "Hadrian forgot," says his biographer, "those who had been his enemies before becoming master." "Now you are saved," he had said to one of them on the day of his accession, and pressed by his old tutor, Cælius Attianus, to rid himself of persons very justly suspected, and notably of the prefect of the city, the most important personage of Rome, he had refused.¹ His whole history will show that he had no taste for blood.

Thus, from the first months of his reign, Hadrian had renewed and strengthened the alliance of Nerva and Trajan with the senatorial aristocracy. Yet he felt towards them a certain distrust which the recent conspiracy had not at all diminished, and he kept always present before his mind the remembrance of Domitian, and the miserable existence passed by this prince at Rome in the midst of terrors and perils.² In place of remaining

¹ *Tantum autem statim clementie studium habuit . . .* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 2). This Attianus, so foreseeing and so severe, was one of the two prefects removed from the prætorship.

² . . . *quod timeret ne sibi idem quod Domitiano accidit eveniret* (Spart., *ibid.*, 19).

shut up in the capital, with his freedmen, whose principal employment was to corrupt their master in order to profit by his vices,¹ and in the presence of the senate, to whom it was not prudent to show their sovereign too near and too long, Hadrian lived everywhere, except at Rome.

It is not because he limited his care simply to securing his personal safety. On the contrary, we find him to be the prince who understood better than any of the Roman emperors all the duties of his position. "If any misfortune happen to me, I intrust to you the provinces," Trajan had said to the jurisconsult Priscus, whom he judged worthy of the Empire. Hadrian never forgot this expression, and since in everything his will was sovereign, he thought he ought to see everything before deciding. His reign is, in fact, only a long series of journeys through the provinces, whose wants he wished to learn by studying them on the spot, in order to avoid the mistakes, the neglects, and the acts of injustice which the thick veil of the court and the official world at Rome interposed between the emperor and the Empire. By this mode of life he baffled the intrigues, which could not follow him everywhere, and, at the same time, he became assured of the fidelity of the legions which he visited in turn; so that he secured a double return in well executing the vocation of emperor.

The chronology of these journeys is difficult to fix,² and we have respecting each of them very scanty information, although Hadrian spent two-thirds of his reign in this way, that is,

¹ Hadrian himself used to say: *omnibus superioribus principibus vitia imputans libertorum* (Spart., *ibid.*, 20).

² M. Julius Dürr (*Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*) has attempted to fix the chronological sequence of these journeys, but he has been compelled to affix many notes of interrogation. The following are the conclusions of this painstaking savant: 117, in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (?), at the beginning of November in the valley of the Danube; 118, in the Danube valley and arrival at Rome at the beginning of August; 119, stay at Rome and in South Italy; 120, stay at Rome; 121, departure for Gaul, Rhetia, and Noricum; 122, in Gaul, Britain, and Spain; 123, in Mauretania, Africa, Asia Minor, and Syria; 124, in Pontus, Bithynia, Mysia, and the Isles; 125, in Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, and Central Greece; 126, at Athens, the Peloponnesus, the Isles, and Sicily; 127, stay at Rome; 128, in Africa; 129, return to Rome, voyage to Greece and stay at Athens; 130, stay at Athens, voyage to Asia Minor, then in Syria, to Palmyra, Jerusalem, Petra, and in Egypt; 131, stay at Alexandria, return by Syria; 132, in Palestine; 133-8, stay at Rome.

thirteen or fourteen years out of twenty-one. Before detailing his civil administration by following him into the provinces, in order to collect the scanty supply of facts special to each country, furnished by coins, inscriptions, or historic details,¹ let us go, as he did, first of all to the frontier, and see in what manner he intended to carry out a policy of peace, which he had made the rule of his government from the first.

This policy made use of two means: beyond the frontiers, the *system of subsidies*, which received a large extension in order to keep the barbarians in their own homes; on the frontier itself, a powerful system of defence, based on immense works of fortification, and the establishment of the severest discipline in the armies.

The employment of subsidies inaugurated by Augustus, continued by his successors, but in accidental circumstances, became in Hadrian's case a principle of government, the application of which we can, unhappily, only conjecture, as revealed by numerous facts. We have seen already that instead of risking the safety of his forces in the heart of Asia, he had made them fall back on the frontier which nature herself had marked out behind the great desert of Syria; he will do the same in Britain, "in order," says his biographer, "to guard nothing useless." Then he tried, beyond his secured frontier, further, by means of persuasion, counsels, and presents, to establish good relations between the barbarians and the Empire. He pensioned a king of the Roxolani and many others, for we read in Spartian "that he attached all the kings to himself by his liberality"²—a statement which Dion and Aurelius Victor repeat, and which Arrian confirms.³ "To the prince of the Iberians," relates the first, "he sent an elephant, a cohort of 500 armed men, and some rich presents. When he came into the neighbourhood of the barbarians, he invited their chiefs to pay him a visit, and he

¹ We possess the coins of twenty-five provinces visited by Hadrian. As historians, there remain only Spartian, a writer void of clearness, possessing neither art nor critical skill, and who is to Suetonius what the latter was to Tacitus, and Xiphilinus, the indifferent abbreviator of Dion Cassius. But the age of the Antonines is the most brilliant epoch of Roman epigraphy, and the coins of Hadrian are perhaps the finest of the imperial series.

² Spart., *Had.*, 16; cf. 12 and 20.

³ *Χρηματα λαμβάνοντες* (Dion, lxi. 9); cf. Aur. Victor, or the unknown author of the *Epitome*, xiv.

exchanged presents with them, taking care that his own should be worthy of the hand which offered them." So, when Spartian tells us that he gave a king to some Germans, we may rest assured that this chief returned to his own people accompanied by councillors who felt it a duty to preserve him in fidelity to the Empire, and with the means of appeasing the warlike turbulence of his people. In the region of the Black Sea, Arrian names six kings who held their power from Hadrian.¹

If we knew better the diplomacy of this prince, we should certainly see him exercising over the peoples established along his frontiers a multifold and continuous action, by means of gold, trade, perhaps intrigues, that is to say, by trying to bind to the Empire, by interests, this first line of barbarism, which would have served as a bulwark against the more dangerous barbarism ranged behind it.

This policy, which forestalled external difficulties, is that from which the Americans, English, and Russians have, in our days, derived so many advantages, without seeing in it any of the disgrace imputed to the conduct of the Roman emperors.² Later on, this means of defence will prove fatal by provoking the appetites of the barbarians whom the Empire is no longer in a condition to restrain; but in the time of Hadrian it was wise and able, because behind this moderation there was force. Dion Cassius is not large-minded; but mixed up, as consul, in the most important affairs, he understood the system. "He loaded," says he, "the kings with his bounties; foreigners never attempted any movement against him because he never disturbed them, and because, also, they well knew the strength of his preparations. Even more, they allowed themselves to go so far as to accept him as arbitrator in their differences."

The whole external history of the Empire during this reign is comprised in these words. Rome had peace then; not a cowardly peace without precautions, which submits to humiliation or prepares disasters, but that active resolute peace which does not fear war.

¹ . . . ἐκ τοῦ βασιλεῖαν ἔχει (*Perip. Pont. Eux.*, cap. ii. and *passim*).

² Hence comes the ridiculous accusation that he bought peace from the barbarians: *A regibus multis pace occultis muneribus impetrata* (Aur. Victor, *Epit.*, xiv.).

It is known that the Roman army had no garrisons at all in the interior. The greatest general of the imperial epoch, Trajan, had formulated the principle of a good administration for war: "Do not remove the soldiers from their colours; small garrisons destroy the military spirit." The whole army was, therefore, kept in quarters in the vicinity of the frontier. It protected the interior of the Empire and did not reside there. Its life was rough and austere, for its encampments were in torrid or icy solitudes; in the midst of marshes, which it drained; of forests, where it opened out roads; of uncultivated plains, which it made fruitful; and as the barbarian was but a short way off, watching every opportunity of murder and pillage, it was needful to have hand upon sword as well as upon axe, and eye everywhere.

Yet, in time and with increasing security, want of spirit had crept into the camps. A crowd of mechanics had established themselves under the shade of the rampart, to supply the wants and vices of the soldier, the elegance and luxury of the chiefs. Augustus had reserved for the sons of senators and knights the grades of tribune and prefect. These young exquisites, condemned to pass five years in camp before attaining civil charges and honours, transmitted thither their habits of life, and the *castra stativa* became by degrees towns where all the comforts of city life were to be found.

Hadrian had no pity for this effeminaey. "He had destroyed," says his biographer, "the artificial grottoes and the porticoes built as shelter against the rain or the heat of the day, the festive halls and pleasure houses where the rude duties of service were forgotten. He drove away the fools, the clowns, and all the caterers of an easy life who tend to enervate both the body and mind of the soldier;¹ and to preserve the remembrance of this return to the austerity of military manners he caused medals to be struck which show him marching at the head of the soldiers, with these words on the exergue: DISCIPLINA AVG., as if a new divinity had descended from heaven for the safety of the Empire.

In the camp, restored to its former strictness, he kept every

¹ *Labantem disciplinam incuria superiorum principum retinuit* (Spart., *Had.*, 10).

one, refusing leave when not needed for imperial reasons, in order that the legions might be always up to their full number, and the officers and soldiers always in training. Besides, he was of opinion that the warrior should be as used to the camp as the workman is to the workshop and the labourer in the field: each in the midst of what suited him.

He modified the soldiers' accoutrements and made fresh regulations regarding baggage. On these two matters we are left to conjectures. But the prince who made his soldiers¹ do three long marches every month, and who himself followed their columns, could only occupy himself respecting the *impedimenta* so far as to



Hadrian marching, followed by Three Soldiers.²



Soldier carrying his Baggage (Col. Trajan).



Soldier without Baggage (Col. Trajan).

diminish the number and double the force of the army by augmenting the rapidity of its movements.

In the matter of armour we are also ignorant of the changes which he effected; but we still possess the field order given by his lieutenant, Arrian, governor of the province of Cappadocia, which the Alani threatened to invade.³ It contains instructions as minute and precise as would be those of the best modern general; they regulate the composition of the army, its march, the

¹ Vegetius, i. 27.

² Coin commemorative of the return to military discipline. Gold coin. (Cohen, No. 210.)

³ "Ἑταῖς καὶ Ἀλανῶν." The infantry cohorts and the cavalry troops bore, like our old provincial regiments, local names.

dispositions to take on the field of battle, during the action and after the victory. As in it Arrian speaks of corps of every kind, it is clear that the Romans had adopted the arms of the barbarians, in order to unite to the modes of action proper to the legions all those of which the enemy made use. I find, besides, in another passage of Arrian, the emperor's order to all the generals to study the arms and tactics of the Parthians, Armenians, Sarmatians, and Celts.¹

This attention to an unceasing improvement of the equipment of the soldiers and the evolutions of the troops was however an old and happy tradition of Roman policy. The wars against the Gauls of Italy had taught them the advantage of bronze helmets and of bucklers bound with steel; to fight the Cimbri they had changed the staff of the javelin, the projectile of the legionaries; from the Spaniards they had taken the short strong sword; from the Greeks, their siege artillery and the art of besieging. A Carthaginian vessel stranded on the shore had been the first model of their war galleys. In this way this people, who believed themselves the first nation in the world, and who were so, were always learning and unceasingly improving the science by which they had subdued the world.

No branch of the service escaped Hadrian's surveillance and reforms—either that of the ambulances, which he visited daily when in camp, or that of the victualling, which never failed, or the arsenals, the magazines for arms and clothing, which he kept always well stocked. Strict economy in the expenditure² permitted all wants to be met.

"He himself controlled," says the historian Dion Cassius, "all connected with the army, and by his acts and orders he put discipline and exercises into such a good condition, that even now his rules form the law in the army."³

¹ Βασίλειος δὲ προσεξέειπεν καὶ τὰ βαρβαρικὰ ἱκελιτῶν αὐτοῦς (*Tact.*, 44). These two books of Arrian, though rather short, are full of curious information on the tactics and equipment of the Romans. Respecting the operations, engines, and siege works, see the study of M. de Sauley, *les Derniers Jours de Jérusalem*.

² *Ordinatis impendiis . . . agebat ut semper militum numerus sciretur* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 10). This author adds (11) that Hadrian was very economical in everything which concerned only himself.

³ *lxi. 9*. Vegetius, who cites these regulations, uses a good part of them for his work *de Re mil.*, i. 8. The Emperor Valerian authorized, 150 years later, the military regulations of Hadrian. Cf. Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 4.

These reforms might possibly excite complaints; he forestalled them by himself submitting to the severest requirements of the military life. When he came into camp the army counted but one soldier more. His dress was very plain, without gold or jewels in his armour, only an ivory handle to his heavy sword; his frugal meals were composed of the legionaries' provisions—bacon, cheese, cheap wine, and always taken in public;¹ his mode of life, that of the working officer. If the army were on the march, a stage of twenty miles on foot and under arms, in the midst of the cohorts, did not deter him, and it is probable that when he made all his cavalry cross the Danube by swimming, he crossed with it.² Much harder upon himself than the lowest soldier, he went bareheaded under the snows of Caledonia and under the sun of Upper Egypt; even in the latter years of his life he practised hurling the javelin, handling arms, and never, in camp or on march, did he choose to make use of carriage or litter.

These are unexceptionable evidences which in no small degree change the physiognomy of Antinous's lover, but serious history has always a number of corrections to make in this legendary history.

When the lives of soldiers are demanded in quarrels which are foreign to them, the first thing necessary is to give them an example of the qualities and virtues required of them. Hadrian understood this truth by his good sense and fairness. The natural result of seeing the prince attach so great importance to manly exercises, and watch with such attention all the service, was that there was not a centurion, a tribune, or a legate who would dare to neglect anything.

But it was also a docile army. There was not a soldier who would think of delaying to show obedience to a chief who demanded only of others what he imposed upon himself, and who had every military quality along with the sense of justice.

Hadrian gave the vine stock, the mark of a centurion's rank, only to the bravest of the legionaries; he sent away from the camp the beardless officers to whom Augustus had opened it, as

¹ He observed this frugality even in the palace. He never drank wine, as Dion asserts (*lxi. 7*), at the repast called by the Romans *prandium*.

² At least Suidas asserts it, and we possess the funeral inscription of the Batavian soldier who had been the first to reach in this fashion the left bank of the Danube. (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 3,676.)

well as the soldiers admitted too young, and those who were kept till too old in order to economize in their pensions. For nominating a tribune he no longer required birth, but age and merit. It was making promotion to the higher ranks easy to good soldiers; and as they saw him visiting the sick in their quarters, watching over their well-being and security without disdaining the smallest detail, for this solicitude they in return showed a gratitude which prevented any mutiny during his reign of twenty-one years, in which moreover the army had neither a day of plundering nor of victory.¹

In travelling from Constantine to the oasis of Biskra, there is, at Lambessa, at the foot of Mount Aures, a Roman camp, which still preserves its stone rampart, that of the legion *IIIa Augusta*, the prætorium or residence of the legatus who commanded it, and at two kilomètres from the camp, in the midst of other ruins, a pedestal, which bears an allocution addressed by Hadrian to the troops. It praises their zeal in executing all the prescribed exercises, even the most difficult; in doing, in one day, works in which others would have employed a week; in carrying enormous burdens; in fighting sham battles, which are an image of real war, and which prepare for it, etc.²

This inscription, mutilated as it is, says enough to show that Hadrian had not forgotten even a handful of men, hidden at the borders of the great desert; and we conclude from it that his vigilance extended to all the points of the immense circle traced round the Empire by the military posts of the legions.

There remains another cotemporary document, a fragment of the *Poliorectica* of Apollodorus. Hadrian, who knew how to utilize all forms of talent, had asked a great architect to draw

¹ *A militibus, propter curam exercitus nimiam, multum amatus est* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 21). He gave to the licensed veterans the privilege conceded by Augustus to soldiers under the colours (vol. iv. p. 255, notes 1 and 2) of disposing of their savings even when they were still *in potestate parentum*. (*Inst.*, ii. 12, *proæm.*)

² See L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algérie*, p. 3, and Wilmanns, *Mémoire on Lambessa in the Commentationes philol.*, 1877. The legion *IIIa Augusta*, aided by its auxiliaries, had constructed a military road from Lambessa to Carthage (Orelli, No. 3,564, *anno* 123), posts in all the passes of Mount Aures, and a foot-road along its whole length; it was by these immense works of public and military utility, as much as by the number and variety of their exercises, that the Romans beguiled the weariness of camp life.



The Prætorium at Lambessa.

up a treatise on military machines. Apollodorus did better; in a short time he wrote the treatise, and besides, designed the machines and had them made; then he sent designs and explanations to the prince, along with a number of workmen whom he had trained.¹ It was what we should call a new kind of siege and field artillery, since Apollodorus seems to have set little value on that previously in use. "The old kinds," said he, "were of no use to me." And his new engines he made light though strong, and very easily moved, *leves et veloces*; "for," he adds, "when I was with you in the armies, I learnt how much the necessities of war require mobility, both in men and machines." All these are still truths of to-day.

But what purpose did all these preparations and expenses serve? Why so much care in putting in order an instrument which was not at all used? Hadrian was prepared for war in order to have peace. With an army so perfectly exercised and so docile, consequently always ready for action, he was able, without peril, to inaugurate a peaceful policy. No one, within or without, considered this resolution as an avowal of weakness, and he no more met with any man ambitious enough to raise a sedition than a king or people bold enough to attack such a well-guarded frontier.

But let us look at this frontier: the spectacle there is as curious as in the camps.

The first which Hadrian considered was that of the Danube. He had scarcely reached Rome from the East when he was recalled into Moesia by an invasion of the Roxolani. The king of this people was annoyed at the pension having been reduced which Trajan used to pay him,² and clouds of barbarian hor-

¹ *Misi quoque fabros indigenas et reliquos artifices ac operarios* (Poliseceitica, Greek and Latin text with figures, in the magnificent first printed edition of 1603, in *proemio*). The greatest range of the ancient machines was 440 metres, according to M. de Rochas, *Belistique de l'antiquité*, in the *Annuaire de la Société pour l'encouragement des études grecques*, 1877, p. 273. M. de Rochas recalls the fact that Archimedes shot stones of 250 kilogrammes, and that at Carthago, when Scipio took the place, he found there 120 oxybeles (catapults to throw darts) of large calibre and 281 of small; twenty-three large lithoboli (catapults to throw stones) and fifty-two small; in all 470 pieces of artillery, without counting 2,500 missile weapons called scorpions, and analogous in their use to our guns for forts. A petrobolus of thirty minae (26 lb.) corresponded in effect to our ancient cannon of 12 lb.

² *Rex Roxolanorum qui de immensis stipendiis querebatur* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 6). We have

the ancestors of the Cossacks of the present time, had burst in upon Eastern Dacia, whilst the Sarmatian Iazyges, who were of the same descent, attacked the province on the west. These tribes, from their contact with Rome, acquired the diplomatic skill belonging to well-settled governments. Under Trajan, Decebalus extended his intrigues on all sides, and sent emissaries as far as the Parthians. When the legions had been stationed in this province of Dacia, which by the arrangement of its mountains seemed to be a great fortress, cutting into two a part of the barbarian world, the Sarmatae of the Theiss continued to act in concert behind the Carpathians with those of the Dnieper,¹



Hadrian haranguing the Legions of Moesia. (Large Bronze, Cohen, No. 799.)

and they attached so much value to preserving these relations, that we see them under Marcus Aurelius consenting not to put a boat on the Danube on the condition of being able to traffic together across Dacia. The fact is, they hid, under these commercial relations, political relations, which made those coalitions easy by which the Empire was so often assailed and finally destroyed.

That which Hadrian had then before him does not appear to have been very formidable. However, he hastened to the midst of the legions of Moesia, and was already making great preparations when the news reached him of Palma and Quietus's conspiracy. In such a crisis his presence was needed at Rome; instead of fighting he re-established the ancient subsidy, made a friend of the king of the Roxolani, who seems to have assumed his name,² and sent him as quickly as possible, with his own people, to their encampments on the rivers Bug and Dnieper. In order not to have to return to this frontier, we shall show, at this point of time, the defensive organization at which Hadrian laboured, without doubt, during the whole of his reign.

seen, p. 11, n. 2, that M. Julius Dürr supposes the stay of Hadrian in Moesia to have preceded his arrival at Rome, which it seems to me hard to admit.

¹ Cf., on the consanguinity of these peoples, Schafarik, *Slav. Alterth.*, vol. i. pp. 333-373.

² At least there is an inscription thus read: *P. Aelio Rasparasano regi Roxolanorum* (*C. I. L.*, vol. v. 32; cf. 33), which proves that this name of Aelius, which was that of Hadrian, had been taken and used in this royal family.

The territory situated to the north of the mouths of the Danube, between the Sereth and the Dniester (Bessarabia), by which the Roxolani had just passed, and by which they passed in all later invasions, made a part, under the rule of a procurator, of the government of Lower Moesia. It was an important possession, although the Empire had not risked any colonies there, because the troops cantoned in the Dobrutscha were able to march thither rapidly and close the large opening which, on that side, stretches from the Carpathians to the sea. Therefore, one legion, the *Va Macedonica*, had been placed at *Troesmis* (Iglitza),¹ not far from the head of the Danubian delta, and from the parts where, at the present time, stand the large towns of Braïla and Galatz. Among the numerous inscriptions which have been found there, one, of the time of Hadrian, shows the future city in the state of a village (*vicus*), formed by the booths of the suttlers. As for the camp, it had been skilfully placed on this promontory at a height of 100 feet, from which they dominated for a good way the course of the Danube, studded with numerous islands, which both facilitated the passage and its defence. At the least rumour of invasion the legion hurried across the river, behind the Sereth, and barred the route against the invaders, or, by threatening to cut off their retreat, forced them to a precipitate retreat. Besides, the Romans had for a long time furnished, at the extremity of this region, a point of support in the town of Tyras, an ancient rich colony of Miletus, founded at the mouth of the Dniester, in the vicinity of the present town of Akkerman.² They had also a second in the Crimea (*Chersonesus Taurica*), at Kertch (Panticapæum), where there reigned a king of the Sarmatians who was said to be a great friend of the Empire and Hadrian.³ Another Milesian

¹ We give on next page the restoration of Troesmis by M. Ambr. Baudry. We are indebted for the communication to M. Engelhardt, formerly consul-general of France at Belgrade, who has carefully studied the ruins of this fortress. See L. Renier, *Inscr. de Troesmis*.

² Orelli-Henzen, No. 6,429. This inscription, which refers to a letter of Septimius Severus, confirming some privileges formerly granted to Tyras, shows the persistency of the emperors in protecting these Greek cities on the north coast of the Euxine, by means of which they watched and kept in check the barbarians of the interior.

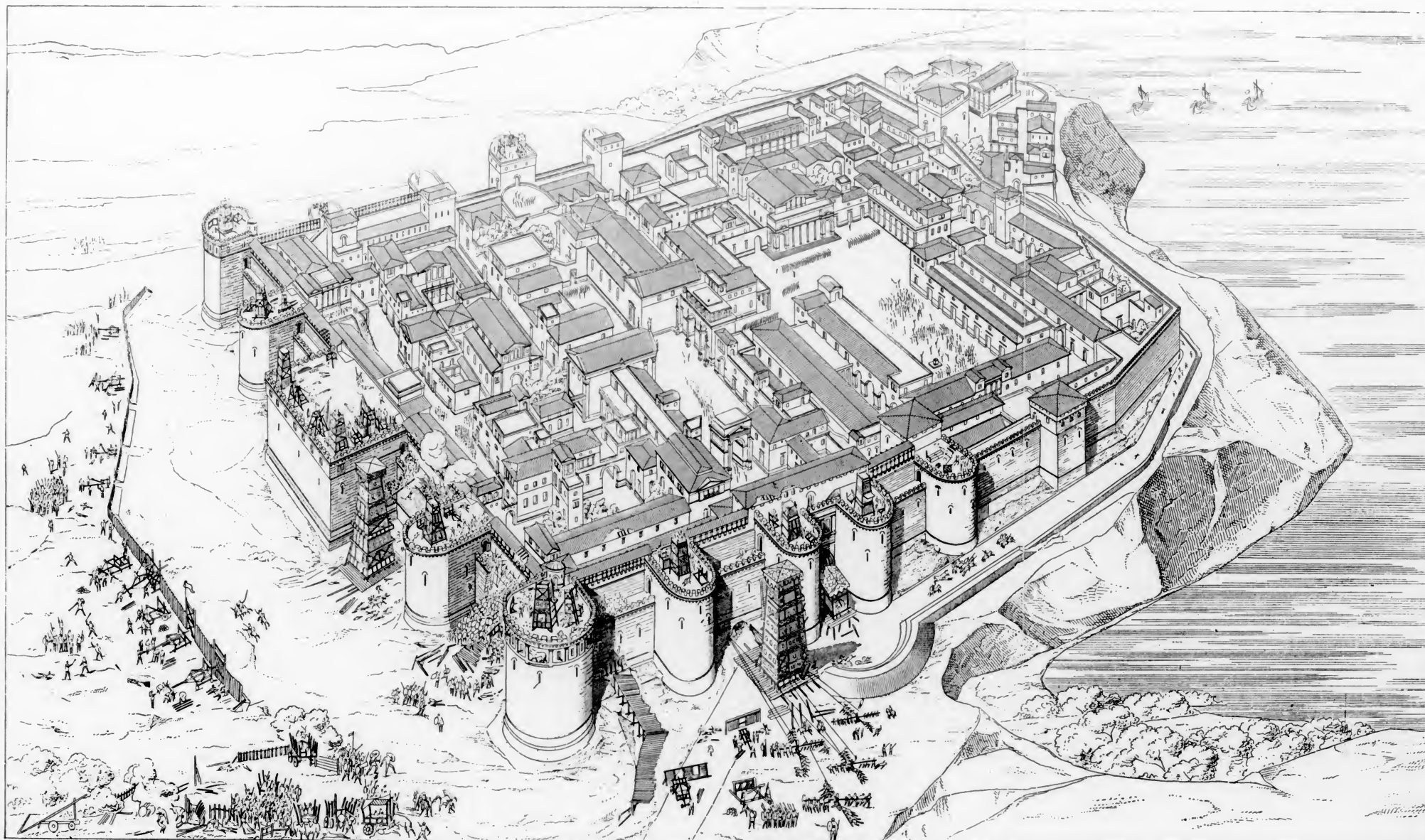
³ *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 783. He reigned from 92 to 124. See *infra*, p. 41. The Romans had detached Heraclea, one of the principal towns of Taurica Chersonesus, from the kingdom of the Bosphorus and had declared it free.

colony, *Olbia* (Otechakof), at the mouth of the Borysthenes (Dnieper), one of the largest marts of those regions, served the



A View in the Carpathians.

purpose of a vigilant sentinel. Finally, the Black Sea fleet connected these points with the maritime places of Mœsia: *Tomi* (Kustendje) and *Odessus* (Varna); so that, of the vast semi-circle



FORTRESS OF TROESMIS (IGLITZA).
Restoration of M. A. BAUDRY.

described by the coast, from *Odessus* to *Olbia*, one half was well defended, the other half well watched.

Thus, the lower valley of the Danube, protected on the north by the Carpathians, was also on the east by advanced posts, from whence the Romans restrained the barbarism which rolled, like an open sea, over the immense extent of the Sarmatian plains. To whom belongs the honour of this defensive organization? Doubtless to that able governor of *Moesia*, *Plautius Ælianus*, of whom we have already spoken. *Tyras* ought to have claimed the protection of the Empire at the time when *Plautius* executed, between the *Sereth* and the *Dniester*, the immense *razzia* which gave him a hundred thousand captives, whom he turned into as many labourers for his province.¹ But at one epoch or another, whether during his stay in the year 118 on the banks of the Danube, or on a later journey, *Hadrian* was certainly engaged about this country, where he had served as legionary tribune since the reign of *Domitian*,² and where he was obliged to avert the first peril that had shown itself since his accession. Some medals celebrate his arrival in *Moesia*; others show him haranguing the troops of this province, and the inhabitants of *Tomi* had an inscription engraven in his honour, the most ancient in the Latin language which has been found in the ruins of that city.⁴ Lastly, a rescript of *Septimius Severus*, addressed to the inhabitants of *Tyras*, recalls to mind and confirms the privileges which a legate of *Hadrian* had acknowledged as theirs.⁵



*Hadrian and Moesia.*³

Was it he who raised, along the lower Danube, and on the

¹ See *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. pp. 496, 608. The era of *Tyras* is made to begin in 56, but it is not certain that the solitary letters marked on its coins, as on the greater part of those of *Moesia* and *Thrace*, are, as has been believed, chronological marks.

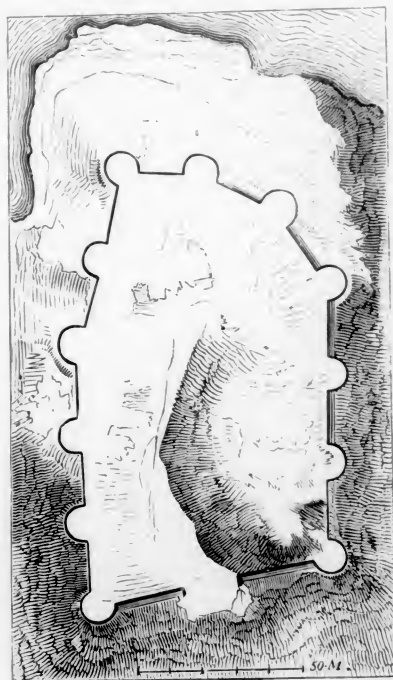
² In 96, in the *Va Macedonica*. (Spart., *Had.*, 2, and *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 550.)

³ Coin commemorative of *Hadrian's* arrival in *Moesia*: *ADVENTV AVGVSTI MOESIAE*. (Large bronze, Cohen, No. 622.)

⁴ *Senatus populusque Tomitanorum*. This inscription is of the year 129 (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 765). See the *Additum*, p. 997. The coins brought from *Tomi* by the *Mission du Danube* belong for the most part, for the later Empire, to the epoch of the Antonines. (*Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq.*, 3rd series, vol. v. p. 227.)

⁵ *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 781. The governor of *Moesia* mentioned in this inscription bears at least the same name as one of the ordinary consuls of the year 133.

south branch of its delta, so many posts, which were for a long time the bulwark of the Turkish empire, after having been that of the Roman?¹ This cannot be said with certainty. But when we shall have presently seen all that he did on the mid-



Danubian Fortress.²

attributes to Hadrian the destruction of the bridge of Trajan, "from jealousy of his predecessor's glory," and even the intention to abandon Dacia, a project from which his friends say they succeeded in turning him.³ He had not kept the conquests beyond the Euphrates and Tigris because, in those countries, not

¹ Prista (the present fortress of Rutchuk), Durostorum, which has become Silistria, Cius (Hirsova), Troesmis (Iglitza), Arrubium (Matchin), Dinogetia, Noviodunum (Isakcha), Ægysus (Tultcha), etc.

² The fortress of Dinogetia, the ruins of which were discovered in 1865 by M. Engelhardt, consul-general of France at Belgrade, on an isolated plateau, near the river, has an area of 7,500 square mètres. The distance of twenty-seven mètres, which separates each of its twelve towers, is exactly the same that M. Engelhardt had measured between the towers of the front of the entrenched camp of Troesmis. The plan above given was drawn by M. Baudry.

³ *Trajan's glorie invidens amici deterruerunt* (Eutropius, viii. 6).

Danube and in Britain, we shall feel a right in believing that he neglected nothing which could secure one of the most vulnerable of his frontiers.

These details, apparently unconnected with general history, enable us to comprehend by what skilful precautions the Empire was put in a state to resist the pressure of the world of barbarism for two centuries, that is to say, so long as they had as chiefs, setting aside those two fools, Caligula and Nero, princes often cruel at Rome, but always watchful over the frontiers. They also show what value it is right to set on the tradition which

one Roman citizen had settled; but he favoured the emigration of Latin colonists into Dacia, and the proof is that they are still there.

Those whom Trajan had been able, in a few years, to get to settle there, were certainly not in sufficient number to assure to their descendants the possession of such vast countries. But as the measures taken for the military protection of the valley of the Danube afforded perfect security to that region, the current of colonization continued to flow thither. Consequently, inscriptions are found there in honour of Hadrian,¹ works executed in his name,² and coins on which the new province, now one of the bulwarks of the Empire, is represented by the warlike symbol of a woman seated on a rock, who in one hand holds the curved sword of the Dacians, in the other an ensign.⁴

As regards Trajan's bridge, it was now so far from the barbarians and so easy to defend, that it must have been rendered unfit for use only at the epoch when the Roman troops could no longer maintain themselves in Dacia; and this necessity occurred only a century and a half after Hadrian, when Aurelian, between 270 and 275, recalled to the right bank of the Danube the rest of the Roman troops and the colonists who wished to follow them.⁵



A Dacian.³



Dacia. Large Bronze. (Cohen, 770.)

¹ *C. I. L.*, Nos. 953, 1,371, 1,445, 1,447.

² His legate had constructed, in the year 133, an aqueduct to Sarmizegetusa. (*Ibid.*, No. 1,446.)

³ Bust of a Dacian found near Trajan's Forum. (Vatican, *Braccio nuovo*, No. 118.)

⁴ We possess such coins of the time of Hadrian and even under Gallienus. (Greppo, p. 102.) Instead of being a curved sword, Cohen thinks it to be a reaping-hook.

⁵ This opinion is derived, amongst moderns, from a passage of lib. lxxviii. cap. 13, of Dion, where it is said that Hadrian caused the upper part of the bridge to be taken away. But this is by no means the text even of the historian, and Xiphilinus, after having cited the very exact description given by his author, has quite naturally added that for a long time the bridge had not been used. He says, it is true, that Hadrian had caused the flooring to be taken away. If it were proved that this was Dion's own statement there would be no reply to it, because

Twenty years before this Decius had again won the surname of *Daciae restitutor*.

The most exposed frontier, and at the same time the one



Bust of Hadrian found at Antium (Museum of the Capitol).

nearest to Italy, was that of the middle Danube, all along Pannonia, which the river bounded on the north and east, from its confluence

Dion was almost a contemporary. But the assertion, having against it all historical probabilities, must be attributed to the abbreviator, a writer of the eleventh century, who picked up one of those retrospective calumnies of which Hadrian has been the victim for reasons which we shall explain later on and from which he was not spared while living, as regards the abandonment of Trajan's conquests. We have already seen the very legitimate causes of this latter resolution.

with the Gran as far as the Save. Beyond this line was crowded a mass of German and Slav nations, often conquered, never subdued, who in a bound could reach the Alps and force the gates of Italy. When Trajan had formed the province of Lower Pannonia, he had assigned one legion to it,¹ which fixed its principal quarters in front and close to the enemy at *Aquincum* on the mountain of Buda, and at *Mursa*, on the Drave, not far from its confluence with the Danube. There, as at *Troesmis*, as everywhere where a Roman detachment was fixed, merchants had followed the soldiers, the veterans were settled near their old comrades, and their huts had caused the origin to two places, which Hadrian made into two important places: *Mursa* recognized him as its founder and bore his name;² *Aquincum* owed to him, without doubt, its rank as a colony. The sites were so well chosen, that one is now the capital of Esclavonia (Eszeg), and the other that of Hungary (Ofen or Buda).

The line of the middle Danube was thus in course of being well guarded. Higher up, three legions had been placed *en échelons* along the river, at Brigetio (O-Szony, near Comorn),³ at Carnuntum (Petronel), which took the name of *Municipium Aelium*,⁴ and at Vindobona (Vienna), where the flotilla of the Danube was stationed.

Covered on the right and left by the grand armies of Pannonia and Superior Germany,⁵ besides being backed by the Alps and protected naturally by their mountains, Noricum and Rhaetia did not seem to require many military precautions. We find, as late as Marcus Aurelius, only procurators to administer them, and for

¹ Probably *Ia Adjutrix*.

² *Divo Hadriano Mursenses conditori suo* (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 3,279). The city seems to have been partly built by the legion *Ia Adjutrix*. An inscription at Aquincum is sacred to the memory of a *Canabensis*, or tavern-keeper of that city, some trader come thence from Cologne. (*Mus. de Pesth*, by E. Desjardins, No. 180.)

³ The most ancient inscription, found at Brigetio (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 4,356), bears the name of a legate who had been consul under Hadrian in 134. The town had been at first only a village of vivandiers and veterans. Thus the inscription, No. 4,298, is dedicated by a veteran of the legion *Ia Adjutrix*, become decurio of Brigetio.

⁴ *Municipium Aelium*. Mommsen believes, but without giving any proofs, that it is indebted rather to Antoninus for this name. (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. p. 550.) Trajan seems to have been pre-occupied, especially in Pannonia, with his important colony of Pætovia, where the chief administration of the province was carried on. (*Ibid.*, p. 510.)

⁵ There were three legions in Upper Pannonia and just as many in Upper Germany.

their defence only isolated detachments, cohorts, or squadrons. Yet Hadrian visited them: the historians do not speak of his travels in that region, but coins have preserved the remembrance of them, and long ago has been ascribed to him the foundation of *Juvavium* (Salzburg)¹ in the midst of a magnificent country, at a point where the new city barred the route to Italy against every incursion coming from Bohemia by the valley of the Inn.

We have seen, *à propos* of the Agri Decumates,² what was the Roman system of defence for arresting in this direction the incursions of the barbarians. Hadrian continued it while improving it. When Spartian speaks of the journey of this prince in the German provinces he is satisfied with writing: "In many places where no river existed to serve as a

barrier against the barbarians, he formed a sort of wall of large piles driven into the ground and strongly united." These words imply a good deal concerning the emperor's wish to fortify his Empire, but very little as to the means he employed.



Hadrian haranguing the Army of Rhetia.³



Arrival of Hadrian in Britain. (C. Bruce, *The Rom. Wall*, p. 12.)



Hadrian haranguing the Army of Noricum.⁴

Fortunately we are able to state them precisely by a study of a line of fortifications still quite recognizable by the mounds of earth and the *débris* of walls which remain, or by excavations which show the site of the buildings which have disappeared. The *Piets' Wall* in Britain will teach us what was the *Devil's Wall* in Germany;⁵ and by seeing the supposed fosse of Trajan

¹ It was the opinion of Pighius, which caused some doubts in Orelli (No. 496), and which Mommsen combats. (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 5,536.)

² In vol. iv. p. 704.

³ EXERCITUS RAETICUS. Large bronze. (Cohen, No. 803.)

⁴ EXERCITUS NORICUS. Large bronze. (Cohen, No. 800.)

⁵ The *Teufelsmauer*, which extended 200 miles, reproduced the principal arrangements of the *Vallum Hadriani*: it was a rampart of earth, doubtless palisaded and fronted by a large fosse, stone wall with watch towers, and in the rear a military road, near which were the entrenched camps. The work incorrectly named Trajan's fosse, in the Dobrutscha, is formed

in the Dobrutscha, a barbarous work of the fourth century, with its triple *agger* running across an immense plain, we shall be able to reproduce the system applied by Hadrian in Britain, and may assert that all the vulnerable frontiers were defended by similar defences, because it was a tradition of Roman policy.

It was under the very eyes of the prince that the works of the *Vallum Hadriani* were commenced. He had chosen as its site an isthmus a hundred kilomètres broad which the Tyne and the Irthing, descending from a chain of heights having a steep slope towards the north, crossed in opposite directions to flow into two gulfs,¹ where the ocean tides stem their waters some distance off. This isthmus seemed to him an excellent defensive position. The works which



The Tutelar Genius of the Camp.²

of three fosses, each running along an earthen embankment: the most southerly *vallum*, or the little fosse, has its parapet to the north and its ditch to the south, to prevent an attack coming from that direction; the northern *vallum*, or stone fosse, whose defences look northwards: and then the great fosse, which partly runs by the side of the second to double its strength, and which cuts it at several points. This last *vallum* is formed of an earthen embankment lying between two broad deep ditches, but unequal, the northern one being the greater: the crest of the parapet commands its depth of nine mètres. The stone fosse was defended by a wall which was probably not terminated, the *débris* of which have given its name to this *vallum*: some layers visible near Kustendje are two mètres broad. The engineer Michel, from whom I borrow these details, adds: "We are inclined to believe that the three fosses called after Trajan were intended to form a complete unique system of defence; that they were all projected together . . . and that the space comprised between the *small fosse* and the two others would have formed a sort of vast entrenched camp, where incursions from the north as well as a surprise coming from the rear of the lines could be warded off." The great fosse was bordered by entrenched camps whose inclosures are still to be seen; on the heights, or half way, were circular camps protected by stone parapets. See *Les Travaux de Défense des Romains dans la Dobroutcha*, by M. Michel, *Soc. des Ant. de France, IIIe série*, vol. v. p. 215. These works are attributed to Count Trajan in 376, according to Amm. Marcell. XXXI. viii.

¹ That of Solway Frith at the west and the estuary of the Tyne at the east.

² Bas-relief found in the ruins of the *Vallum Hadriani*. (C. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 358.) On the Genius of the camp, see *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 35.

garrisons of the towers and redoubts, assailed in front and rear, might present a double front.

Between the north wall and the southern *epaulement* ran a military road, near which were fixed, in the most favourable positions and always near a water supply, seventeen entrenched camps, *castra stativa*, which could furnish mutual support since they were distant from one another on the average only six kilomètres. They were surrounded by a stone wall five feet thick, and resting for support against the great wall; some of them in fact formed a projection beyond towards the north. The southern rampart was lined by a walk all round, so that all the movements of troops took place under cover. Lastly, a military road coming from the south, that is to say, from the point where the legions



Section of the *Vallum Hadrianum*.¹

used to land, was constructed or repaired by Hadrian; near Leicester a milestone has been found bearing his name.

These two fosses between three ramparts, this wall defended by 300 towers and eighty redoubts, these seventeen *castra stativa* placed in easy communication by a paved road, which, seventy feet wide, like the fosses, parapets and wall, was 100 kilomètres in length—all this formed an immense fortress covering the entire delta, and such as no other people has ever raised. Consequently, when looking on this colossal work carried out on the least seriously menaced frontier, we must feel obliged to acknowledge a rare display of energy in the Romans of the Empire, who were able to impose such works on themselves in order to free the most distant of their subjects from the slightest inquietude.

Three legions,² assisted by a number of auxiliary cohorts, and without doubt also by many of the natives, seem to have rapidly executed this work, which, according to the calcu-

¹ A sad interest attaches to this drawing, which was made by the late Prince Imperial of France.

² There has been found along the wall many inscriptions bearing the names of the legions *Ila Augusta*, *Vla Victrix*, *XXa Valeria Victrix*.

lations of an English writer, required near upon 3,000,000 days' work (2,865,671); so that in reckoning 25,000 workmen, or 250 men per kilomètre, it would have been completed in four months.¹ The whole distance from one sea to the other had been divided amongst the cohorts, and it devolved on each



Rings and Engraved Stones found in the Ruins of Hadrian's Wall. (Bruce, pp. 136, 200, and 428.)

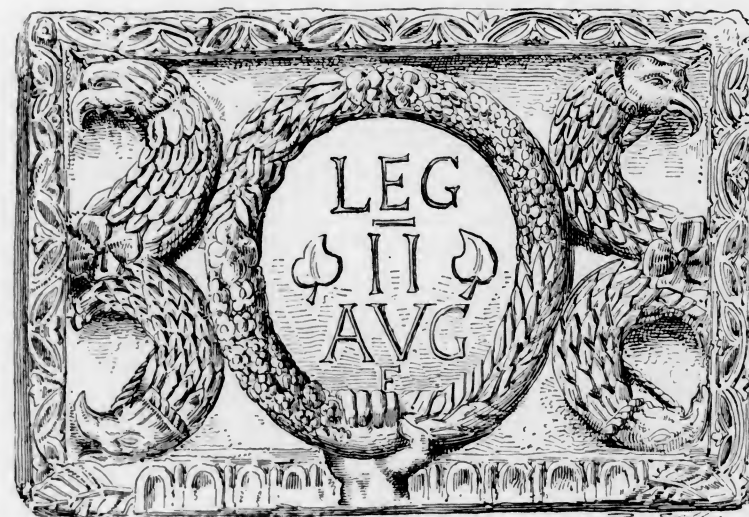
to dig the fosses, raise parapets and wall, on the portion of ground which had been assigned it, so that there was as much emulation between the workers as is seen on a day of battle between combatants.² Among these workmen were to be found even Dacians, who, under the name of the Ælian cohort, which Hadrian had given them, had come from their distant native

¹ Collingwood Bruce, p. 95. He reckons only 10,000 workmen and thinks that, at 200 working days per annum, it would have taken two years to finish entirely.

² Bruce (p. 49) also explains the differences of construction, the wall being, in certain places 5½ ft. thick, in others more than 10. To get on faster some centurions made their part of the wall slighter. On the south face of the wall marks are still seen which are supposed to indicate the different sections.

land to aid the Romans in consolidating a domination to which they had themselves just submitted.¹ A strong castle, *Pons Ælius* (Newcastle), was built at the eastern extremity of the rampart, and a flotilla with a cohort of marines stationed there.

But did this work belong entirely to Trajan's successor?



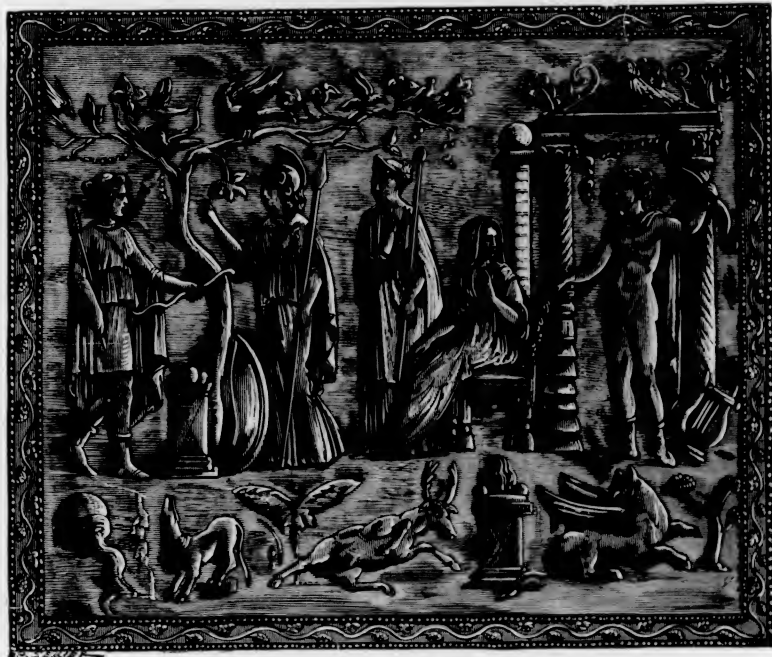
Stone commemorative of the Legion IIa Augusta, found at the foot of the Vallum. (Bruce, p. 137.)

Had not Agricola before him, Septimius Severus later on, Theodosius and Stilicho also raised the wall and the south *vallum*? First of all, these defences, all the parts of which afford mutual protection, reveal a single author, since they form parts of a single plan;² next, no inscription found in these parts is anterior to Hadrian, while several, discovered in the redoubts which form

¹ A quantity of inscriptions have been found relative to the *cohors Ælia Daciorum* near the Vallum. On the mixed assemblage of men of all countries of which a Roman army was then made up, see (*C. I. L.*, vol. vii. No. 1,195) the military diploma extracted from the decree by which Hadrian granted, in 124, the privileges of the *honesta missio* to the veterans of six *ale* and twenty-one *cohortes*.

² The savant who has most carefully studied the Vallum, Mr. Bruce, thinks that Severus simply repaired these works. It is worth noting that two writers contemporary with Septimius Severus, and the two principal historians of that age, Herodianus and Dion Cassius, who were contemporaries, do not say a word of any wall that he erected in Britain; it is a century later that Spartian attributes it to him.

part of the wall¹ and in the *castra stativa*,² bear his name. The coins lead to a similar conclusion. In a bronze vase brought to light in 1837 were found three gold pieces and sixty denarii, several of which bear Hadrian's effigy and not one which is posterior to him. Lastly, an inscription, unfortunately much in-



Silver Plate found in the Ruins of the Vallum Hadriani.³

jured, seems to be the fragment of a letter addressed by him to troops posted between the two seas, to congratulate them on having without a murmur yielded to the necessity which prevented them from carrying the limits of the Empire to the end of the world, and on having protected the frontiers which the Republic had acquired.⁴

¹ *C. I. L.*, vol. vii. Nos. 660-663, and 835.

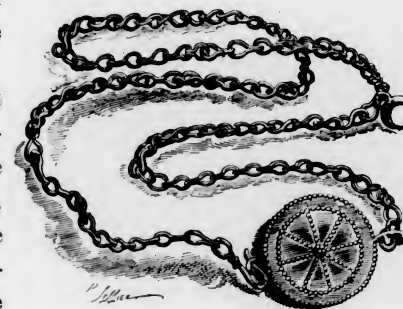
² *Id.*, *ibid.*, Nos. 362, 730, 748.

³ The goddesses represented are, from left to right, Diana, Minerva, Juno, Vesta. Apollo, at whose feet is the lyre, is standing upright before a portico. (Duke of Northumberland's Collection.—C. Bruce, p. 341.)

⁴ This is at any rate the sense given to these fragments by Hübner. (*C. I. L.*, vol. vii. No. 498.)

It is, of course, obvious that we cannot fix a date for the antiquities, chains of gold, rings, engraved stones, stone bullets, and *débris* of every sort found in the *Vallum*. The legions carried with them, into the most savage countries, Roman life with its comforts and needs. One of the most imperious of these was that of possessing baths where could be always found water of all temperatures: hot in the *caldarium*, tepid in the *tepidarium*, cold in the *frigidarium*, and hot air in the arched chambers of the hypocaust.

There were these great fortifications only in the provinces of Europe, where were the most dangerous enemies, and during half a century the Caledonians, Germans, Sarmatians, "struck," to speak in the words of Dion, "with a respectful fear," did not dare to

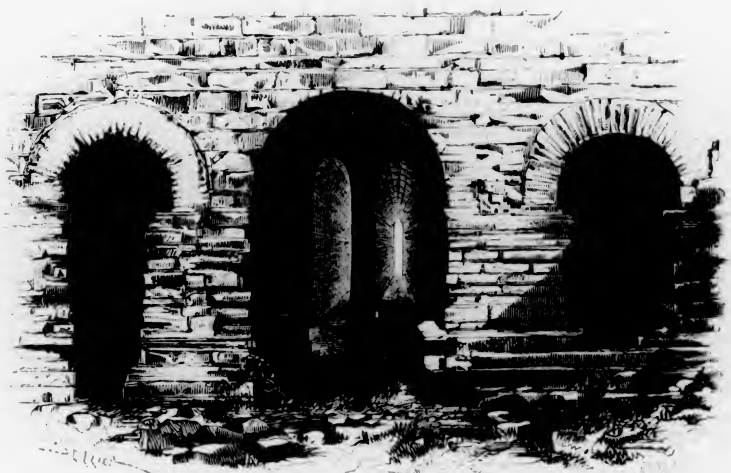


Gold Chain found in the Vallum, near Newcastle. (Bruce, p. 427.)

pass them. In Africa the Atlas mountains and the Sahara protected the Roman towns, which at that time, as at present, the nomadic tribes had need of to obtain subsistence, without wishing to settle in them, and which consequently they did not threaten. Nevertheless, as the people of these provinces and the mountaineers of Kabylia had inveterate habits of brigandage, the Empire established on the roads which they formed, and at the head of the valleys where colonization was developed, a crowd of military posts which astonish our officers by their number and the judicious selection of their positions.¹

¹ Dureau de la Malle (*Prov. de Constantine*, p. 32) points out, on the route from Bona to Constantine, traces of two kinds of military posts: 1st, small posts for twenty men, arranged 1,000 mètres apart, with a parapet of three to four feet high in hard hewn stone; 2nd, more important posts, a sort of entrenched camp, distant sixteen kilomètres from one another and furnishing the garrisons of the intermediate posts. De Vigneral, captain on the staff (*Ruines romaines d'Algérie, 1re partie*, p. 80), who considers these observations too absolute, has, after an attentive study, stated on the other hand, that the Romans, for the protection of the valleys which stretch along the foot of the Djurjura, have enveloped these mountains with a belt of posts established at a height of from 300 to 400 mètres; in the circle of Guelma alone he has recovered the position of an infinite number of military ruins, mostly of the Byzantine period, but concealing more ancient remains.

In Syria another desert rendered fortresses unnecessary; and in Asia Minor, a good army under able chiefs, a people sedentary and pacific, and, lastly, a skilfully preserved peace with local princes, gave full security to the Empire. But the Euxine, fringed with barbarous nations, could furnish access by them to the Roman provinces. To prevent the attacks of pirates, a fleet kept watch over this sea, and fortresses placed in *échelon* on the south coasts from Trebizond to Dioscurias or Sebastopol, in Colchis, kept in check the population along the shores.



Remains of a Hypocaust or Steaming-room in one of the Camps of the Vallum.
(Bruce, *ibid.*, p. 352.)

Hadrian's confidential officer in this region was one of his most worthy lieutenants, Arrian of Nicomedia, who has left some important works, and among others a circumnavigation of the Euxine. Hadrian had asked for this survey of the Black Sea shores; the general made it himself, notwithstanding the labour entailed; and the *Periplus* is nothing less than his own report, the exact date of which, however, has not been determined. In it he describes the lines of the coast, the harbours, the rivers navigable and those not so, even the saltness of the water and the direction of the prevalent winds. He enumerates the towns, the neighbouring peoples, the tribes of pillagers whom he

promised to exterminate, the kings who held their crowns¹ from Hadrian and whom he confirmed in their allegiance. At the mouth of a river he has pointed out to him, without being convinced, the anchor of the ship Argo, and he is no more ready to believe the myth of Prometheus when he was shown in the distance the peak of the Caucasus where the Titan had been chained. But if the past interests him but little, the present occupies him much. When he comes to a fort he makes its garrison² manœuvre before him, he examines everything attentively, and above all, sends in a report, which this Greek wrote in Latin because he was engaged in an official correspondence.³ When he returned into his own province he had circumnavigated this sea, had measured the distances, marked the stations, and made all, both friends and enemies, see that the Empire was on its guard.⁴

What Hadrian had desired to know he now possessed; and as we have seen, in the case of the *Vallum* in Britain, in what manner he fortified his frontiers, we learn by the *Periplus* what an amount of vigilance and activity he required of his generals. This proof being completed we have no further need to seek the cause for the world remaining in peace for half a century.

One of those peoples belonging to the Caucasus, who became later on very formidable, caused however a momentary disquietude. The Alani, after great ravages in Media and Armenia, threatened to invade Cappadocia.⁵ Two legions were immediately set in motion, along with their auxiliaries and what we should call their artillery, and the Alani affrighted returned to their mountains. On this side Hadrian had besides useful allies, the kings of the

¹ See above, p. 15.

² Τὸς πεζοὺς ἐγυμνάσαμεν (*Periplus*, 3).

³ Cf. *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 782. We possess a military diploma delivered by Hadrian to a soldier of Lower Dacia, who was originally of Sebastopol. This city, a faithful ally of the Empire, was one of the cities which sent to the Panhellenium a statue of Hadrian, *τὸν ἱαντῶν ἐπεργάτην* (*C. I. G.*, 342). The kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus always put the image of the reigning emperor on their coins.

⁴ It does not seem that, from Panticapæum to Byzantium, he followed the coast of the country of the Sarmatians and Thracians, a shore which was under the surveillance or the authority of the governor of Mœsia; but to complete his report he gives a short and very incomplete description of it.

⁵ This government was the largest in the Empire, for it included Cappadocia, Pontus, and Lesser Armenia.

Iberians and Albanians. The Iberian Pharasman even determined to come to the banks of the Tiber to sacrifice in Jupiter's temple; and some Bactrians who appeared there as suppliants, renewed the spectacle, so dear to Roman vanity, of Oriental embassies.

Thanks to this foreseeing policy and to these formidable armies Roman life gained daily upon barbarism. The desert became alive from Damascus to Petra, and the nomad saw with surprise splendid monuments rising in places where he had been used to hunt the antelope and jackal. In Upper Egypt centurions watched the working of the porphyry quarries for the temples of Rome and Athens; in the Carpathians the emperor's freedmen directed the mining operations, and in Africa the Atlas passes were studded with military posts, in order that, in the Tell, labour might be secure. A large part of the Danube valley called itself Roman, that of the Rhine became so, and behind the entrenchments of the *Agri Decumates* the masters of the Germanic Walhalla sought to find a place in the Pantheon at Rome. On some monuments of this region has been read the name of a companion of Odin, the Hercules *Saxanus* (Sachsnôt), by the side of those of *Turanus*, the Celtic god, and of Mithra, the Oriental divinity—an evidence of that commixture of ideas which was at work to the very circumference of the Roman world. Was this force able to act further? Would the classic spirit, armed with all the polish of Greece, all the prudence of Rome, be able to carry its municipal institutions, its private law, its proud Stoical ideas respecting the dignity of man, into the midst of this uncertain floating world of barbarism? We cannot doubt it, if the military usurpers, by disorganizing Hadrian's army and finances, had not first of all expended, for civil war, the force and resources prepared against the barbarians; if, moreover, the imperial administration, everywhere taking the place of the action of the citizens, and penetrating even to the inmost folds of this great corporate body of Roman society, had not ended by freezing the sources of life. It is not an inexorable fate that governs the world and overturns empires; Hadrian's reign proves that wisdom, even of an ordinary kind, might have preserved all.



Hadrian bearing Helmet and Shield. (Statue found at Ceperano, and now in the Capitol, Room No. 21.)

II.—HIS TRAVELS.

Let us now follow Hadrian in his journeys across the provinces. In 118 or 119 he had been recalled from the banks of the Danube to the capital by the conspiracy of the consulars; after a few months' stay at Rome and in Italy, he commenced his visit to the western provinces by Gaul and the banks of the Rhine (121). It is not known what he did in Gaul. He called together doubtless at Lyons, as we know he did in Spain, the deputies of the three provinces, for the fragment of an inscription mentions a vote of thanks passed by the assembly of the three Gauls. There remain to us, of his tour in the country, other official



Arrival of Hadrian in Gaul.
(*Adventus Aug. Gallie.*)



Hadrian, Restorer of the
Gauls.¹

proofs of the gratitude of the people. These evidences are rightly enough suspected. Still they can be in some measure accepted, because it was part of Hadrian's policy to repress abuses and to attach the provincials to the Empire by the wisdom of his government. Now we have coins struck for him with the inscription: *To the Restorer of Gaul*, and the image of a woman fallen to the earth whom the emperor is assisting to rise. We know that he succoured in Gaul, as he had doubtless done elsewhere, all the infirm and needy soldiers.² He constructed highways, he erected in Nîmes, in honour of Plotina, a basilica, "an admirable work," the ruins even of which have disappeared; perhaps he began the amphitheatre and the aqueduct called *Pont du Gard*, which, as well as the basilica, were finished by Antoninus.³ When he entered Cologne, he was able to recall

¹ RESTITUTORI GALLIÆ. Hadrian standing, assisting Gaul on one knee to rise. Large bronze.

² M. Caillet (*op. cit.*) thus corrects an incomprehensible expression of Spartian (*Hadr.*, 9): *Omnes causarios sublevavit.*

³ There is still to be seen in the wall of a church near Tournon an inscription of the year 119, which the Rhone boatmen had dedicated to him (Millin, *Voyage dans le midi de la France*, vol. ii. p. 76). Orelli (No. 824) regards suspiciously the epitaph on his horse Borysthènes, which is said to have been found at Apt.

the fact that, twenty-three years before, he had been the first to bring to Trajan, in that city, the news of his adoption; he therefore knew these quarters, but we do not know what he did there. His biographer speaks only of a king given to a German people, of reforms carried out in the camps, of works executed on the frontier. We ask no more to assert that Hadrian continued Trajan's work in this direction; that on the Rhine, as on the Danube, he regulated the subsidies, and that he restrained the warlike ardour of the



The Amphitheatre of Nîmes.

barbarians by showing them that if the Empire had no desire to extend its frontier at their expense, he yet intended to guard what it had intrusted to him.

His military cares did not cause him to neglect civil interests; even in the frontier provinces he desired to be furnished with an account of the works to be executed by the cities, of the supplies which were required for them; and when there was need of it, he granted those required.¹ The medals struck in commemoration of his stay in the provinces often represent him with a book, to signify his administrative vigilance.

¹ *Reditus quoque provinciales solerter explorans, ut si alicubi quippiam deesset expleret* (Spart., *Had.*, 11).

If the *Forum Hadriani* marked, on the map of Peutinger, near *Lugdunum Batavorum*, is of his foundation, one might conclude from it that after the inspection of the two Germanies he went by the country of the Batavi to reach the sea and Britain. He was summoned to this important island by the recent incursions of the Caledonians.¹ When Agricola had carried beyond the Cheviot Hills, as far as the Firths of Clyde and Forth, his line of defence, he had outstripped in the north of the island Roman civilization, which had not dared to follow it so far, and had not at least got beyond the environs of (York) Eboracum. Some bold pioneers had gone further, but their scattered homesteads were exposed to the sudden inroads of the mountaineers, who, passing between the posts, pillaged, killed, and had disappeared when the cohorts arrived. The latter, however, came up with them one day, but lost many lives in the encounter, and this confirmed Hadrian in the thought of leaving nothing to chance at such a distance from Italy. After having, in some successful fights, cowed the Caledonians,² he was determined to effect in Britain that movement of concentration which he had executed on the Euphrates. We have said how he did it. But in establishing his principal defence on the Tyne, he really abandoned all the country which extends from this river to the Forth, that is to say, from Newcastle to Edinburgh, and one might well be astonished that he should have consented to occupy only two-thirds of the island instead of completing the conquest of it by an effort which was certainly not beyond his power. An Englishman, Gibbon, gives us the reason of this: "The masters of an empire which contained the most smiling climates of the earth and the most fertile provinces, regarded simply with contempt mountains beaten by continual storms, lakes hidden by thick mists, and uncultivated valleys where the stag and the deer were chased by hideous naked barbarians." A Greek is still more contemptuous for that old England which, in our days, has held, for some time, the sceptre of the world:

¹ Spart., *Had.*, 11. A passage of Frontinus (*de Bello Parth.*) proves that there had also been a capture of arms by the Britons and massacres of the Roman soldiers. . . . *Quantum militum a Britannis caesum.*

² Hence the medals with the inscriptions *Adventui Aug. Britanniae, Exerc. Britannicus.* (Cohen, *Monnaies des Emp.*, vol. ii., Hadrian, Nos. 594, 784, 785.) See also Hübner, *C. I. L.* vol. v. p. 100, col. 1.

"The Romans have not cared to subdue the rest of Britain, the part which they hold being already almost useless to them."¹ Besides, when we recall the obstinate resistance made, even in modern times, by the Highlanders to the Scottish kings and by the latter to the English it will perhaps be considered that Hadrian had a twofold reason for not entering upon this attempt.



Britain holding a Sceptre.

"After having corrected many abuses² in Britain," he returned to Gaul and traversed it a second time, as far as the Pyrenees, to proceed to Spain, where he stayed a whole winter (122). He no doubt showed there his usual activity; but there remain of all this labour no other witnesses than fragments of inscriptions attesting that he improved some of the great roads, and an expression engraven on some coins: "To the restorer of Spain." We should be particularly curious to know what took place in the assembly of the representatives of all the Iberian cities which he convoked at Tarragona for the dedication of the temple of Augustus, rebuilt at his expense. Spartian speaks only of some lively reproaches which the emperor addressed to the citizens of *Italica*, his fellow countrymen, who, by culpable devices, tried to avoid enrolment.³



Hadrian and Spain.⁴
(Large Bronze.)

We have seen that the ruin of the military spirit in the provinces was the inevitable consequence of the organization given by Augustus to his standing army. We know from Tacitus that the Gauls had for a long time lost the taste for arms; so also is the proof of the same change furnished by the Spaniards.

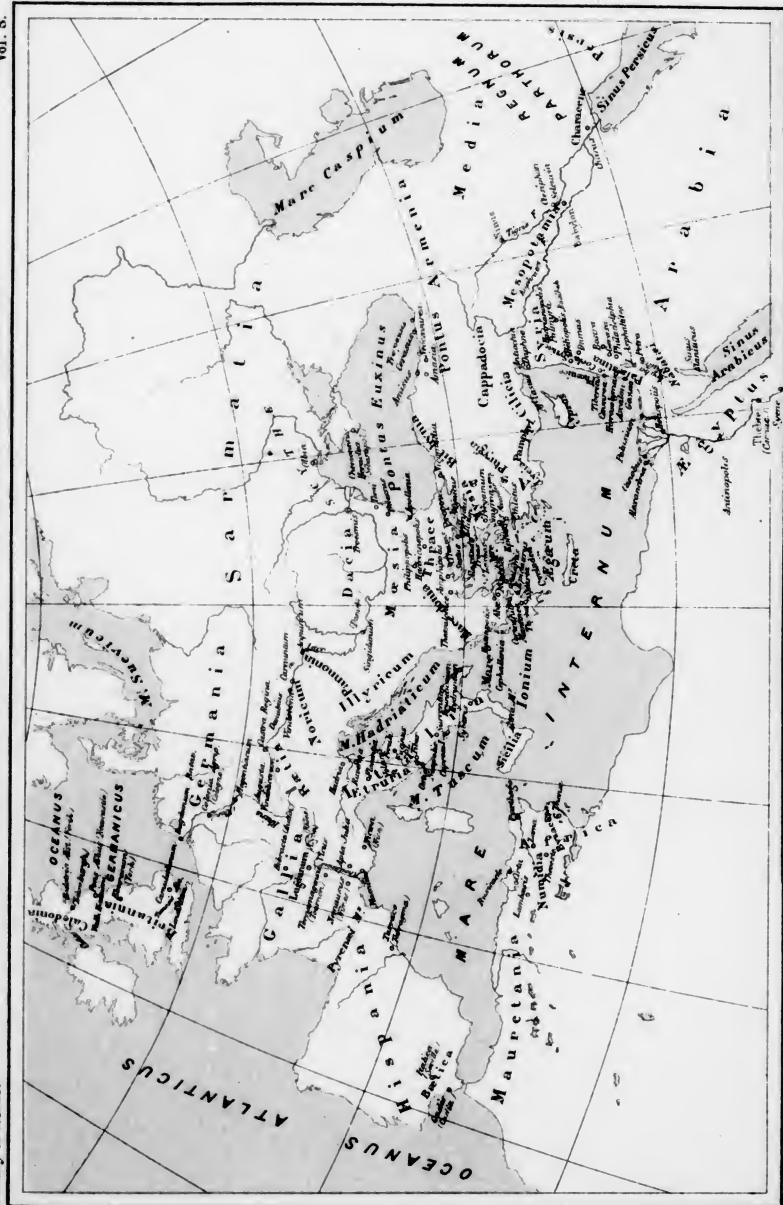
Spartian relates a danger which Hadrian encountered at Tarragona, and from which he extricated himself "not without

¹ . . . οὐδὲν τῆς ἀλλῆς δέομενοι. οὐ γὰρ εὐφορος αὐτοῖς ἔστιν οὐδ' ἦν ἔχουσι (Appian, *Proem.*, 5).

² *In quæ multa correxit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 10).

³ . . . *Delectum joculariter retractantibus . . . vehementissime, cæteris prudenter et caute consuluit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 12).

⁴ *RESTITUTORI HISPANIÆ S. C.* Hadrian standing, raising up Spain kneeling, who holds an olive branch. Between them a rabbit, "symbol of the many mines worked in Spain." (Greppo, *Voy. d'Hadr.*, p. 93, No. 2; Cohen, No. 1,074.)



glory." One day when he was walking alone in a park adjoining the city, a slave belonging to his host fell upon him like a madman, sword in hand. Very vigorous and quick, he parried the blow, and seized the wretch, whom the guards who ran to the emperor's help would have torn in pieces: he was insane. The prince ordered the physicians to cure him, and not even to make a complaint to his master for having such dangerous servants. This story, which pleasingly shows Hadrian's moderation, is, without doubt, borrowed from his *Memoirs*. The affair may, therefore, have happened differently: at least let us learn from it that he attached importance to being regarded as having self-possession, which is the strength of a wise man, and the sense of justice which prevented him from looking on a madman as guilty.



Cadiz. Gold Coin with the Figure of Hercules, the principal divinity of Cadiz. (Cohen, No. 267.)

It is singular that, during this stay in Spain, Hadrian neither visited *Italica*, from whence he was sprung, nor *Cadiz*, his mother's native place.¹ That he should have resisted the natural desire to show the master of the world to those who knew his origin to be from a house of hardly consular rank implies some urgent necessity hastening his departure. Was it because of commotion again among the Mauri? Spartian says so, and a recently found inscription proves that the emperor went direct from Spain to Africa during the year 122, where besides he seems to have gone twice at least, for his allocution to the troops at Lambessa was in the year 128.



Mauretania.²

We know nothing of the first voyage; but as regards the second there remain some details which we shall insert here to avoid returning to Africa. For five years not a drop of rain had fallen in the oases. This fact, which is not extraordinary,

¹ "He loaded Italica with benefits and honours" (Dion, lxi. 10); later on, he himself asked the senate to grant this borough the title of colony (Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, xvi. 13), and an inscription speaks of his liberality to Bætica (Greppo, p. 95), after the eleventh year of his reign, because he bore then the title *Pater Patriæ*, which he accepted only in the year 128.

² Mauretania holding a horse by the bridle and carrying two javelins. (Large bronze, Cohen, No. 967.)

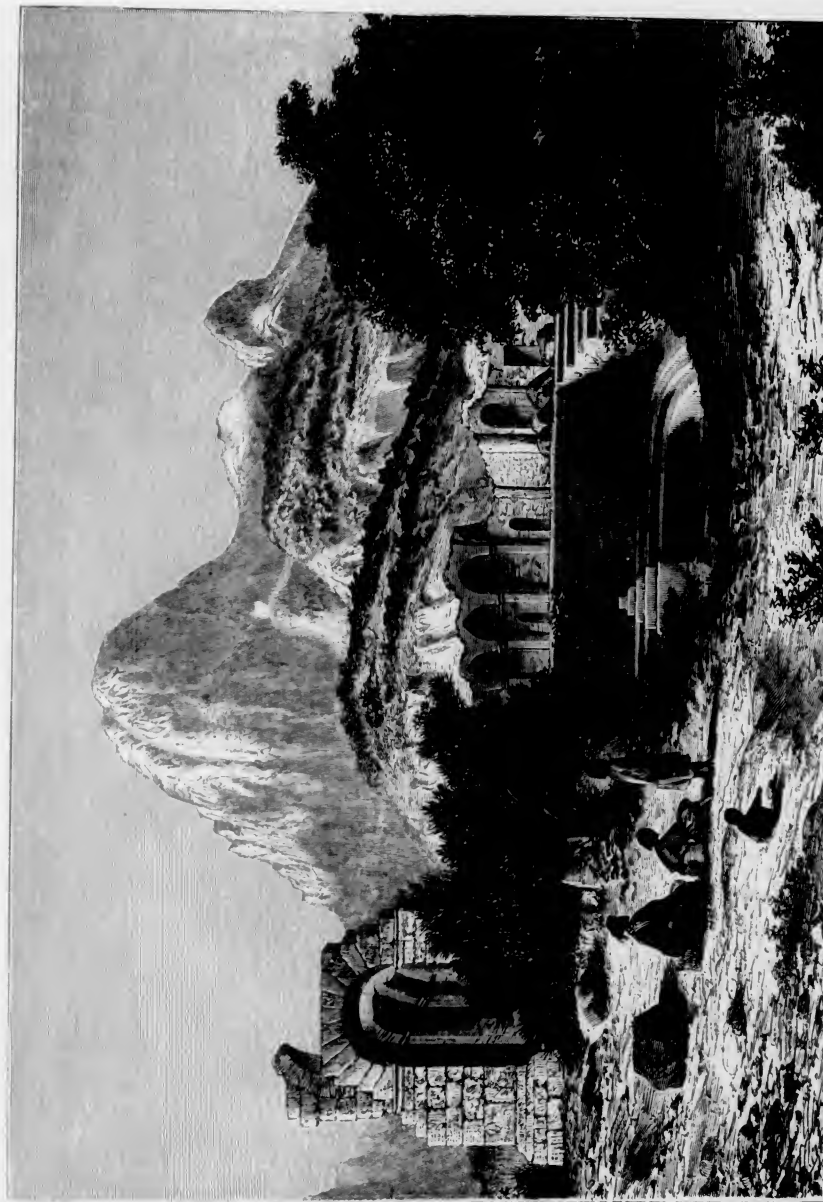
is always a calamity;¹ and as on his arrival an abundance of rain fell it was looked on as a miracle, and the benefit was attributed to him, "which endeared him to the Africans." He gained their hearts by more real services: he put an end to the disorders of Mauretania, founded several colonies, or gave that title to some ancient *municipia*, e.g., to *Thene* in the Byzacena, to *Zama* in Numidia; he repaired the great aqueduct which conducted the waters from Mount Zaghonan² to Carthage, and ordered the legion cantoned at Lambessa to finish the works of Mount Aurasius—a way running along the heights and at the entrance of each gorge, and a small fort to defend the passage.³ The system was that of the *Vallum Hadriani*, with this difference, that the mountain took the place of wall.

The cities followed the example given them, and great efforts were put forth to adorn the towns or facilitate communications between them. Thus, an inscription informs us that at this period *Cirta* constructed, at its own expense, all the bridges on the road leading from its walls to Rusicada (Philippeville), that is to say, from Constantine to the sea. Let not the reader complain that we collect facts of no importance. We are in the position of the naturalist, who has no right to neglect the least remains of an extinct animal, because it will perhaps reveal to him what the animal was in its entirety, its form, its organs, even its mode of life. For want of more extensive evidence let us recall again the expression of Spartian: "He loaded the African provinces with benefits," and this inscription on many coins: "To the

¹ It rains annually on the littoral, but the Sahara sometimes remains for seven years and more without rain.

² The town of Zaghonan rises at the foot of a mountain of the same name, in a charming country, on the ruins of an ancient city. A Roman triumphal gate, of which there remains only an arcade of four mètres' span, serves as entrance. The temple of Zaghonan is above one of the principal sources which feed the aqueduct to Carthage. The name of the divinity to which this temple was consecrated has disappeared with the frieze bearing the dedicatory inscription. It is thought that the edifice is of the same date as the aqueduct, that is to say, that it was commenced under Hadrian and finished under Septimius Severus.

³ M. Léon Renier has found at Lambessa a large number of inscriptions of this legion from the reign of Hadrian to that of Constantine. It was there doubtless a long time before Hadrian (cf. Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 97; iv. 48, 49), and has left traces of itself or the funeral inscriptions of its veterans in many places in Numidia, in Aurasius, and even in the oases. There have just been found (1881) two military boundary stones, revealing the existence of a road made by the *IIa Augusta* between Simittu and Thabraca, across the country of the Khroumirs. (*Rev. arch.*, 1881, p. 223, and *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1881, p. 76.)



Roman Remains at Zaghonan.

Restorer of Africa." Later on we shall see what these words must imply.

The emperor returned from Africa to the capital, and it is conjectured that he stopped there in 120 for the anniversary of the foundation of Rome. Towards the end of the year 122 he was already on his way to the East, which the Parthians were threatening. Hadrian invited Chosroës to an interview, and all was set at rest (122 or 123). He sent him back his daughter, who had been made prisoner by one of Trajan's generals, but refused to restore to him the massive gold throne of the Arsacidæ, a trophy which was, in the eyes of the Romans, what the ensigns of Crassus had been to the Parthians. Under similar circumstances Trajan had haughtily rejected any advances and explanations, forced the Parthians to a war which they did not desire, and, after much bloodshed and many cities destroyed, he had retired, conquered by a region stronger than his genius. Hadrian pacified the East without unsettling it by the shock of arms, and without making ruins there. Which of the two was the better policy?

He appears to have stayed three or four years (122-125) in the Eastern provinces, to which he returned in 129. It being impossible to distinguish what he did in these countries during each of these tours, we shall defer till the second² the few facts of which we shall have to speak.

Towards the end of the year 125 he went in the direction of Greece by traversing that glittering sea of the Cyclades,³ where the navigator has always in sight some island with a



Hadrian, Restorer of Africa. (Large bronze, Cohen, No. 1,053.)



Medal commemorative of the Foundation of Rome.¹

¹ ANN. DCCCLXXXIII NAT. VRB. P. CIR. CON. S. C. Year of Rome 874 (120 A.D.). ANNO NATALI VRBIS PRIMUM? CIRCESES CONSTITUTI. Woman seated, holding a wheel in her right hand and in the left three obelisks. Large bronze. (Cohen, No. 660.) This wheel cannot be that of inconstant Fortune, since the medal was struck to attest the constancy of Roman grandeur. It must be an imitation of the Oriental symbol which made this sign a representation of divinity. This symbolism will be explained in the last volume.

² This second tour in Asia is in reality the third, because after his accession he had slowly traversed the Oriental provinces from Antioch to the Adriatic, *per Illyricum*.

³ *Post hæc per Asiam et insulas ad Achaiam navigavit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 13). Eusebius (*Chron.*

sonorous name, full of poetical recollections. He crossed it leisurely, stopping at those places on which history or art has put an ineffaceable mark. Famous temples, pictures, and celebrated statues, the scenes of ancient exploits—he wished to see everything, and charmed their artistic populations by this homage rendered to objects of national pride. Athens, “in which one feels an eternal breath of youth and beauty,”¹ did not possess a citizen who would more frequently go up the Pnyx to seat himself on the top of the quarried rock which had been Demosthenes’ platform, and from whence the eye could contemplate with ecstacy



Hadrian, Restorer of Greece. (Large bronze, Cohen, No. 1,050.)

the entire city, the half of Attica, the sea which sparkles towards Salamis and Epidaurus, whilst the Propylaea and the Parthenon dominate with their sovereign beauty this marvellous whole.

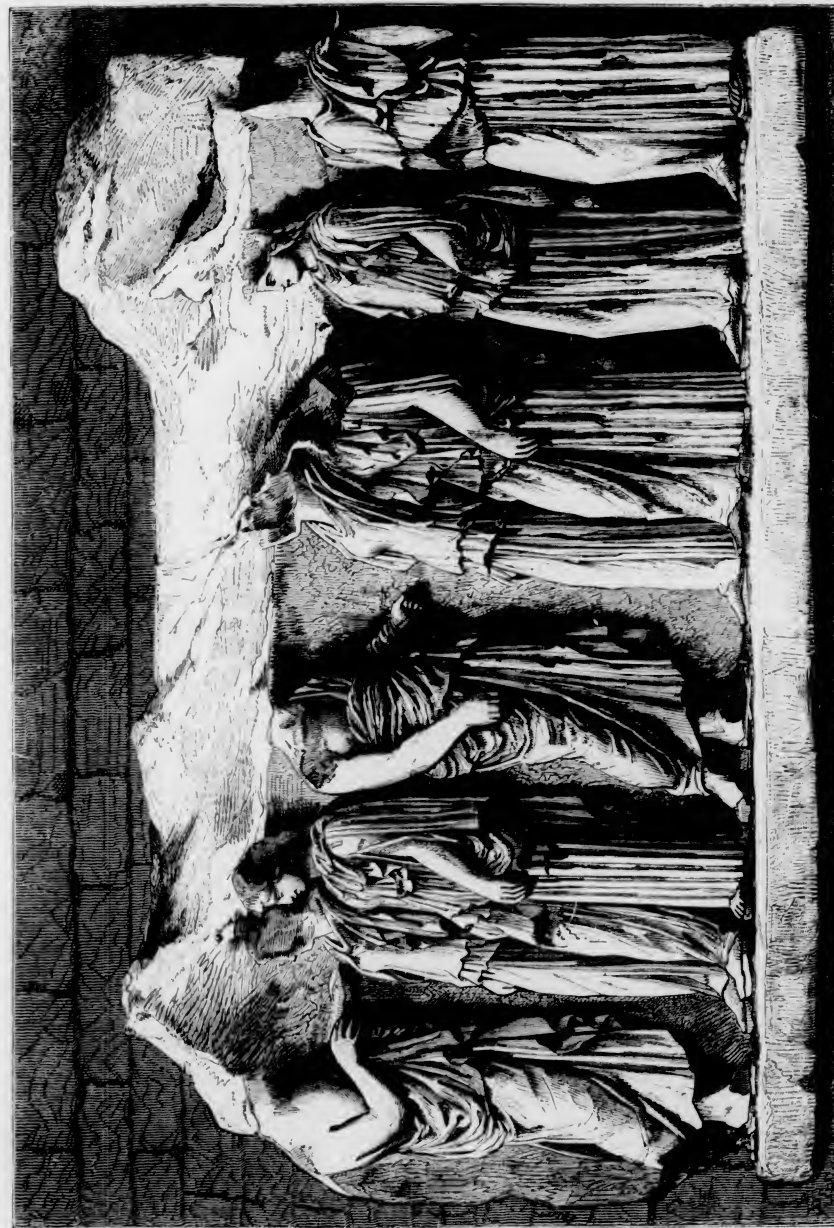
He returned to Italy after the winter by way of Sicily (126). At Antioch he had ascended by night Mount Casius,² to see the sun rise in the east out of the morning mists; he did the same at Etna. Do we not feel him one of our contemporaries ascending the Righi to contemplate one of those harmonies of earth and sky, the sight of which has become a want to minds worn out by the cares of too confined and laborious a life? The ancients did not possess this taste for picturesque beauty. The Greeks felt it from a poetical instinct; but many Romans would have willingly done away with the sea, the lakes, and the mountains which arrested their farming, or put obstacles in the way of their military roads.³ Hadrian, whose busts present a physiognomy so little Roman, no more belonged to his time, by this trait of his character, than he did by his method of ruling.

ad ann.) makes him pass at Athens the winter of 125-126, and Franz (*C. I. G.*, vol. iii. No. 6,280) accepts this date.

¹ Albert Dumont, *Éphèbie*, i. p. 118, after Plutarch. [The sea is not visible from the Pnyx.—*Ed.*]

² The Djebel-Okra, which rises over 6,000 feet.

³ Not including Lucretius, Virgil, and sometimes Horace, who had a deep love of nature, the rest did so but little, though entirely covering with villas the slopes of the Apennines and the coast of the Bay of Naples. In the long descriptions which Pliny has left us of his country houses, we see especially his preoccupation for ease, and much bad taste.



Parthenon: Frieze of the Parthenon, in the Museum of the Louvre.

Those never-ending tours, those travels from the Euphrates to the Thames, from the Danube to Mount Atlas, astonished the luxurious Romans, and wounded their pride as being masters of the world. It did not appear right in their eyes that the prince ought to show so much solicitude for the conquered. The poets used to laugh at it: "No," said one of them, Florus, "I should not like to be Cæsar, to have to pass through the country of the Britons, to have to suffer the frosts of Scythia." And Hadrian replied to them: "And I should not like to be Florus, to haunt the city taverns, to bury myself in the beershops and suffer there the bites of gnats." Rome received with coldness a prince who neglected it, and desired neither its festivals nor its honours, not even its consulate. From 119 to his death, in 138, he did not once assume the fasces;¹ nearly always did he disdain to put on the coins his title of tribune²—a sign, nevertheless, of his sovereign power; only after he had reigned eleven years did he accept that of *Pater Patriæ*,³ and only once was he proclaimed *imperator*.⁴



Hadrian, *Pater Patriæ*. (Silver Coin struck at Alexandria.)

What motive determined him to set out again? Was it this coldness, or the fear of the plots, or the thoroughly decided resolution of this provincial emperor to live for the provinces, and to satisfy his own tastes at the same time that he fulfilled his duties? We do not know; but after a stay at Rome, the length of which cannot be fixed, he left the city to revisit Africa (128); then he returned to the East,⁵ and stayed afresh in Greece (129). As we possess the work of another great traveller, almost his contemporary, who travelled about this country when the recollection of Hadrian was still fresh, we shall, by

¹ He had been consul under Trajan in 108; he was so only twice besides after his accession in 118 and 119.

² What makes the chronology of this reign so confused is that the years of the emperors are counted from the date of the years of their tribunitian power. The first commenced on the day of their accession, *dies imperii*, the second and all the others on the 1st January of the following years.

³ In 128. Eckhel, *Doctr. num. vet.*, vi. 515 *et seq.*

⁴ In 135, after the war against the Jews (see Henzen, No. 5,457).

⁵ *Cum, post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad Orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 13).

his means, understand what those words of Spartian imply which he repeats regarding each province where the emperor stayed: "He loaded it with his gifts." In telling us what the prince did in Greece, Pausanias will inform us what he must have done elsewhere.¹ Yet we ought not to expect to find there either works of fortification or the construction of military roads, use-



The so-called *Bema* of the Pnyx of Athens (p. 54).

less in a country situated in the heart of the Empire, where no legion was stationed.

At Corinth he constructed baths in several quarters of the city, and an aqueduct which brought the water from lake Stymphalus;² at Nemea, a hippodrome. He restored its glorious name to Mantinea, built a temple to Neptune there, and put an inscription on the tomb of Epaminondas, which he had himself composed. In Phocis, he presented Hyampolis with a portico, and Abæ with a sanctuary of Apollo to replace the great temple, which was burned by the Thebans in the sacred war, five centuries before. To the Argeians he gave as an offering for

¹ . . . ejus itinerum monumenta videas per plurimas Asiæ atque Europæ urbes (Fronto, *Princ. hist.*).

² He constructed another aqueduct at Dyrrachium. (Heuzey, *Mission de Mac.*, p. 387, inser. 172.)

their temple of Juno the favourite bird of that goddess, a peacock in gold, the tail of which sparkled with precious stones, and he permitted them to re-establish the horse-races of the Nemean Games, which had fallen into desuetude. Lastly, between Corinth and Megara he widened the Scironian way, a foot-path, along which, after him, two chariots could pass, and on the high road from Eleusis to Athens he rebuilt a bridge which the Cephissus had carried away.¹ We should know much more if we possessed the inscription placed in the Pantheon at Athens, which enumerated the temples raised by him or enriched by his offerings, all his acts of munificence in the country of his choice, and even his acts of liberality towards barbarous cities.

But there was one spot in Greece which he preferred to the whole country, the city of Athens, which he wanted to make the capital of Hellas and of all the Hellenic East. The Athenians believed themselves to have returned to the best days of their history when they saw the master of the world wearing the Greek dress² and making himself their fellow citizen, seriously fulfilling his duties as archon³ and umpire at the games, presiding at their Eleusinian mysteries, and placing upon Miltiades' tomb the statue which they had forgotten to place there.⁴ Eusebius says they asked him for a constitution which preserved the assembly and the popular tribunals, but stated precisely the prerogative of the senate as judge in disputed cases. He lived as a wealthy private man, accessible to every one, discussing with architects the plans of buildings, with philosophers questions of learning; sometimes he interrupted those peaceful pleasures by violent exercise—it might be a coursing match; and when evening was come, he celebrated in Greek verses, which we still possess, his perilous victory over a she-bear in the mountains of Thespieæ.⁵

¹ Doubtless Eleusis then began to build its Propylæa, discovered by M. Fr. Lenormant, and which were as large as those of Athens. If they were not the work of Hadrian, they were certainly the result of the impulse which he had given.

² "He never showed himself outside Rome with the insignia of sovereignty" (Dion, lxi. 10).

³ His first archonship was in the year 112 (*Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, iii. 623, ed. Didot). There has been recently found in the theatre of Dionysus the base of the statue which had been erected to him as archon.

⁴ Spart., *Had.*, 13. According to S. Jerome (*de Vir. illustr.*, 19) . . . omnibus pene Græciæ sacris initiatus. We shall see later on the inscription of the hierophant who initiated him into the Eleusinian mysteries.

⁵ There was found, in 1870, near Thespieæ, an epigram in eight verses, very probably by

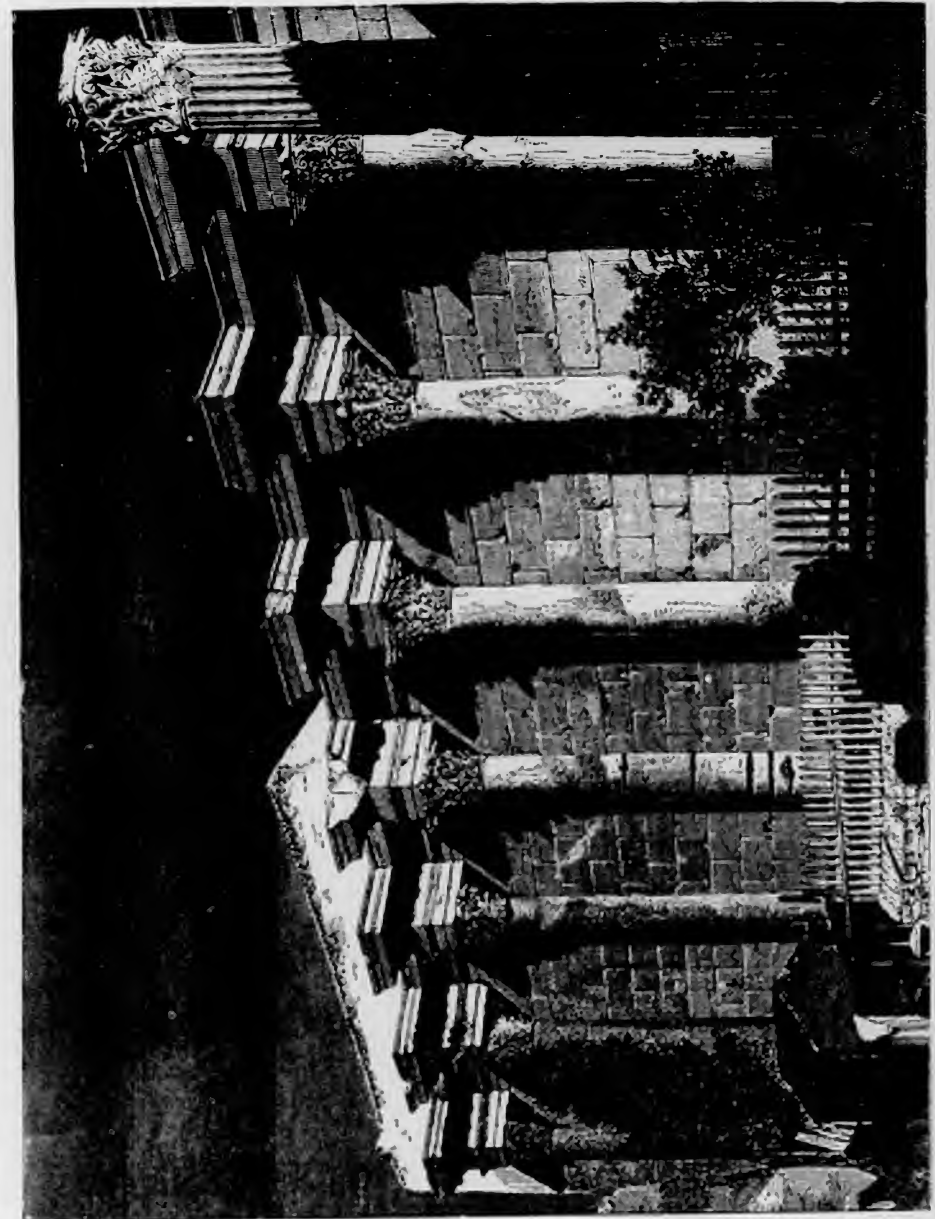
Athens once more became what it had formerly been—the leading school of Greece. It was once more called upon to give



The Arch of Hadrian, at Athens. (Cf. p. 65.)

lessons in oratory and composition; and rhetoricians and sophists hastened thither to seek that renown which procured for them

Hadrian, and of which M. Egger has given the following translation: "Young archer, son of Cyprus with the soft voice, who inhabitest Hellenic Thespiae, near the flourishing garden of Narcissus, be favourable and accept the votive offering which Hadrian presents thee, for a she-bear, which from his horse he had the luck to slay. And in return mightest thou, as the wise god, breathe on him the grace which comes from Aphrodite Urania!" (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des insc.*, 1870, p. 57.)



Portico of Hadrian at Athens.

riches, honours, even lucrative priesthoods, which were readily given to these brilliant talkers,¹ at the risk of intrusting the care of religious interests to those who were going to make solitude in the temples. The emperor took delight in their discourses, but was chiefly occupied in the great building operations on the plain of the Ilissus. As he travelled surrounded by architects and skilled workmen, organized as a legion, and divided into cohorts under experienced heads,² the work rapidly advanced; in a little time a new city arose near the ancient one, and the triumphal arch which still exists below the eastern point of the Acropolis bears these words engraven on one of its faces: "Here is the city of Theseus," and on the other: "On this side is the town of Hadrian." Hadrianopolis has, from the time of its origin, been decorated with numerous monuments which, unable to rival the severe grandeur of the temple of "the Virgin goddess," united at least all the architectural refinements of a period when art sought the beautiful in magnificence.

He was assisted in this work by the celebrated rhetorician, Herodes Atticus, the teacher of Aulus Gellius and Pausanias, whom, happily for us, his rhetoric had not led astray but his erudition had gained. Herodes built, or completed, in the new town, a bridge over the Ilissus, the Stadium, which he covered with Pentelican marble,³ and on one of the hills which command it a temple of Fortune. He had founded a rich library: Hadrian surrounded it with porticoes supported by 120 columns of Phrygian marble, the walls were of the same material, the ceilings overlaid with alabaster or gold, the halls adorned with statues or valuable paintings. Near it he constructed a gymnasium with 100 columns of Lybian marble; further off, a temple of Juno. The Greeks, therefore, delighted with these favours done to their race, even with those which seemed to concern the Athenians⁴ alone, placed

¹ Herodes Atticus was priest of the Olympieion. (See the inscription found by M. Lablache, *op. cit.*, p. 37). Aristides, his pupil, was the priest of Asia; Favorinus, that of the Gauls.

² Aurelius Victor, *Epit.*, xxviii.

³ I saw, in January, 1870, the Panathenaic Stade nearly cleared of rubbish; the excavations furnished nothing. [I saw, in 1875, the new Olympic games celebrated there.—*Ed.*]

⁴ He gave the Athenians, besides large sums of money, an annual allowance of corn, the island of Cephallenia, and an aqueduct which Antoninus completed the second year of his reign (Orelli, No. 511); he issued a decree to secure an oil supply for the city: the third of the whole crop in Attica was reserved for it. (*C. I. G.*, No. 355.)

a statue of Hadrian in the temple of Olympia, by the side of that which they had set up to Trajan, and built, in the new city of Athens, the *Panhellenium*,¹ a temple of Jupiter and Hadrian, near which annual games were to be celebrated in the presence of the deputies of the whole of Greece.



Juno (Villa Ludovisi).

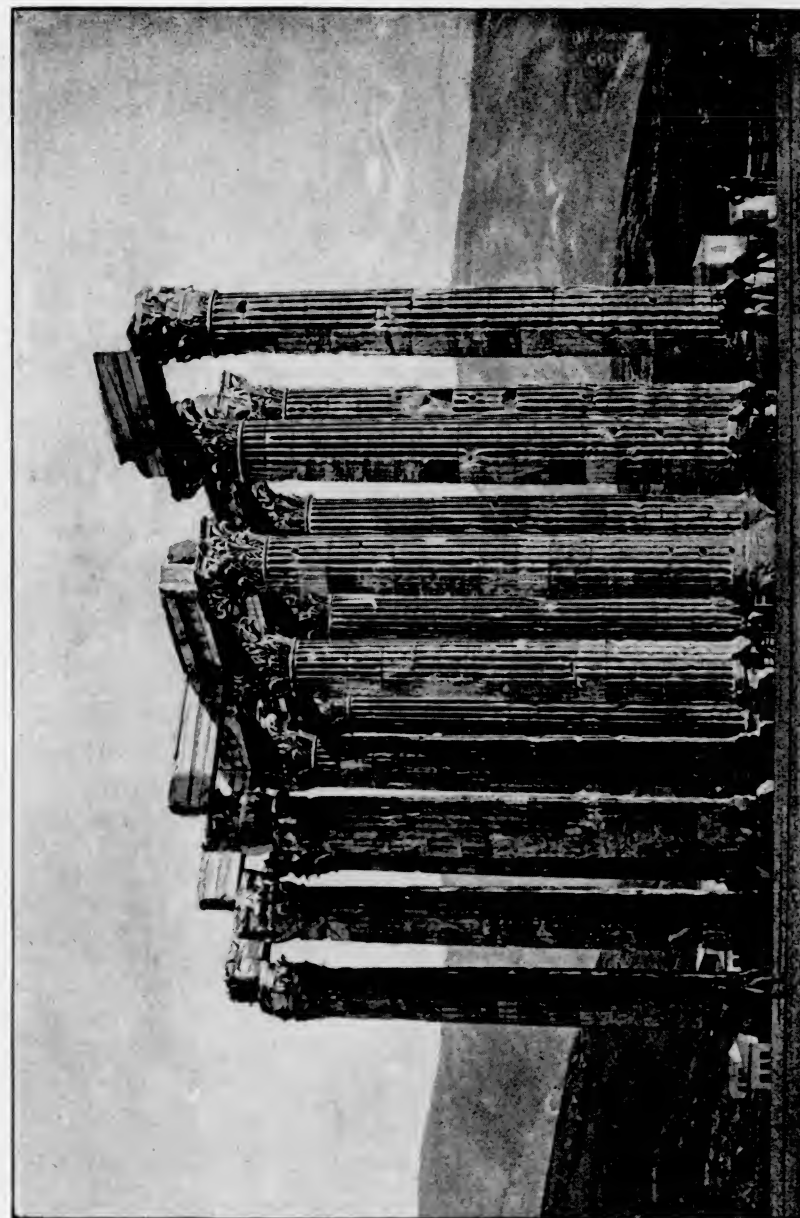
For some time the Panhellenium appeared to be the political sanctuary of Hellas, as the temples of Rome and Augustus were at Tarragona and Lyons for the western provinces.² Some inscriptions belonging to the end of Antoninus's reign³ show the Panhellenes in correspondence with distant peoples, even with the emperor. But the Greeks of that time were no longer capable of thinking of anything else but their pleasures. At Lyons our ancestors occasionally exhibited some political insight; I am afraid that at Athens only paltry passions were aroused and that only base flatteries

were heard there. The subjection to the master was certainly more complete. Around the altar of Rome and Augustus the Gauls had at least set up the statues of their sixty cities, to

¹ The Panhellenium was consecrated to Jupiter Penhellenius, according to Pausanias (*Att.*, 18), to Hadrian, according to Dion (lxix. 16). Spartian also says (13) that Hadrian set up an altar to himself in Athens, *dedicavit . . . et aram sibi*: opinions which will mutually agree if it is admitted that this temple answers to the political sentiment which, at Lyons and Tarragona, had caused those of Rome and Augustus to be erected. An inscription, discovered at Tegea, gave Hadrian the title of Zeus Panhellenius (*Inscr. de Morée*, i. p. 91).

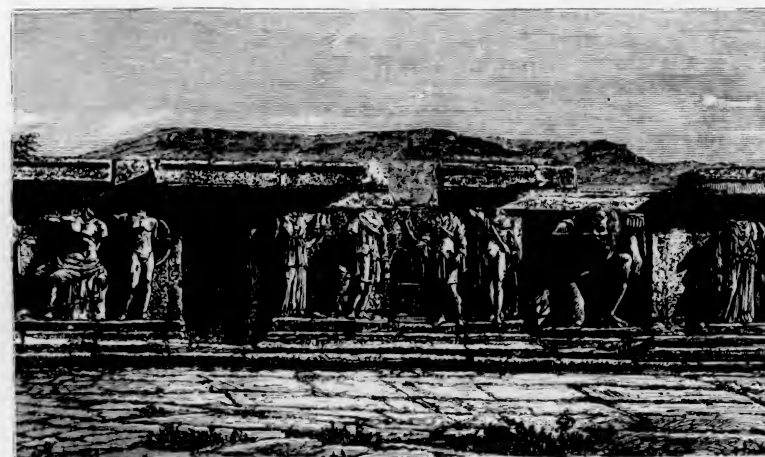
² See *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 24 *et seq.*

³ Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéologique*, 1^{re} partie, Nos. 866-7.



The Olympieion (built by Hadrian) at Athens.

represent the Gallic nationality in the presence of the new divinities. This idea, which showed some greatness, never occurred to the Greeks. There were truly, at the Panhellenium, innumerable statues sent by the Hellenic cities of the continent, the isles, and the coasts of Asia and the Pontus Euxinus, but they were all images of the prince, as if he alone ought to fill earth and heaven. Was not he the true Panhellenian Zeus, the Olympian, *par excellence*? At Athens there can still be read on the pedestal of



Bas-relief of the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens (in Front of the Stage).

the statue erected on this occasion by the *Dienses*,¹ the title which the Greeks had given him and which the whole East repeated: "Olympio."²

All these buildings and Hadrianopolis itself have disappeared; yet, when, while descending from the Propylæa the temple of Theseus is left behind, and when one passes round by the south the gigantic rock so nobly crowned with majestic ruins on the slope of the Acropolis, there is first of all seen the theatre of Dionysus, which preserves the seats of white marble, where sat

¹ *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 548. We have also those of Cephallenia, Amphipolis, Thasos, Abydos, Sestos, Sebastopol, Miletus, Cyprus, etc. (*C. I. G.*, Nos. 331 *et seq.*). The imperial medals are rare in Greece properly so called. It is to be noted that the imperial series of Elis, and very probably that of Argos, begin with Hadrian.

² *Abe* had given him one of the titles of Jupiter, *βουλαίος*, the good counsellor, and his statue had been placed at Athens in the place where the senate held their sittings.

Pericles and whence Hadrian saw Menander's comedies; further off, in the valley of the Ilissus, fifteen columns, some isolated, others still united by their architrave, whose colossal proportions, rich carving, warm and golden tints, in relief from the azure of the sky, strike the beholder with astonishment and admiration, even close to the Parthenon. These columns are all that remain of the vastest temple in the Græco-Roman world, the *Olympieion*, begun by Pisistratus, continued by Augustus, and finished at the end of seven centuries by Hadrian.¹

Why were these temples rebuilt or constructed? Was it from religious zeal? Certainly not. He felt little uneasiness for the great Olympians who were about to die; but he was an artist, and art having no finer form of expression than in temples, he built them; and he summoned sculptors and painters to decorate them, rhetoricians to discourse, philosophers to dream under their porticoes. If divinity was no longer present, human thought filled them; and this civilization of Greece was so beautiful, this *Roman peace* of the Empire was so grand, that it did not seem to him that a human soul could need anything else.³

From Athens he reached proconsular Asia, which "appeared, in the midst of the immense garden of the Empire, the most favoured region." It was the land of the artists who raised all these monuments, and of the Sophists whose able eloquence would soon extinguish, even in Italy, the clear, simple genius of Latium. On their return from the voyage to Athens, these men opened schools in some one or other of the 500 cities of Asia, and soon they acquired wealth, and even power. Favorinus, at Ephesus; Aristocles,



Athens, the
Acropolis.²

¹ The inclosed area of the temple was 822 yards (Pausanias, i. 18, says four stadia); each column 6½ feet in diameter and nearly 60 feet in height (according to Penrose, 16.79 mètr.). Athens adopted on this occasion a new era dating from the dedication of the temple.

² Athenian (bronze) coin, in which the artist has aimed at uniting, but with little taste, the summit of the Acropolis, the grotto of Pan, which is on one of the sides of the rock, and the theatre of Dionysus, constructed at the base.

³ Lampridius (*Alex. Sev.*, 43) writes: *Hadrianus . . . templa in omnibus civitatibus, sine simulacris, jussu fieri, quæ hodie, idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani*. One of these temples, at Tiberias, still bears, from the time of Constantine, the name of 'Αδριανέιον. This passage of Lampridius says more about the true sentiments of Hadrian than the trite phrases of Spartian (*Had.*, 23) touching his official devotion, *sacra Romana diligentissime curavit . . . pontificis maximæ officium peregit*.

at Pergamus, were important personages, and Polemon ruled supreme in Smyrna: the senate listened to his counsels with deference, the crowd applauded his discourses. When he travelled his horses had silver reins, and behind his chariot marched an army of slaves. He obliged the rulers to take him into council. In the following reign we shall see in what fashion he treated the man who was by-and-bye to become the emperor Antoninus. But how could a proconsul of those days have resisted a favourite of the whole of the Greek East and of the prince, a

man of whom another famous rhetorician, Herodes Atticus, said: "I have had Polemon for my master, when I myself was a master of eloquence." And he relates that on reaching Smyrna, his first visit was paid to Polemon: "My father, when shall we hear thee?" Known as a critical hearer, Herodes was astonished at the reply of the master: "This very day; come now and hear."¹ After so many ages of war, the world, tired with action, wanted no more than to know the intoxication of sonorous, harmonious, empty language. All the Greeks of Egypt were united under Antoninus to erect in Alexandria a statue to the rhetorician Aristides, as a mark of their admiration.² From Rome to Athens, from Athens to Smyrna, hence to Alexandria and Carthage, there ruled extempore eloquence,³ a charming gift, which astonishes crowds and gains causes for a time, but is often fatal to true art and to thought. What will these facile composers of phrases have done before a century of ancient civilization has passed away? What are they already doing in Athens and Alexandria?

In these provinces of Asia are to be found in a thousand places traces of Hadrian's passage or recollections of him: cities destroyed by earthquakes which he assisted to raise from their



Herodes Atticus. (Cameo in the
Cabinet de France, No. 167.)

¹ Vidal-Lablache, *Herode Atticus*, p. 28; cf. Philostr., *Vite Soph.*, 13-18, in *Polem.*

² Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 132.

³ . . . αὐτοῦ σχεδίωνος λόγους (Philostr., ii. 3).

ruins;¹ cities aided and beautified which, out of gratitude, assumed his name, instituted games or struck medals in honour of "the saviour god," and "the restorer of the provinces;" temples and statues raised in his honour; harbours and roads constructed at his expense. There is not a district of the great peninsula where it appears the imperial traveller had not passed, who, by his gifts, his counsels, his example, aroused a noble activity and a generous emulation for all the works of civilized life. Thus the great gymnasium of Smyrna was built by means of a public subscription which Hadrian promoted or supported by himself, giving a very large sum,² and we still possess the list of subscribers.³ It anticipated our system of encouragement to works of public utility by a subvention from the State. The same prevailed everywhere and throughout the whole period of the Antonines; thus is explained how the Empire appeared then as an immense busy workshop.

Let us cite some facts as they occur to us, since we cannot determine accurately either the dates or the itinerary.

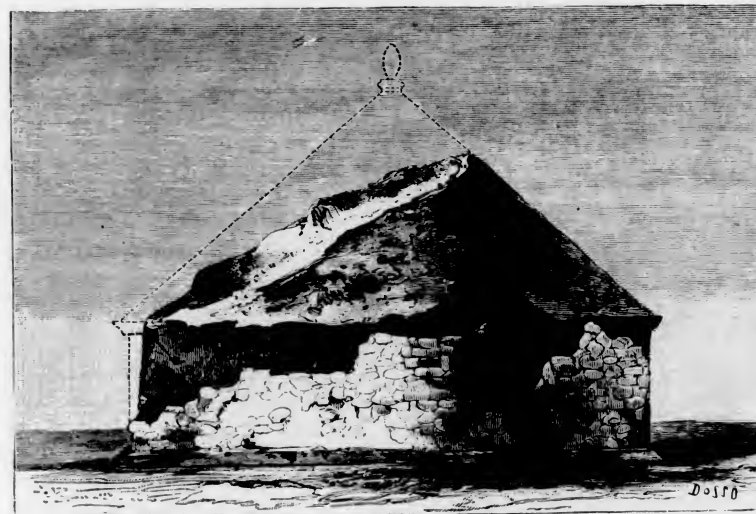
Doubtless Hadrian landed at Smyrna, "the Pearl of the East," and the real capital of smiling Ionia. Situated at the head of a gulf which rivals the finest gulfs in the world, on the slopes of a mountain still crowned by the ruins of an immense Genoese fortress, but where the Greeks had certainly placed a temple, surrounded by fertile lands traversed by Homer's stream, Smyrna was a magnificent vestibule by which to enter Asia, and the Roman governors always entered by it into their province. Hadrian had a great friend there, Polemon, who had lately delivered at Athens the discourse on the dedication of the Olympieion, and who had inspired the prince with a special friendliness for the city which was called in Oriental Greece, "the sanctuary of the Muses." This friendliness showed itself

¹ As Cyzicus and Nicomedia: *Terræ motu facto, Nicomedia ruit et vicinæ urbes plurimæ everse sunt. Ad quarum instaurationem Hadrianus de publico est largitus impensas.* (S. Jerome, *Chron. ad ann. iv. Hadr.*, and John Malala, *Chronog.*, p. 277.)

² *Χιλίας μυριάδας* (C. I. G., No. 3,148).

³ This practice, known under the name of *Ἐπιδόσεις*, was usual and ancient: see, e.g., in Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 389, a subscription list for the expenses of sacrifices and *fêtes*: Miller, *Revue archéol.* of 1870, gives a list for the erection of a temple, comprising perhaps 270 names.

in the numerous largesses, which served for the construction of several edifices, among others of a temple, as well as a gymnasium, which Philostratus declares to be the finest in Asia. The Smyrniotes gave him in return the titles of "Olympian, Saviour, Founder," and decreed in his honour "perpetual festivals," or "Hadrianic games." Miletus and all the other cities did the same. The sceptical prince knew well enough what to think of this Eastern bombast, which we are wrong to take literally; it



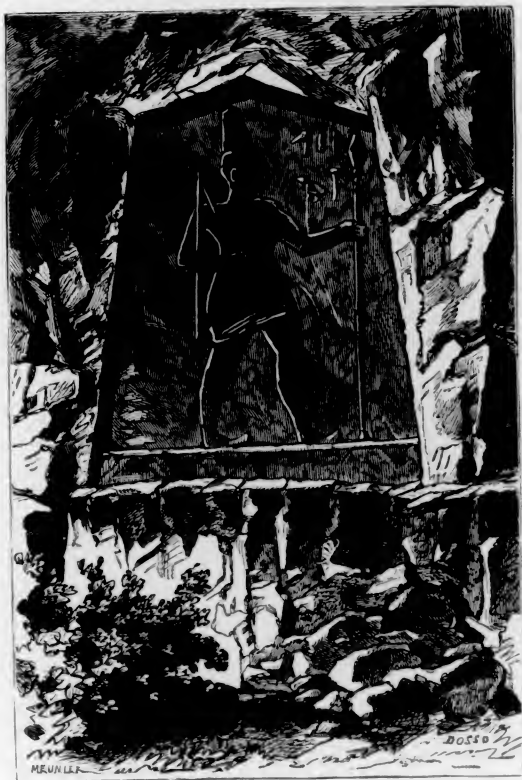
Tomb called that of Tantalus (after Texier, *Asie Mineure*, vol. ii. pl. 130).¹

was the politeness of the time, and he was no more embarrassed by these formulas than by the notes of a musical melody which the winds bear away. Was he more affected by the medals which they struck with the figure of Antinous? I fear it.

In the environs of Smyrna are to be found two archæological curiosities which Hadrian certainly did not fail to visit: the tomb called that of Tantalus, half way up Mount Sipylus, which overlooks the gulf; and, a day's journey from the city, on the road from Sardis to Ephesus, the *Nymphæum*, where there is to be seen a bas-relief of which Herodotus speaks, and says that

¹ This tumulus of stones, with pointed arched sepulchral chamber, is 27 mètres high and 106 in circumference.

Sesostris had it sculptured there fifteen centuries before our era.¹



The Nymphaeum, near Smyrna (Texier, *ibid.*, pl. 132).

He visited Miletus, which has just given back to us some remains of a colossal structure found in the midst of the alluvial deposits of the Mæander, and the rich city of Ephesus, at that time so prosperous that it takes four hours to traverse the space covered by its ruins; yet the city had taken 220 years to rebuild the sanctuary of Diana. Hadrian erected there a temple



Diana of Ephesus (Face). Silver Medal.



Hadrian (Reverse). See vol. iv. p. 23.

¹ Kiepert, Rosellini, and M. Perrot (*Mém. d'Arch.*, No. 2) rightly believe that this monu-

to the Roman Fortune which all peoples worshipped, even in those parts where she had no altar. He passed through Lesbos and the Troad.¹ To please the admirers of the *Iliad*, although he did not admire it, he restored the tomb of Ajax and



Ruins of the Temple of Apollo, at Miletus (Texier, *ibid.*, pl. 136).

rendered great honours to the least amiable of Homer's heroes; to win over the inhabitants of Alexandria-Troas, he gave them an aqueduct which is still to be seen near Eski-Stamboul, and charged Herodes Atticus, one of the best speakers of the time, with the superintendence of its construction. It was already the

ment is not Egyptian. [It is now shown by Professor Sayce to be Hittite in character, and points to the conquests of that people, whom he has at last rescued from oblivion.—*Ed.*]

¹ An inscription of the year 124, found in the ruins of Ilium, seems to proceed from Hadrian also. (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 466.)

practice not to abide by the estimates. Atticus spent much more than Hadrian had promised. But the prince, liberal but not extravagant, a lover of order in everything, even in the expenditure of his friends,¹ approved his procurators who complained, and the excess of the expenditure was put to the account of the rhetorician.



Hadrian the Olympian.
Coin struck at Cyzicus.²

He left with the inhabitants of Ilium something with which their vanity was, for a short time, more satisfied than with the aqueduct of Aristides: six verses in Greek celebrating the glory of their city and their courage: "Hector, son of Mars, if you hear me below ground, I salute thee. Be proud of thy country. Ilium, the famous city, is always peopled with men; they are not equal to thee, and yet they also are very warlike. The Myrmidons exist no longer. Go and tell Achilles: The whole of Thessaly is at the feet of Æneas's children."



Coin of
Hadrian-
there.⁴

At Nicomedia he had received the title of Founder with less flattery than elsewhere,³ and Cyzicus built a temple to him, the imposing mass of which, as says the rhetorician Aristides,⁵ was seen so far off that it replaced the signals which guided ships in their course. He stayed a long time in this region of Bithynia, which the Turks call "the sea of trees," and which reminds travellers of the most charming scenes in Switzerland: running waters, meadows still green under the July sun, numerous flocks, and here and there chalets of unsquared timber.⁶ Hadrian, a great sportsman,⁷

¹ He was connected with Atticus, the father of Herodes, and he gave the son a mission in proconsular Asia.

² ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΤΡΑΙ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ (*the Autocrat Caesar Trajan Hadrian Olympian*). Bronze coin.

³ See p. 71.

⁴ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΘΗΡΩΝ. Coin, in bronze, of the inhabitants of Hadrianothera. Head of a bear.

⁵ We still possess the discourse which Aristides delivered on the day of the consecration of this temple, which took the place of that of Ephesus in the list of the Seven Wonders of the World.

⁶ See the *Voyage en Galatie et en Bithynie*, by M. Georges Perrot. There is a manufacture in these chalets also, as in Switzerland, of a celebrated cheese.

⁷ By the evidence of Spartian and Athenæus, he killed lions on several occasions, not

was charmed with this district full of game, and there founded two cities, one of which, called Hadrian's Hunts, Hadrianothera, preserved the recollection of one of his exploits: he had killed there an enormous she-bear, such as are still found on the slopes of Olympus.

In Cappadocia he bought a large number of slaves for the service of the camps, a measure which has been wrongly explained, for the legions were able to provide themselves everywhere with human merchandise. But the Cappadocians had been famous, in the best days of Athens, for their thick skulls as well as for their broad shoulders, and the country was nothing else than a vast slave market. Was it now or in his former tour that he visited Pontus and had, with the kings of the neighbouring countries, the intercourse of which we have made mention?¹ We can scarcely say. We must be satisfied with what Arrian² relates, that at Trapezus (Trebizonde) the emperor wished to view the sea from the same spot where the Ten Thousand had uttered their cry of joy when they recognized the Euxine and the end of their dangers. On this excellent site and to recall this double recollection a statue of the prince was set up, who, with extended hand, pointed to the sea, but perhaps also the temple of Mercur, which he gave to this commercial port, and the harbour which he had built for its ships, until that time without shelter in the bad season.

We do not know what happened to him in the capital of Syria, a large, rich, and dissolute city, which had very speedily recovered from the recent earthquake, and where it was not possible to keep a soldier three months without making him effeminate or seditious. Antioch probably annoyed him, as later on it did Julian, by the sarcasms of a vain, insolent population, equally incapable of being without a master and of keeping one. Hadrian, who had raised or helped to construct monuments of public utility in the city where he had assumed the purple,

only in the circus and in a secure spot, but in the chase with all its perils. More than once his life was in danger: once he broke his thigh and collar bone (5).

¹ See p. 14.

² *Peripl. Ponti Euxini*, l. 1. He must have made gifts in Pontus, for Neosarsarea (Nicasia) and Amasia (Amasiah) took his name. Cerasus (Keresoun?) commenced its series of imperial medals with him, and Amisus (Eski-Samsun) struck many silver coins bearing his image.

desired to limit the area of the district to which it served as metropolis,¹ by creating a second province of Syria, a project which seems not to have been carried out till Septimius Severus's time. He had read his fortune in the sacred Castalian fountain at Daphne; he closed this dangerous oracle.

Coin of Palmyra.²Coin of Petra, struck at Damascus.³Coin of Gerasa.⁴Coin of Philadelphia.⁵

Minor, or at Gaza to go down into Egypt, it went north-

¹ Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iv. 160-173. Later on they withdrew even the entire garrison from it: *ἡ δὲ ἀφύλακτος τε καὶ στρατιῶτων ἱσχυρὸς ἔστι* (Procop., *B. P.*, i. 17). "He had made there," says Malala (*Chronograph.*, p. 362), "a public bath, an aqueduct bearing his name, and a theatre. By means of a strong dike he turned aside the waters which were spread out in the ravines and were lost to the city; this dike kept them in, in spite of their violence, and they were conducted near to the theatre, whence they were distributed into all parts of the city. He also caused to be built, near the sources of Daphne, a temple sacred to the Muses, where these springs formed five spouting fountains."

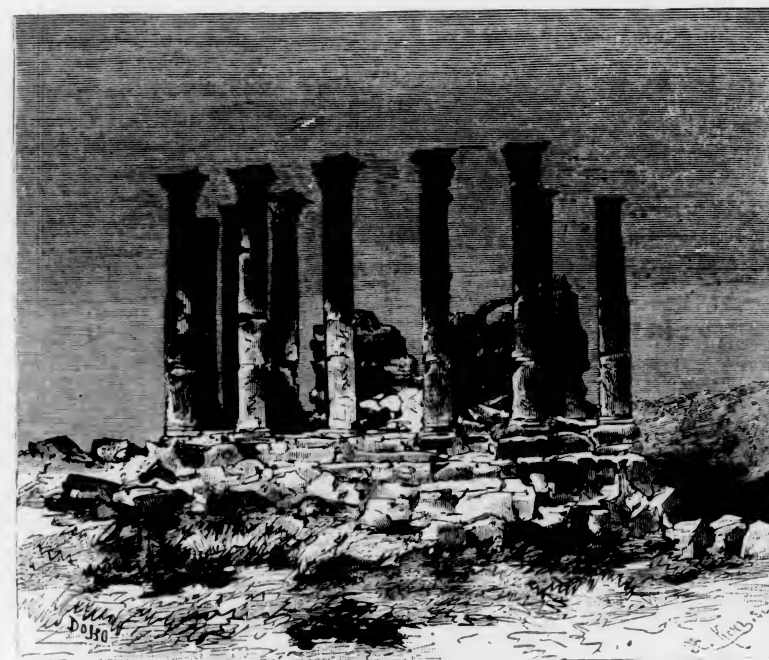
² ΠΑΛΜΥΡΑ. Victory holding a balance above a cippus. Bronze coin.

³ ΠΕΤΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ. Woman turreted, seated on a rock, the right hand extended, and holding ears of corn in the left. Bronze of Hadrian's reign.

⁴ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ (Artemis, Fortune of the inhabitants of Gerasa). Bust of Diana; below, the crescent moon. Bronze coin.

⁵ ΤΥΧΗ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ (Fortune of Philadelphia). Turreted head, doubtless the personification of the city. Bronze.

westerly towards Cælo-Syria or to the west of the country of the Nabathæans. On reaching the Roman frontier these two routes became united to another which, from Damascus to Petra, followed the border of the cultivated lands and the desert in such a way that these three routes formed an immense triangle, having its apex towards Charax,¹ on the Pasitigris, its base

Temple of Jupiter at Gerasa (*Album du Duc de Luynes*, pl. 49).

along the lowest slopes of Anti-Libanus, and its two sides across the great desert.

In "the country of thirst" the merchants had planted neither towns nor villages; they journeyed rapidly, stopping only at the wells which dotted the road; but, from time immemorial, they had established their entrepôts around the springs of Palmyra and in the inexpugnable inclosure of the rocks of Petra. There it was that the safe conducts bought from the Arabs were signed and that the merchandise was stored; there were collected

¹ Charax, capital of this little state, is on nearly the same site as Bassorah.

provisions, beasts of burden, and guides. The conduct of a caravan was a difficult expedition which always brought honour, often profit, and the highest magistrates of these cities accepted the charge of it.¹ Some inscriptions still celebrate their skill or their courage, and statues had been erected to them by those whose fortune or life they had saved.²

Beyond these two oases, by the side of the Euphrates, nothing but desert; but behind them some fine cities: Baalbee, Damascus, Bostra, Gerasa, Philadelphia, whose ruins are reckoned amongst the finest that we know.

How was this phenomenon produced of fine cities flourishing at the extreme frontier of the Empire, at the edge of the desert?

The misfortunes of its neighbours had made the fortune of this region. Many Greek families, which Alexander and his successors had caused to follow in their steps to the heart of Asia, retreating before the reaction of the indigenous races, had fallen back on Syria, the first land in which they again found anything of their language, customs, and religion.³ Another human wave reached it from an opposite direction. In the time of the Herods, Palestine was very rich and Galilee covered with an abundant population. During the war of extermination carried on by Titus, a crowd of the inhabitants belonging to the right bank of the Jordan crossed to the left bank, which belonged at that time to the king of the Nabathæans, and ascended as far as Damascus, Heliopolis, Palmyra, where we have proof of the existence of a Hebrew community.⁴ At an uncertain period some Arab Himyarites, emigrants from Yemen, were established

¹ See the *Inscriptions Sémitiques* of M. le Comte M. de Vogüé, pp. 8 and 63.

² *Ibid.*, Nos. 4 and 5. The inscription No. 4 says: "This statue is of . . . Zebeida. It was put up by the merchants of the caravan who went down with him to Volagesias . . . for having deserved well of them." It is dated April, 147. The tomb of this Zebeida, a contemporary of Hadrian, still exists. (*Ibid.*, p. 47.) [A new taxing inscription of the year 137 has been found at Palmyra. (*Journal as. for 1883.*)—*Ed.*]

³ In the first and second centuries of our era the use of Greek was common in Syria and the Arab region which adjoins Palestine and Egypt, as is proved by the Greek inscriptions of the stele placed at the circumference of the second peribolus of the temple of Jerusalem, the idiom employed by the Arab which Appian preserves (in the fragment of Appian found by Miller), the Greek inscriptions of the medals of the kings of Characene, etc. Cf. *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1872, pp. 129 and 437.

⁴ Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, pp. 22, 224, and 402, and de Vogüé, *Inscriptions araméennes*, No. 65.

in the Hauran and the Belkâ; of settled habits and agriculturists, they protected the country against the tent Arabs, and Bostra, their capital, became the granary of these regions.¹ What one calls desert, at least on this side, is in fact only waste land. Let man come there, and let an able police keep in check the mountaineers and nomads, and give him security, he will



Wall called Solomon's or Cyclopean Courses of Baalbec.

utilize, in the cantons easily watered, even towards the Dead Sea, the abundant water supplies from the mountains, which, under a burning sun, will cause the earth to produce rich harvests. After the blows struck by Corbulo and Trajan against the Parthians, after the severe order produced in Judæa by Titus, in the province of Arabia by Cornelius Palma, numerous populations had come to these regions, and the good police

¹ Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, p. 107. He seems to place this establishment before Trajan's reign. M. Caussin de Perceval (*Hist. des Arabes*, i. 212) places it about the year 190 A.D.

established by Rome and Hadrian developed a state of prosperity then hitherto unknown.

Besides, these men, who later on proved themselves in their Spanish colonies the most skilful irrigators in the world, have at all times shown a genius for trade. Arabs, Greeks, Syrians, Jews, ardently gave up themselves to a commerce which the increasing taste for Oriental commodities rendered more active daily and which went on in all security during the "Roman peace." The vitality of the Empire showed itself energetically in this province, to which streamed both men and goods—exiles from Asiatic Greece and the proscribed of Palestine



Laureate Bust
of Hadrian.¹



Remains of the "Temple of the Sun" at Baalbek.

to people it; labourers and merchants to enrich it, soldiers to defend it.² Art followed fortune at its bidding and produced the wonders of Baalbek and Tadmor, where a single portico, supported by marble columns, was 4,000 feet long. Thus then is it explained how the sea of sand gave to these cities the riches

¹ ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. The Emperor Hadrian Augustus.

² Under Alexander Severus, six legions, according to Dion Cassius, encamped in this region: two in Syria, two in Judaea, one in Arabia, one in Phœnicia.

which the ocean gives to so many maritime cities: these were the ports of the desert.

This prosperity dated long back, since some of these cities belonged to Biblical times, and the Roman architects raised their own monuments on colossal substructures [of ancient date]. At least, at Baalbek the walls of the temple of the Sun, which



Palmyra. Remains of the Colonnade.

Hadrian commenced, and of Jupiter, which Severus constructed, have for their lowest courses stones of a very hard limestone, three of which are each twenty mètres long, five high, and wide in proportion; a fourth, still larger, remains in the quarry, 1,000 feet off.

Palmyra, which had continued for a long time like Damascus in an uncertain dependence on the Empire, had at last recognized

the direct authority of Rome,¹ after the submission of Petra (105). Hadrian had arrived there in the year 130² with his legion of workmen. We do not know what he did there, but he must have left behind proofs of liberality in a city which had, for his general policy, extreme importance, since it stood at the point of contact with two empires, and which, in providing it with the means of developing its commerce, he furnished himself fresh guarantees of peace. On the route leading from Damascus to Palmyra, and from thence to the Euphrates, are to be found the traces of about forty-two posts or castellated forts, at three hours' distance from one another.³ The Roman soldiers could not have held all these posts; but we have proofs that they garrisoned some of those which served as land-marks for the first part of this route; and as Trajan, who came at the end of his life to the East for a great war, had had no leisure to dream of these precautions to secure peace, it was Hadrian that took them when he himself visited these stations. A part ought also be attributed to him in the magnificent constructions which Palmyra began to raise.⁴ He gave them the privileges of the *jus Italicum*, with the title most envied by the provincial cities, that of colony;⁵ and some considerable gifts most certainly accompanied these favours, for the city wished to be styled *Hadrianopolis*.⁶

The province of Arabia was of recent formation. Palma, who had conquered it in 105, Trajan, who had organized it in 106, had not had time to see to everything. What remained of vital importance to do there Hadrian did, since the medals of the

¹ See vol. iv. p. 775. Before this date Palmyra used to furnish auxiliaries; thus Titus, in the war against the Jews, had Palmyrian archers, and such are found among the troops cantoned in Dacia and Numidia.

² A bilingual inscription mentions a statue set up in April, 131, "to Male, who was registrar at the time of Hadrian's tour." Cf. de Vogüé, No. 16, and Waddington, No. 2,585.

³ The Prussian consul at Damascus states that he had this information from Sheik Muhammed-ibn-Dûhi. Cf. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen* (1860), p. 105.

⁴ Cf. Rob. Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra*; these monuments have all the marks of the architecture of the Antonines.

⁵ The name of Aurelius, borne by several strategi of Palmyra, has caused all these benefits to be ascribed to Antoninus, who, before his accession, was called Titus Aurelius Fulvus; the name taken by the city renders the designation of Hadrian more probable. In a neighbouring village there has been found a *naos* dedicated to Baalsamin . . . ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας . . . Ἀδριανού (de Vogüé, *Inscr. aram.*, p. 50).

⁶ Ἀδριανὴ Πόλις (C. I. G., Nos. 4,482 and 6,015).

province are dedicated *Restitutori Arabiæ*. Gerasa commenced with him the series of its imperial coins, and Damascus struck some with the inscription: "To the god Hadrian," or with the double effigy of the emperor and empress. Trajan had made the fortune of Bostrâ by settling a legion there. To show gratitude for some act of liberality from Hadrian, without showing a too lively ingratitude towards his predecessor, the city ceased for a time inscribing on its coins the name of its second founder, but did not replace it by that of the new prince. In the midst of so much base adulation, this restrained flattery was almost dignified. Hadrian was certainly engaged with the old route for camels from Damascus to Petra. His soldiers, whom he knew how to stimulate, constructed, in different directions, military roads, the remains of which may still be seen even on the plains of Moab,¹ and the capital of Hauran became the centre of an extensive commerce, which carried to Damascus the dates of Hedjaz and the perfumes of Yemen; into Arabia, the corn, the raisins of the Jordan valley, and the stuffs of Asia Minor; to the harbours of the Mediterranean, Eastern commodities, which its caravans went to fetch direct from the emporiums of the Lower Euphrates.² Towards the Dead Sea the attention of the imperial traveller, who had no desire to neglect anything curious in nature or art, would be awakened by those dark stories which circulated about this strange lake of heavy bitter waters, which could not support a single living creature, and into which Vespasian had caused strangled criminals to be thrown to make certain that human bodies would float in it. But it was not given, even to the most intelligent of emperors, to find, in visiting these places, the interest which the lowest of our travellers finds there now-a-days, when, aided by the torch of modern science, he sees the lofty summits of Lebanon covered with eternal snows, and from its glaciers violent water-courses descending;³ in Hauran, mountains shaken by the force



The God Hadrian.²

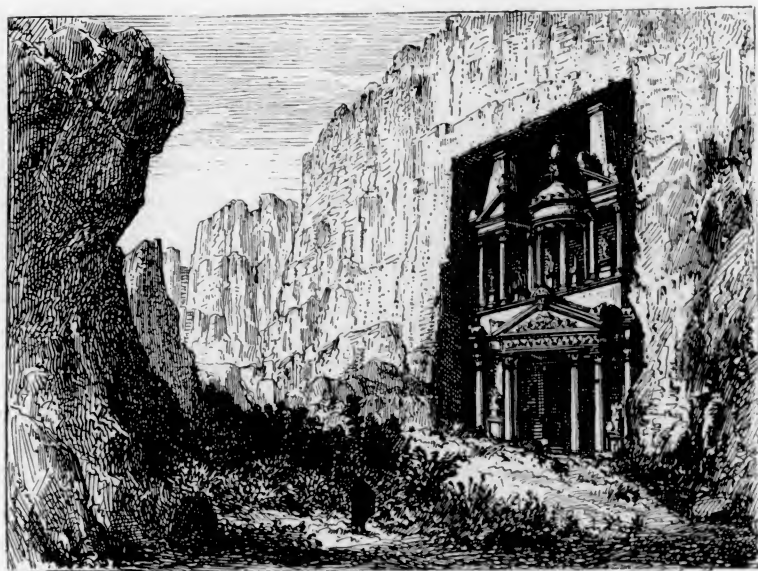
¹ Cf. Rey, *Voyage dans le Hauran*, p. 136.

² ΘΕΟΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ (the god Hadrian). Middle-sized bronze of Damascus.

³ Caussin de Perceval, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. 319.

⁴ M. Lartet believes he has found moraines and striæ made by ice in motion over the rocks

of subterranean fires, and the plain scourged by an internal tempest which arises like a stormy sea:¹ in fine, on a line of 800 leagues, from Bab-el-Mandeb to the sources of the Jordan,



Tomb, at Petra.²

land which has been rent asunder, and to the south of the immense fissure,³ the Indian Ocean tossing between Africa and

of the mountains in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia Petræa. At present Lebanon has snow only in the winter.

¹ All Hauran is covered with craters, cones, and immense rivers of lava broken into a thousand shapes: "One might call them waves raised by a tempest." (Rey, *Voyage dans le Haouran*, p. 63; on the volcanic nature of this region, cf. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*.)

² M. Hittorf believes that the Pompeian painting on page 85 has served as a copy for a tomb two stories high at Petra. MM. de Laborde, Linant, Burekhardt, and Banks have seen this colossal monument, which the Arabs call Karzr Faraoum, *Pharaoh's palace*, and which is higher than the Arc de l'Étoile. Cf. *Revue Archéol.*, 1862, vol. vi. 2nd part, p. 110.

³ The ancients had already called by the name of *Hollow Syria* the northern part of the vast furrow stretching from Lebanon to the Red Sea. The middle portion has received from the Arabs the name of *El-Ghor*, the hollow valley, and the Dead Sea, which scarcely equals the lake of Geneva in area, marks the lowest part of it, 393 mètres below the level of the Mediterranean, according to the latest exploration. See Lartet, *Géologie de la Palestine*, pp. 16, 35, and 236. The evaporation, extremely rapid at the bottom of this gulf, raises in twenty-four hours a stratum of water equal to 13 millimètres. So the Jordan, which at the time when it rises pours in 6,000,000 cubic mètres daily, cannot raise the level. Yet the mountains surrounding it bear traces of a very much higher level, doubtless at the period when Lebanon had

Asia, whilst the waters of the north, arrested by an abrupt sinking of the soil,¹ are massed in the hollow of the Asphaltic Lake, the deepest depression of the three continents. This terrible page of the earth's history had not then been written, and Hadrian, in these same parts, heard mention only of some miserable



Pompeian Painting, which probably inspired the Architect of Petra.

cities, destroyed by the anger of heaven. The legend, as is often the case, was less grand than the history.

From the southern point of the Dead Sea Hadrian reached the Wady-el-Arabah, "the waterless stream," which extends as far as the Red Sea. After a thirty hours' march, he arrived

glaciers. According to the same geologist, the level of Lake Tiberias is 212 mètres below the Mediterranean, but on the side of the hills surrounding it are seen pebbles rolled to a height which proves that the lake had the same level formerly as the Mediterranean.

¹ The watershed which separates the basins of the Dead Sea and the Red Sea seems raised 160 mètres above the ocean.

at the vicinity of Mount Hor, the summit of which, according to the biblical account which the Mussulmans have preserved, is the site of Aaron's tomb, and by a narrow gorge where the sun never reaches he entered the capital of the Nabathæans. Since the time of Strabo there were at Petra many Romans who had come to establish themselves among this people, in whose hands was found, in a great degree, the commerce of the Lower Euphrates and of India with Egypt. There are still to be met with, here and there,



Hathor, the Egyptian Venus. (Cameo in the Cabinet de France, No. 175.)

the remains of a Roman road which unites Palestine to this city, and one of its monuments reminds us of an elegant Pompeian painting. Some of these must surely date from Hadrian's visit, for, as a sign of its grateful acknowledgment, Petra took this prince's name, and began with him its series of imperial coins.¹

In Palestine, Hadrian gave a greater impetus to the works of the Roman colony and the temples which he had founded at Jerusalem—a circumstance which was soon to cause a formidable insurrection to break out.

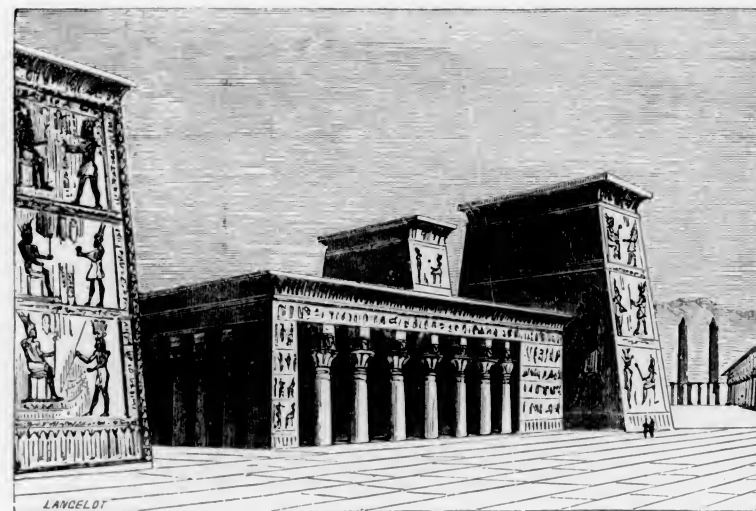
He entered Egypt by Pelusium,² where he did honour to Pompey's memory by raising a funeral monument to him who had temples, but no tomb. Just recently the whole Nile valley had been greatly agitated.³ Apis had manifested himself there after long absence. The strange god was not easy to find, for his worshippers desired that he should prove his divinity by letting a white mark of crescent shape be seen on his brow, on his back the figure of an eagle, below his tongue the form of a scarabæus—requirements which he was unable to satisfy without a little priestly assistance and a good deal of popular credulity. There were other conditions of a supernatural sort which it was still more difficult to verify: Apis ought to be born of a heifer made

¹ Ἀδριανὴ Πέτρα μητρόπολις (C. I. G., No. 4,667). I believe Hadrian passed these places where I have brought him; but I cannot be sure that he visited them in the order which I have followed.

² *peragrata Arabia, Pelusium venit* (Spart., *Had.*, 13).

³ Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.*, xv.

fruitful by a flash of lightning descended from heaven. Thanks to these marvels the god was in great honour throughout the whole of Egypt. The cities had contended for his keeping by main force; even Alexandria, the Greek city, had made claim to this honour. Hadrian was in Gaul at the time of these disorders; he wisely avoided intermixing the imperial authority with them, and left them to settle it among themselves; at his arrival, peace had been long re-established, the god shut up in his temple,



Restoration of the Temple of Philæ, near the Cataracts of Assouan.

and the workmen employed in quarrying his tomb, which a Frenchman has brought to light in the Serapeum, under the hill of Sakkara.¹

Egypt seems to have given very moderate pleasure to this imperial virtuoso. It had lost its vigorous religious and national life; art even had reached the last stage of decadence, as the small temple erected in Nerva's honour near the cataracts of Syene bears witness. An image of Hathor, which is ascribed to Hadrian's time, is neither Greek nor Egyptian, and has neither

¹ M. Mariette. He discovered it with many others, among which was that of the last Apis. The religious revolution which killed the god has left his tomb—a monolith weighing 60,000 kilogrammes—half-way from the *cella* intended to hold it.

the grace of the statues of Ionia nor the imposing majesty of the Pharaonic works. Yet, like the mummies of its priests with their mask of gold, Egypt shone with a strange brilliancy caused by the glories of the past and the riches of the present. No invasion had violated its temples, or overturned the monuments of its kings; the Ptolemies had added works of Greek art to those of the Pharaohs, and it was the centre of an immense commerce, the focus of a burning activity. Minds were at work there as well as hands; all the commodities of the East passed through Alexandria; all the philosophic and religious ideas of the world made themselves heard there. This din wearied the prince, who was delighted with the calmness of Athenian life, feeding his mind in the midst of those *chefs-d'œuvre* of art and thought which, simply by their beauty, gently raised the soul towards higher spheres. Alexandria, a raging furnace in which everything was poured and fused, misshapen scoriae and precious metal, led Hadrian to sigh for the *templa serena* of Greece, whence the sage looked out tranquilly upon the world.¹

Another crime in the eyes of the artist-prince: Alexandria was ugly. Gloomily situated on a desolate sandy shore, between a salt lake and the sea, just where the desert terminated, Alexandria possessed neither the grace of the Greek cities nor the charm of Oriental cities, which are sometimes, like Cairo of the present day, incomparable in their rags. Partly destroyed during the great Jewish insurrection of the last days of Trajan, it had, doubtless, not as yet arisen from its ruins, although Hadrian had undertaken a large share of the expenditure;² and the fine street of Canopus, in spite of or because of its regularity, the palace of the kings, with its immense area,³ the Pharos, which had beauty only for navigators,⁴ were not sufficient to arouse an admiration satiated with the marvels of Greek art.

¹ See in the *Nigrinus* of Lucian, a picture of Athenian life, and in Aulus Gellius (xvii. 8) the simplicity of manners which prevailed there. The philosopher Taurus entertained his pupils in the evening, Aulus Gellius understood, with a dish of lentils and some slices of cucumber.

² S. Jerome, *Chron. ad ann. 118*: *Hadrianus Alexandriam a Romanis subversam publicis instauravit impensis.*

³ Strabo, XVII. i. 8.

⁴ M. E. Allard, civil engineer, has made, in the great work entitled *Les Travaux publics de la France*, a learned study of the ancient lighthouses. He reduces the height of that of Alexandria to 80 mètres, and the range of its light to 22 nautical miles, or about 42 kilomètres.

The friend of philosophers at first felt pleasure in visiting the library, the museum, and in conversing with the savants attracted by these famous schools. He proposed questions to them and discussed them with them; but finding only a confused and empty science, he prepared the ruin of the ancient institution by creating sinecures in it by the bestowal on absentees of "the Egyptian pension,"¹ while he had endowed the schools of Athens and Asia Minor with chairs² which furnished a maintenance there. It was not that he felt at all disquieted at the liberty which was enjoyed there. The emperors had continued a functionary whom the Ptolemies



Sabina.



The Lighthouse.
Coin of Alexandria.³



Coin, commemorative of
Hadrian's Visit to Egypt.
(Bronze struck at Alexandria.)

charged with restraining all exuberance, the epistolographer, a sort of minister of religion and literature. Thus Timon called the museum "the cage of the Muses," meaning by that that the birds of prey kept in this royal aviary were not allowed to sing every sort of song.⁴ In fact, this literature and these philosophies were quite inoffensive. The subtleties of grammar and etymology were the chief items of interest. Ancient texts, not the prince's authority, were discussed; dissertations on metaphysical entities, but not on the best form of government; a life in the mythological times much more than in the present period; and the boldest of them limited his audacity to saving paganism by explaining it allegorically. Magic, theosophy, had their home there; gnosticism flourished there; their views were like streams with

¹ Τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν σίτησιν.

² Θρόνοι (Matter, *l'École d'Alex.*, p. 285).

³ On the obverse, the Empress Sabina: CABINA CEBACTH; on the reverse, Γ. ENNEA ΚΔ. The lighthouse surmounted by a figure standing, placed between two tritons sounding the buccina. Bronze.

⁴ Letronne, *Inscrip. d'Égypte*, vol. i. p. 361: . . . Μουσίων τάλαρος . . . πολυτιμώτατοι ὄρνιθες (Athenaeus, i. p. 22 d). Timon lived under Philadelphus.

ill-defined banks, which stretch out afar and mingle their muddy waters.¹

Hadrian would be less pleased with Memphis, for the Greek kings had in no way respected the capital of the Pharaohs, and for a long while its palaces had been used to build those of Alexandria.

While recently seeing, on the site of this city, heaps of crumbling bricks, and a forest of palm trees waving their graceful heads above the spots where the kings' palaces arose, I asked myself whether Memphis had ever employed, for private dwellings,



Antinous deified.²



Head of Antinous, on a Bronze Medallion struck at Smyrna.

any other material than bricks dried in the sun. This people lived, as at present, in mud houses, but built their temples and tombs to last for ever.³ It does not appear that Hadrian was struck by the gloomy religious majesty of the grand edifices of Upper Egypt. In his villa at Tibur, where he wanted to have a representation of the most beautiful monuments which he had observed during his travels, scarcely a souvenir of Egypt is remarked—the Canopus, a long basin intended for nautical games, and which had nothing else Egyptian than a little temple of Serapis built at the end, and some statues brought from the banks of the Nile, or copied from those of the Pharaohs.

¹ It is possible that one superior man, Ptolemy, was then at Alexandria; at least he was there nine years later.

² Coin with a Greek inscription, signifying *Hostilius Marcellus, priest of Antinous*.

³ Some of the tombs of Memphis exist at Sakkara; but the temples have disappeared. From Strabo's time Memphis was already decaying, and it was drawn from as from a quarry. We have remaining bronze coins commemorative of Hadrian's visit. On one is represented the city of Alexandria going before the emperor, mounted on a quadriga; another represents him sailing on the Nile.



Antinous as Bacchus. Statue found at the Villa Hadriana. (Vatican, Round Room, No. 540.)

Whilst Hadrian was ascending this stream, Antinous was accidentally drowned,¹ or in devoting himself for his master, a god having declared this sacrifice to be necessary for the emperor's safety. If the latter version be correct, this god desired noble sentiments; Hadrian's affection was scandalous and his grief shameful. He made a god of Antinous, whose image was set up in the cities of Asia, and the homicidal divinity returned oracular responses which Hadrian was pleased to compose: a more sanguinary satire on paganism than that of Lucian, who, however, was soon to make such rude warfare against the gods. It is well to note that this worship of masculine beauty belongs exclusively to the Hellenic East. If at Rome and in its environs many busts and statues of Antinous have been found, we have but one Latin inscription in his honour, and no coin of Roman make bears his name.²

This apotheosis, the result of Greek vice, some fine statues of the newly-made god which served to renew the types of Bacchus and Apollo, some inscriptions on the colossus of Memnon, and the foundation of Antinopolis, which a road furnished with watering-places, stations, and fortified posts connected with the ports of the Red Sea³—these are the whole of the souvenirs now remaining of Hadrian's stay in Egypt. There would be one more, if the mosaic of Palestrina represented his tour in this country. This ascription of it must be given up.⁴ I believe, on the contrary, in the authenticity of the letter from the prince to Servianus. The phraseology

¹ This is the account that Hadrian gives of it, who founded a city, Antinopolis, near the place where his favourite died, October 30, 130, at Cheykh-Abâdeh, in the province of Minyeh. Dion pretends that Antinous was immolated in sacrifice as a voluntary victim (lxix. 12). The latter more tragical version was naturally that which circulated most. Antinopolis was built and organized as a Greek city. The tomb of the favourite, worthy of those of the ancient kings, was adorned by a sphinx and obelisks.

² Orelli, No. 823.

³ This route, called *Via Hadriana*, going from Antinopolis to Myos Hormos across the desert, then along the coast to Berenice, was finished in 137, according to an inscription found by M. Mariette and explained by M. Miller, *Revue archéol.* of 1870, p. 313. At Djebel-Dokhan, where are the celebrated quarries of porphyry and red granite, in a valley now uninhabitable, there are seen the ruins of a fortified city, and a temple begun, but not finished, which bears a Greek inscription of Hadrian's time. (Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. p. 148.)

⁴ This statement of the Abbé Barthélemy (*Mém. de l'Acad. des insér.*, vol. xxx. p. 503) disputed by Winckelmann (*Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. chap. v. § 14) is abandoned, and deservedly so. See Maspéro, *Biblioth. de l'École des hautes Études*, vol. xxxv. p. 50. But nothing proves that Hadrian's tour in Egypt did not bring into fashion the reproduction of Egyptian scenes,

of it, it is true, is not imperial, but Hadrian liked to laugh at and banter people. "Very dear Servianus, I well know that Egypt whose eulogy you were praising to me, that inconstant fickle people who, at the least rumour, become agitated and run together, that seditious race, insolent and vain. Their capital is rich; everything abounds there, and no one is idle there. Some blow glass; others make paper or twine flax; every one has a vocation and applies himself to it, even the gouty and blind. The god of all, Christians, Jews, and the rest, is gain. There need be other morals for this city, which by its greatness deserves to hold the first place in Egypt. I have done for it all it has desired of me; I have restored its ancient privileges; I have given it some new ones. While I was there, there was nothing but courtesy. I was hardly departed than they outraged my son Verus, and you know, I think, all that they have said respecting Antinous."¹

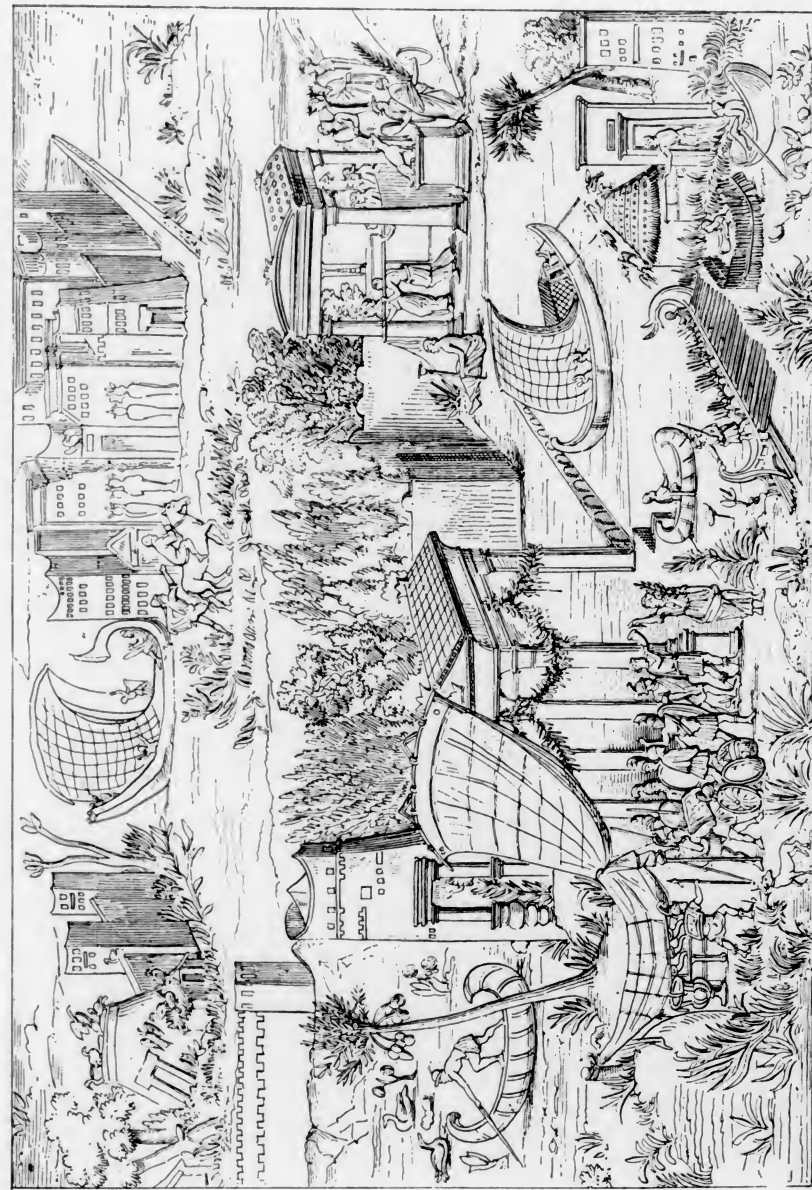
This letter is from an artist whom the din of trades wearies, or from a prince whom liberty of speech irritates: probably both at once; at all events, it seems that Hadrian had in Egypt only been struck with the turbulence of the Alexandrians; but we shall remember, to the honour of his memory, that when insulted by the people of Antioch and scoffed at by those of Alexandria, he was satisfied with answering the former by withdrawing from them a title, the latter by leaving a portrait of them of which every evidence attests the resemblance. Theodosius will be less patient at Thessalonica.

The empress Sabina, who seems to have accompanied Hadrian in many of his travels, certainly followed him to Egypt and ascended the Nile at least as far as Thebes, to see the statue of Memnon, the son of Aurora, who, every morning saluted the appearance of his mother by a melodious sound. We learn from "a blue-stocking,"² the poetess Balbilla, that the god, a bad courtier,

taken by hazard from some Egyptian monuments by a travelling artist, or imagined and grouped by him, to give some idea of the strange country where Hadrian had lately sojourned.

¹ Vopiscus, *Saturn.*, 8, declares he took this letter from the books of Phlegon, a freedman of Hadrian's, and I see no reason for not considering it to be genuine. On the Alexandrians, cf. Dion Chrysostom, *Orat.* xxxii., and Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 6.

² Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 350 *et seq.* Balbilla celebrated this visit by three verses, which she had carved on the leg of the colossus; and as she has dated them, we know that the double visit by Sabina took place on 20-21 November, 130.



Fragment of the Mosaic of Palestrina, thought to be a Souvenir of Hadrian's Travels in Egypt at the time of the Inundation.

seemed at first not to have appreciated the honour done him, and troubled himself but little "about the angry countenance of the empress;" Sabina had to pay him two visits before he deigned to reply. He had been well repaid. Science, cruel like the gods, has slain the son of Aurora, and replaced the charming legend by a phenomenon quite natural: the sound arises from the vibrations which the earliest rays of the sun cause in dispelling the damp with which the rock has become saturated during the night. It is produced in the granite of Karnac; von Humboldt has heard it in those of South America, and in certain atmospheric conditions which call forth a rapid evaporation of humidity, there can be heard everywhere, at the sea-side or in the neighbourhood of extensive woods, those singular noises which country people call "the forest song."¹

We have thus reached the end of these long travels without having been able to state accurately either their order or date;² but it is their character that it is of consequence above all to point out, and this is indicated by the facts which we have brought together. At present we have to say that Hadrian's solicitude, his reforms, his building projects, his benefactions, extended to the whole Empire, for we have coins which prove his passage through twenty-five provinces and his good deeds in twelve:³ *Restitutori orbis terrarum*.

The offices which he allowed himself to accept in several towns have the same character of condescension towards his subjects. Thus, he became prætor of Etruria; dictator, ædile, and duumvir in Italian cities;⁴ demarch at Naples, archon at Athens, quinquennial at Italica and Hadria. It will be said that these offices were but titles of honour, conferred through flattery. I quite



Hadrian, Restorer of the World. (Large Bronze.)

¹ See the excellent Memoir of Letronne on *The Vocal Statue of Memnon*.

² Hadrian, on his return from Egypt, must have stopped in 132 in Palestine, where the great insurrection broke out which we shall relate further on.

³ These are the twelve provinces or regions which caused medals to be struck with the inscription *Restitutori*, viz., Achaia, Africa, Arabia, Asia, Bithynia, Spain, Gaul, Italy, Libya, Macedonia, Phrygia, and Sicily. On others may be read even *Restitutori* or *Locupletori orbis terrarum*. Cf. Cohen, vol. ii., Hadrian, *passim* from 445 to 1088.

⁴ The prætorship of Etruria was a provincial priesthood. The magistrates of some Italian towns had kept the name of dictators.

admit it, although the prince had them discharged by representatives; at all events, they would not have dreamt of offering them to an emperor to whom the whole Empire was within the limits of Rome.¹ Municipal government owes him also an improvement which we have preserved: the right for cities to receive directly—and no longer, as under Trajan, in trust—legacies and donations. It was opening up to them, Roman customs being taken into account, an abundant source of revenue.

In the year 134 Hadrian returned to Italy, and never left it again. There is no need to say that Rome and the peninsula profited, as the provincial towns did, by his taste for building.² He repaired an incalculable number of buildings without effacing the names of the founders, a thing which, for the Romans, was the height of modesty; he built for himself, on the right bank of the Tiber, an immense tomb which has become the *Castle of St. Angelo*, and the bridge which still connects this fortress to the city is his work. Finally he wished that his villa of Tibur should remind him of the monuments and the spots which had most struck him during his travels: the Lyceum, the Academy, the Prytaneum, the Pœcile, some temples and libraries, a theatre, even the Elysian Fields and Tartarus. It was like a museum of the world: a happy thought which proceeded however from a collector rather than an artist, for many of its contents were necessarily out of taste. This valley of Tempe, with its artificial mountains, these monuments reduced to humble proportions and reconstructed at a distance from the material and historic surroundings for which they had been made, would have been an error of taste, if Hadrian, old and worn out,

¹ See other examples cited in the *Index of Henzen*, p. 159.

² Spartan informs us that he made an outflow for the waters of Lake Fucinus, or, more probably, that he set right again the insufficient outlet dug by Claudius. According to Pausanias, he had a harbour made at the ancient Sybaris. An inscription, found at Montepulciano, assigns to him the restoration of the *Via Cassia* from Chiusi to Florence: *Viam Cassiam vetustate collapsam a Chusinorum finibus Florentiam perduxit millia passuum xxci.* (Gruter, clvi. 2). Another inscription, discovered near Nice, recalls the construction of another road: *Viam Juliam Aug. a flumine Trebia quæ vetustate interciderat sua pecunia restituit* (Maffei, *Mus. Veron.*, cexxi. 5); likewise at Suessa: *Viam Suessanis municipibus sua pecunia fecit* (Gruter, cli. 3). At *Cupra maritima* he had rebuilt the temple of the goddess of the place: *Munificentia sua templum deæ Cupræ restituit* (Orelli, No. 1,852). The inhabitants of Feruli in the Sabine country (Muratori, cexxxiii. 4), those of Ostia (Gruter, cexlix. 7), of Tiano (Mommson, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 3,990), of Sorrento (*ibid.*, No. 2,112), etc., have left us inscriptions in which they thank Hadrian for his benefits towards their towns.

had in his villa sought for nothing else than the legitimate pleasure of finding in it at every step some object which awakened in him some recollection of his early years. The Romans did great things and often had the taste for little ones. Read the description that Pliny the Younger gives us of the gardens of one of his country houses. What childishness! And at Pompeii, how many little fountains and little grottoes of rock-work and shells, little



A Part of the Ruins of the Villa Hadriana.

gardens and streams which bear the high-sounding name of *Euripus*! In this respect Hadrian was more Roman than any one, and I do not doubt that there were in his villa some very cockney imitations of famous monuments, as well as arrangements of the ground to form sites and celebrated streams, *e.g.*, the Peneus would be represented by a thread of water. Let us not the less be thankful for a fancy which has presented to us the statues, bas-reliefs, and mosaics discovered in the excavations which for the last two

hundred years have been obtained from this villa,¹ which covered a space three miles long. Many precious objects in the museums of



Drunken Centaur, in *noir antique*, found at the *Villa Hadriana*.²

Rome, the Barberini obelisk which now adorns the promenade of the Pincio,³ have been taken from this rich source; and the

¹ Respecting Hadrian's villa, see Boissier, *Promenades archéol.*, the whole of chap. iv.

² A centaur made prisoner, signed also with the names of *Aristæus* and *Papia*, has likewise been found at the *Villa Hadriana*. They are both in the museum of the Capitol, Salon, Nos. 2 and 4.

³ This obelisk seems to have been brought to Rome since the time of Elagabalus, to adorn the Spina of the *Horti Variani* circus, where it was found at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

European flora have been enriched by a quantity of exotic plants which he had sowed in his gardens at Tibur.¹

So many years passed by this prince at a distance from his capital, so many works completed in Italy and the provinces, at his own expense or after his example, prove three things worth noting: the wealth of the cities able to execute such numerous



Elegiac Inscription commemorative of Hadrian's Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries (Museum of the Louvre). Cf. note on p. 102.

works of utility or adornment; the sound state of the public finances, since the prince took a large part for these expenses; and, lastly, the tranquillity of the Empire, where all went automatically, without dangerous stoppage or violent shock, whether Hadrian sailed on the Nile or hunted in the mountains of Caledonia.

This order depended on the strict discipline of the legions,

¹ The works of the *Villa Hadriana* must have been begun in 123 or 124. (Descemet, *Inscr. doléaires*, p. 135.)

the spirit of justice, which animated, as we shall see presently, the general administration, but also on the activity resulting from public works, which occupying many hands, drove away hunger, a bad adviser, *malesuada fames*. Just as we have found in the foreign policy of Hadrian a principle of government—an armed peace, so do we find another for his internal policy—the extension of public works. As regards the former, he was not in agreement with his predecessor; in the latter he imitated him. In fact, both of them had been great builders, not at all simply from personal taste, but by a rule of conduct which was self-imposed, which they perseveringly applied and on which the nations reckoned. In the dedication of an Egyptian temple these words may be read: “For the welfare of the emperor Hadrian . . . and for the success of the works ordered by him.”¹ No doubt the spectacle of this unceasing activity must have singularly struck their minds, since one finds an echo of them in a form of prayer addressed to the gods and even in an inscription of the hierophant of Eleusis: “I, the high priestess, have initiated the master of the world. . . . He who has poured a stream of gold over all the cities of the universe.”² When then Eutropius said of these princes that “they covered the earth with their buildings,” this writer pointed out a grand political idea and not a puerile satisfaction of vanity.

III.—ADMINISTRATION.

The world had never yet known a like state of prosperity. And this wealth, created by industry or the commerce of the world,

¹ Letronne (*Inscr. d'Égypte*, No. 16) takes the words *τὰ ἱερά* in the wide sense in which we use them. The acts of Vespasian, quoted in vol. iv. p. 666, show that these great public works formed a well-determined system of imperial policy.

² Vilhoison, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xlvii. p. 330. This is a translation of the inscription (given on p. 101): “Mother of Marcianus, daughter of Demetrius, I shall conceal my name. Separated from the crowd of mortals, since the moment when the children of Cecrops nominated me to be high priestess of Ceres, I have buried my name in the darkness of the profound abyss which incloses the impenetrable mysteries. No, it is not the sons of the Spartan Leda whom I have initiated, nor the inventor of those health-giving remedies which triumph over death, nor that valiant Hercules who has been rescued with so much toil from the twelve labours imposed on him by Eurystheus. I have initiated the sovereign of land and sea, him whose vast empire extends over so many nations; him who has poured a stream of gold over all the cities of the world, and principally over the famous land of Cecrops—I mean the emperor Hadrian.” She did not wish to divulge her name, because, being now hierophant, she had only her official title. Thus our sisters lose their family name on entering a convent.

was enjoyed with security; for the terrible law of high treason no longer menaced the heads or fortunes of the rich,¹ and the officials were strictly controlled. Quite recently the senate-house had resounded with accusations which deputies from Bætica, Africa, and Bithynia had come to bring before the senate in the early years of Trajan's reign. Monstrous instances of waste had been met with again, the liberty, even the life of Roman knights sold at a price. With a prince who three or four times made the circuit of the Empire, and who, in each province, stayed long enough to understand everything, with the desire to know all, such charges became no longer possible.

Some executions however had taken place; some provincial governors and treasury officers or procurators had been condemned. When the victims of these unfaithful magistrates were silent from fear, Hadrian himself called forth accusers.³

It is much better to prevent than to cure. Hadrian marked out for the governors of provinces some unchangeable rules. The laws, the edicts, the senatus-consulta, the rescripts of the princes



Hadrian treading a Prisoner under Foot.²

¹ *Majestatis crimina non admisit* (Spart., *Had.*, 17).

² Mutilated statue, found in Crete and conveyed to the museum of the Old Seraglio at Constantinople since 1870. *Gazette archéol.*, 1880, pl. 6.

³ *Circumiens provincias procuratores et praesides pro factis supplicio adfecit, ita severe ut accusatores per se crederetur immittere* (Spart., *Had.*, 13). See in the *Digest*, xxxix. 4, § 1, the rescript on the commodities which the governors caused to be bought for their use.

formed a mass of decisions often contradictory, some of which besides applied only to particular cases or to certain provinces. By the emperor's order, the prætor Salvius Julianus, one of the juriconsults whose works have been useful to the editors of the *Pandects* as much as those of Papinian, brought together the ancient prætorian edicts and all the labours expended on the *Lex Annua*, which the prætors had for a long time transmitted with scarcely any change; he consolidated the provisions which formed, under the already ancient title of the Perpetual Edict, a sort of code of prætorian jurisdiction and a general form of procedure. Hadrian promoted a senatus-consultum which, in the year 131, gave the force of law to this new Perpetual Edict. The prætors, governors of provinces, and all the magistrates charged with the administration of justice had to conform to it, not forgetting to add, for new points which might happen to crop up, formal rules and accessory articles conceived in the spirit of the legislative work whose authority the senate and prince had just sanctioned. It was law put in the place of the arbitrary, a real benefit for the provinces, and the first edition of that grand work which has become the corpus of Roman Law.¹

Hadrian had no intention of stopping, by this step in codification, as has happened at other times and in other countries, juridical development, which had made so brilliant a start.² On the contrary, he encouraged the studies of the *prudentes*, by confirming in a rescript the authority of their official replies, to which he gave the force of law when they were unanimous.³

His good policy enabled the prince, without burdening the peoples, to adorn the cities, pension literary men and artists, relieve the provincials of the cost of maintaining the imperial post, and increase the assistance granted by Trajan to poor children.⁴

¹ Godefroy (*Cod. Theod.*, prol. p. 283) considers that the Perpetual Edict of Julianus has been the source of all the Roman law as far as the publication of the Code of Theodosius II. This is also the opinion of Bach (*Hist. Jur. rom.*, pp. 404-442).

² Julius Celsus, Neratius Priscus, were his contemporaries. I have just spoken of Salvius Julianus.

³ *Sententiæ eorum quibus permissum est jura condere . . . si in unum . . . concurrant . . . id legis vicem obtinet* (Gaius, i. 67).

⁴ See vol. iv. p. 789. He decided that the allowance for maintenance, left by will to an infant till the age of puberty, should be continued, to boys till eighteen, to girls till fourteen. (*Digest*, xxxiv. i. 14.) As regards posts, before Hadrian's time the cities were obliged to keep

But if he desired that the State should succour misery and misfortune he did not intend that the tax-payer should make contributions to himself at the cost of the public treasury. Some months after his accession he had burnt all the debts to the treasury for the last sixteen years, which amounted to the enormous sum of about 200,000,000 francs.¹ Such a high figure of arrears would lead one to suppose that the administration of the finances had been badly conducted or that Trajan's wars had involved the people and the provinces in debt. In order to prevent the return of such abuses Hadrian created a new office, that of fiscal advocate, who was, as regards the financial interests of the State, what our public minister is for the interests of society and respect of the law. In each province the fiscal advocate sought out those who unjustly retained revenue or domain property, and prosecuted them before the procurator of the prince or at the governor's tribunal. But one may rest assured that if this new officer showed diligence in his duties he did not use harshness, for he would have acted against the wishes of the prince who refused the heritages of citizens having families,² who left to the children of those condemned to confiscation a part of the paternal fortune,³ sometimes the whole, while saying these words, still to be read in the *Digest*:⁴ "I like better to enrich the State with men than with money." It was on the part of Hadrian a generous intelligent protest against the practice of confiscation which we have taken seventeen centuries to abolish.

A considerable amount of reform is referable to Hadrian: he is even supposed to have ended the hypocrisy of the imperial government by frankly constituting the monarchy, and Aurelius

provided with the necessary stores the stations, *mansiones*, established on their territory, and they were obliged to supply the official traveller with horses and conveyances on the presentation of his *diploma* or travelling permit (this regulation still exists in Russia). Hadrian seems to have substituted fixed contributions for contingent payments; Antoninus diminished this charge, and Severus, perhaps, made the treasury bear a part of it; but after him the whole charge fell upon the municipalities. The *cursus publicus* served the government, but not private persons. In proportion as its importance increased the expense fell more heavily on the towns, and became one of the causes of their misery. Cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

¹ Orelli, No. 805; Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 478; and Cohen, vol. ii. pl. vi. No. 1,049. A coin represents a licitor setting fire to a bundle of credit notes.

² Spart., *Had.*, 18.

³ The twelfth (*id.*, *ibid.*). Dositheus (§ 9) says the tenth.

⁴ *Digest*, xlviii. 20, 7, § 3.

Victor maintains that the administrative reorganization which he effected was still in existence at the end of the fourth century, except some changes introduced by Constantine.¹ In this too positive opinion may be detected the persistent remembrance of Hadrian's wisdom; it is an act of homage done to the prince who more than any one strove to bring order into every branch of the State. Not that he performed in the second century the work of the fourth, but he prepared it. In this matter we know two important facts: he reorganized the *consilium principis*, and he deprived of the offices in the palace the freedmen who, since Augustus, and especially since Claudius, had been the real chiefs of the administration: all the emperor's secretaries were taken from the equestrian order.² Now to put into offices connected with the palace, in place of freedmen who were blind servants of their master, Roman knights who became functionaries of the State, and by a necessary consequence to reorganize the branches of the government service, was, in fact, to turn the prince's house, hitherto little different from the house of a wealthy individual, into great public offices of administration.

This reform led to another. In obstinately living away from Rome, Hadrian would have paralyzed the course of public affairs had he not made himself present, as it were, in his capital by a government council invested with legal authority. Augustus had constituted a privy council which, if Dion has not transferred to the commencement of the Empire what existed under his own eyes, was already invested with extensive powers.³ But this council does not seem to have survived the first emperor, at least, in the form that the latter had given it. Its action is in no way to be perceived, and what remained of it was only an accidental and

¹ *Officia sane publica et palatina, nec non militie in eam formam statuit, quae, paucis per Constantinum immutatis, hodie perseverant* (Epit., xiv.).

² *Ab epistulis et a libellis primus equites Romanos habuit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 22). Vitellius had already intrusted the offices belonging to the palace to knights. (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 58: *Ministeria principatus per libertos agi solita in equites Romanos disponit*. Cf. Plutarch, *Otho*, 9.) Domitian had done the same (Suet., *Dom.*, 7); an illustrious Roman knight, who was decorated with praetorian insignia and made prefect of the Vigiles, Titinius Capito (Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 17; v. 8; viii. 12), was *ab epistulis* under this prince, under Nerva and Trajan (Kellermann, *Vigil.*, No. 7). But this was exceptional; the rule referred to by Spartian was only established by Hadrian. See Borghesi, vol. v. pp. 14 *et seq.*, and Hirschfeld, pp. 215, 257, 290.

³ See vol. iii. p. 726.

changing reunion formed by chance from imperial friendships. Hadrian constituted it afresh by asking the senators to give their approbation to the appointments which he made of persons of weight, as famous jurisconsults, knights, praetors, even consuls. The choice of the emperor and the sanction of the senate gave to these functions, till then of a private nature, or at least indeterminate, the character of a kind of permanent magistracy. The questions discussed in the committees which he had lately reorganized came before this council and there received their solution.¹ The emperor was able therefore, without disquietude, to traverse the world and seek at Athens or in Egypt milder winters, in Gaul or Illyricum less scorching summers; the Patres had placed in his hands as it were a second abdication, and in his absence, the members of the governing council, supplying the place of the senate, if needful, by the delegation of power which they had received and the place of the emperor whose confidence they enjoyed, assured the despatch of affairs, the tranquillity of Rome, and the safety of the prince. It was not a ministry, for the Romans disliked, as did our ancient kings, any partition of powers; but when men like Salvius Julianus, Ulpian, Papinian, or Paulus, sat at the *consilium*, a minister of justice might be considered as present there. It is therefore not at all astonishing that the beginning of the monarchical transformation, effected under Diocletian, has been carried back to the period when the freedmen were put into the shade, the knights admitted into the central



Coin commemorative of Hadrian's Voyage to Greece.²

¹ . . . in consilio habuit non amicos aut comites solum, sed jurisconsultos aliosque, quos tamen senatus omnis probasset (Spart., *Hadr.*, 18). . . . *Adhibitis in consilio suo consulibus atque praetoribus et optimis senatoribus* (ibid., 22). . . . *Ἐδikaζεν μετὰ τῶν πρώτων* (Dion, lxix. 7). The members of this council were divided into two classes: *conciliares* et *adsumpti in concilium*, as we have titular councillors of state and members of the council or auditors. They were appointed from 60,000 sesterterii up to 200,000, and the difference of the salary marked that of rank. See Wilhams, No. 1,286; this inscription, being *accented*, belongs, at latest, to the end of the second century, and as it gives the emperor the titles of *pius* and *felix*, which Commodus was the first to bear, it is posterior to the year 180. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 135).

² *TOIC AXAIOIC ANEΘHKEN*. Mercury naked, standing, holding the caduceus; in front, a boundary stone. Bronze coin.

administration, the senators, or at least some of them, into the effective government of the Empire.

The supreme civil and criminal jurisdiction intrusted, in Italy, to four consulars and the multiplication of *curators* foretold the approach of the time when ancient rights and old privileges will disappear before equality produced by obedience. Marcus Aurelius will replace Hadrian's consulars by *juridici*,¹ magistrates of less dignity, invested solely with civil jurisdiction; but he will give the criminal jurisdiction to the prefect of the city in the suburban region (as far as the hundredth milestone) and to the prefect of the praetorium in the rest of Italy.² In this way, out of respect for this old territory which had borne the brave populations from which Rome had formed her legions, while giving it the condition of the provinces, the application to it of that name was avoided.

Hadrian's journeys made no change in this order: the imperial post brought quickly to him the opinion of his council. Besides, he took with him a part of those who composed it, so that the government followed him in his wanderings. "Rome," says Herodian, "is where the emperor is."³

I omit a number of unimportant reforms. Hadrian had a passion for regulating everything, just as he had for knowing everything, even family secrets. His police, which by reason of his constant travelling he must have made very active, listened at the doors, looked into the interior of houses, and read, over her shoulder, the letter which a wife was writing to her husband, not, like Tiberius, from suspicion, but like Louis XV., to find amusement and fun. If he multiplied edicts respecting dress, carriages,

¹ On the *juridici*, see Mommsen in the *Gromatici veteres*, edit. Lachmann, vol. ii. pp. 192 et seq.

² The prefect of the praetorium incontestably had this right under Severus; it is probable, but not positive, that it was Marcus Aurelius who gave it him. He renewed the old interdict against commerce by the senators. (Dion, lvi. 16.) As to the right of the prefect of the city, it is noted in the *Digest*, i. 12, 1 pr. and § 4.

³ *Ambulatorium senatum*, says Haubold (*de Consist. principum Rom.*). Cf. Papinian in the *Digest*, xxvii. i. 30: . . . *honor delatus (in consilium adsumpto) finem certi temporis nec loci habet*. 'Επει τε ἡ 'Ρώμη ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾗ (Herod., i. 6). It is probable that to Hadrian is due the enlargement of the *jus Latii*, the difference of which a new reading of the palimpsest of Gaius has well pointed out. In the cities which had the *Minus Latium*, the magistrates alone could acquire the Roman citizenship; in those which had the *Majus Latium*, all the decurions obtained this privilege.

baths, materials from demolished buildings,¹ burials which he interdicted in the interior of cities,² etc., he also made edicts to close the *ergastula*, in which so many slaves, even so many free men, carried off by surprise, were detained and tortured; for depriving masters of the right of life and death over their human beasts of burden and for protecting them against their cruelty,³ for interdicting them, unless by a magistrate's order, from an infamous speculation—the sale of these unfortunates, both men and women, to the proprietor of a brothel or school of gladiators; to prohibit putting indiscriminately to torture all the slaves of an assassinated master, even those who had not been within sight or hearing, and who consequently had not been able to render him help. A matron cruelly treated her women-attendants; he condemned her to five years' banishment.⁴ The human sacrifices to Carthaginian Baal continued; he again proscribed them.⁵ Lastly, employing logic in the service of humanity, he decided that the woman who might have been free at any time during pregnancy would of necessity give birth to a free infant,⁶ and that this child should be by birth Roman if its parents, *peregrini* at the time of conception, should have obtained the freedom of the city before its birth.⁷ In this way he ameliorated the condition of woman, allowed her to make a will,⁸ and recognized in her who had the *jus trium liberorum* the right of recovering the estate of her children who died intestate.⁹ We have seen Trajan restraining the rights of the *patria potestas*;¹⁰

¹ See the *mémoire* of M. Egger on the *Sénatus-consulte contre les industriels qui spéculent sur la démolition des édifices*, 1872.

² *Digest*, xlvii. 12, 3, § 5. The Twelve Tables had forbidden it at Rome.

³ It was a modification of the *senatus-consultum Silanianum* (10 A.D.) but the principal article of which continued in force, for Modestinus says, in the *Digest*, xxix. 5, 18, that the slave who, if able to afford help to his master, did not do so, ought to be punished with death. Cf. Paulus, *Sent.*, iii. 4, and Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, vol. iii. p. 60.

⁴ *Digest*, i. 6, 2.

⁵ See vol. iv. p. 29, n. 1.

⁶ *Digest*, i. 5, 18. This decision of Hadrian has become the teaching of the Institutes of Justinian.

⁷ Gaius, i. §§ 77 and 92. He likewise decided that a child born of a Roman mother and Latin father should be Roman. (*Id.*, i. §§ 30 and 80.)

⁸ *De feminarum testamentis* (Gaius, i. § 115).

⁹ . . . *Licet ea in potestate parentis esset* (Ulpian, *Frag.*, xxvi. 8). This right was recognized in the freedwoman only when she had four children. Cf. in the *Digest*, xxxviii. 17, the *senatus-consultum Tertullianum*.

¹⁰ See *Hist. des Romains*, vol. iv. p. 787.

a decision of Hadrian, given in a particular case, prepared however the ruin of the father's authority so far as he was a judge in his own home. A son had commerce with his stepmother; the father enticed him to the chase and then killed him. The prince condemned him to transportation, not for having made use of the ancient rights of paternal authority, but for having acted as a brigand in the woods.¹

An inscription cites a law of Hadrian on the *coloni*; unfortunately it is lost. But this simple reference proves the clear-sightedness of the prince who regulated a new condition of the rural populations, destined by degrees to replace the ancient servitude.²

Here are edicts and sentences which would serve as excuse for many eccentricities. Never had a similar and more generous effort been made by the legislator to diminish the plague of slavery, a purulent sore which threatened social life. Hadrian's legislation conducts us to the transformation which the ancient form of servitude is to undergo: a large number of slaves will soon be rural peasants (*coloni*).

At Rome, much simplicity of life and dignity of bearing, although he utterly repudiated those who wished to envelop it with indolence, using as a pretext the majesty of rank; and if Antoninus had had any successors, vice at least avoided shocking public modesty. In the palace, the slaves and freedmen kept in the shade; no wine on the table, but repasts seasoned with varied conversation, interesting lectures, or scenic representations. Receptions took place on *fête* days; ordinarily calm and silence prevailed in the imperial residence. Yet there was no affectation of austerity; he shared in the pleasures of his friends as well as in their griefs; he hunted with them and visited them in their illness without permitting them to abuse his affection or acquire from it a credit from which they might gain advantage, "as had been customary for Cæsarians and the *entourage* of the emperors to do."³ In public, as his retinue, the most respected

¹ *Quod latronis magis quam patris jure eum interfecit: nam patria potestas in pietate debet, non atrocitate consistere* (Digest, xlviii. 9, 5).

² The question of the colonial system is discussed in chap. lxxxii. § 4.

³ Dion, lxix. 7.

citizens, and no advances made to the crowd in order to draw from it those acclamations so easily obtained and which so often deceive those who receive them. When he returned from the Forum or senate it was in a litter, so that he might not be followed.¹

Until his death he had the same consideration for the senators. Did foreign ambassadors arrive, he himself presented them to the senate, made known their demands, took the advice of each, and after having received the votes, summed up the reply in accordance with the views of the majority. With the people he was as with the soldiers, rather severe than affable.² One day during the games he was urgently asked a favour³ which he did not think it right to grant; he refused it, and, all the assembly crying out, he ordered the herald to proclaim silence and that the games should proceed. Another time the people pressed him with great clamour to set at liberty a charioteer. He wrote on his tablets: "The dignity of the Roman people does not permit it to ask to set free another's slave nor to compel the owner himself to set him free;" and he threw these tablets into the crowd. At other times he avoided an importunate request by a witticism. A suppliant, whose hair was growing white and who had not been able to obtain some favour, appeared again some time after with his hair dyed and asked for the same situation: "But I have already refused your father," said the prince.

He liked, as we have said, to administer justice, and above all, to do it; when he was seated on the tribunal he was surrounded, "not by his friends or by his intimates, but by the wisest juriconsults, better than whom the senate itself would not have been able to choose, as Julius Celsus, Salvius Julianus, Neratius Priscus."⁴ Dion, who is not favourable towards him, yet remarks that he never unjustly deprived any one of his goods; and the historian adds, with a *naïveté* which is unfortunately a just estimate of certain characters: "He was not at all passionate,

¹ *Omnia ad privati hominis modum fecit* (Spart., *Had.*, 9).

² *Εμβριθῶς μᾶλλον ἢ θωπυευτικῶς* (Dion, lxix. 6).

³ *ἱσχυρῶς αἰτοῦντί τι* (*id.*, *ibid.*).

⁴ Spart., *Had.*, 18.

even towards the nobodies who did him service in acting contrary to his sentiments." But he did not tolerate that the judges should violate the law; and his vigilance, and that by which he overawed the administration, rendered betrayals of trust very difficult.¹ He admitted that the intention and not the fact constituted the guilt, and if, in it, the man has shown bad morals, the prince knew how to recompense good morals by refusing to punish the murderer of an individual who had committed shameful acts of violence against the person of the accused or his own connections.²

It is unfortunate that the grammarian Dositheus, who has preserved some of Hadrian's *letters and sentences*, should have been only a schoolmaster, selecting by chance examples which he set before his scholars. Better chosen and more numerous, these fragments would have allowed us to lift a corner of the veil which hides the customary life of the prince. Such as they are, they show him administering justice or giving advice to all comers in the vestibule of his palace,³ just as the Eastern kings and sheiks do at the gates of their city; and in spite of their insignificance, they help us to seize the true character of this imperial magistracy, composed of well-determined prerogatives derived from ancient republican offices and from the indefinite powers of patriarchal authority.

A man wished to enter the army. "Where do you want to serve?" "In the prætorium." "But what is your height?" "Five feet and a half." "Enter the city cohorts, and if you are a good soldier, you will be able in the third year to be passed into the prætorians." (§ 2.)

An old soldier goes to the palace. "My sons, my lord, have been taken for the militia." "Very good." "But they are very ignorant; I am therefore afraid they will not act according to the regulations and that they will leave me in misery." "Why do you fear that? Are we not in a state of

¹ *De iudiciis omnibus semper cuncta scrutando tandiu requisivit quamdiu verum inveniret* (Spart., *ibid.*, 21).

² *Eum qui stuprum sibi vel suis per vim inferentem occidit, dimittendum* (Digest, xlviii. 8, l. § 5).

³ Some of the requests addressed to the prince were made by writing, *per libellos*; others, *viva voce*.

peace? Their time in the militia will pass peaceably." "Allow me, my lord, to follow them in the capacity of servant." "By the gods, do nothing of the kind. It is not fit that you should be your sons' valet; but take this vine twig. I make a centurion of you."¹ (§ 13.)

Another day he condemns a son to keep his old infirm father, a guardian to furnish his ward with board. A man and a woman who had not contracted a proper marriage, that is, a lawful one, raised a dispute about a child in order to get its share in the public distributions. The emperor ordered the child to appear. "With whom do you live?" "With my mother." Then the prince, turning to the man, said: "Rascal! give up this congiarium which does not belong to you." (§ 11.)

While he was assisting at the distribution of what we should call tickets for bread, a woman cried out: "I beg of you, my lord, to order them to give me a part of my son's congiarium as he has deserted me." The son was present. "I, my lord, don't acknowledge her to be my mother." "Well then, if you insist, I shall no longer recognize you as a citizen." (§ 14.)

A citizen declares that he possesses the equestrian qualification and that he had solicited the concession of the horse of honour (*equum publicum*),² but could not obtain it because of an accusation brought against him. "The man who demands the horse of honour ought to be free from all reproach; prove that your life is without stain." (§ 6.)

In all this there is nothing of importance as regards law or history. Yet, if Tacitus had read the fragments of Dositheus he would not have made Tiberius's presence in the tribunals a reproach to him. The emperor was a military chief, *imperator*, but he belonged also to that age in which society above all saw in the prince a justiciary like Solomon or St. Louis. In the hands of a wise man this faculty of "administering law," *condere iura*, at every turn and on every question has no inconvenience; in the hands of a debauchee, a violent man, or

¹ There were in each legion sixty grades of centurions, all of different rank.

² An old expression, which simply means the inscription on the official list of the knights having the right in the ceremony to take part in the *transvectio*. The knight *equo publico* had first of all the equestrian qualification given by the fortune and rank which the public authority assigned him. Now this rank was necessary for reaching the highest offices.

a fool, it has been already, and will become again, a terrible matter. Hadrian fortunately belonged to the category of wise men.

Such a prince deserved to be well served, and so he was, because he had the quality which in a prince can take the place of all the rest: he knew how to find out useful men and to give them those duties which they were best able to fulfil. But the writers who have preserved so few things about the emperor tell us nothing of his lieutenants. He had such, however, as were worthy of ancient times. Thus Marcius Turbo, his best general, who became prefect of the prætorium, astonished the effeminate *grande*s of Rome by his activity and austere life. He passed the whole day in working at the palace and often returned to the prince in the middle of the night. Never was he seen, even when ill, to shut himself up in his house, and Hadrian, pressing him to take some repose, he answered in the words of Vespasian: "A prefect of the prætorium ought to die standing."¹

Sulpicius Similis was another severe guardian of discipline. Trajan having summoned him to his tent—a simple centurion before the tribunes—he said to the prince: "It is a shame, Caesar, that thou shouldst converse with a centurion whilst the tribunes are standing at thy door and waiting." He took, in spite of himself, the command of the prætorium, retired from it as soon as he was able, passed in the country the rest of his life, seven years, and caused to be inscribed on his tomb, "Here lies Similis, who existed seventy-six years and lived seven."²

The conqueror of the Jews, Julius Severus, a man both of authority but at the same time of justice, had gained such renown in his government of Bithynia that, more than a century after, his name was still venerated there. Arrian is another proof of the suitableness of Hadrian's selections. A distinguished writer, an exact historian, a good general, and a skilful, provident chief of a frontier province, he merited his prince's esteem and he gained that of posterity.

Yet Hadrian has been reproached with base jealousy and

¹ Dion, lxi. 18.

² *Id.*, lxi. 19.

cruelty; but it is easy to recognize the source of these reproaches. During his unceasing travels he led the government about with him along all the high roads of the empire. Formerly the real power remained at least in the capital, and from a distance the distinction of Palatine and senate-house was hardly seen. With Hadrian the illusion was no longer possible. What then were the idlers of Rome doing, the old politicians out of office, the young elegants without war, without commands obtained "before their first beard?"¹ What were they saying under the porticoes of the Forum of Trajan, along the Via Sacra, and in all the patrician houses? That the *Græculus* was moreover a little mind; that this provincial found pleasure in those of his own sort;² that this great lover of peace was afraid of war. He was not reproached for his vices, for they were those common to all, nor yet for his cruelty, since no one saw any executions; but it was insinuated that he greatly desired some victims, and his caprices were exaggerated; domestic quarrels between himself and the sophists in his *entourage* were raised to the dignity of State matters. Finally, as his marriage had been sterile, they attributed to Sabina abominable proposals, and without drawing upon the imagination they put into his mouth the words attributed already to Nero's father: "Of her and myself there can only



The Empress Sabina as Venus Genetrix.³

¹ *Nec tribunum nisi plena barba faceret* (Spart., *Had.*, 10).

² *In colloquiis etiam humillimorum civilissimus fuit* (Spart., *ibid.*, 20).

³ Statue found at the *Augusteum* of Otricoli. (Vatican, *Musée Pio Clem.*, vol. iii. pl. 8).

be born a monster fatal to the human race." It would not do to conspire against a prince who possessed the personal devotion of thirty legions. So this happened only on his accession, when he was thought not to be firmly established, and at the close of his life, when it was thought that mind and hand were grown weak.¹ But they indemnified themselves by misrepresentations: a petty war of which Antoninus was so afraid that he dared not, during his whole reign, leave Rome.

Now, the gossips greedily listened to these scandals and gathered them for others, who put them in writing. This is how we find them in the poor histories of this time—Spartian and Dion, especially the Dion of the monk Xiphilinus. With such writers we are bound to give no consideration to vague accusations, or statements without proof, when they are contradictory to the proved character of men or to well-known events. Thus Dion, attributing to jealousy the abandonment of Trajan's conquests and the destruction of the bridge over the Danube, gives evidence of folly as great as when he makes out Hadrian envious of the dead, even of Homer, and as healing himself of his first attack of dropsy "by reducing, aided by magic and enchantments, the water which swelled his body." Spartian seriously asserts that the emperor "had such a deep knowledge of astrology that he wrote down on the evening before the calends of January all that would happen to him in the coming year." Later on he charges him "with the violence of his natural cruelty," *vim crudelitatis ingentem*, and he adds: *ideirco multa pie fecisse*.² To admit an innate cruelty which should have the singular effect of being the motive of good actions, something else would be needed besides phrases from which nothing comes when they are sifted. We have had too many examples of this unfortunate mania in a writer of genius like Tacitus, to accept without proofs the statements of authors of the decadence, in whom the critical faculty completely fails as well as the taste for method and precision, but who, in exchange, are already endowed with the silliest credulity.

We read in Dion: "His jealousy of superior talents ruined a

¹ . . . *Quam animo parum valeret, ideircoque despectui haberetur* (Aur. Victor., *de Cæs.*, 14).

² *Hadr.*, 16, 23. See, at the beginning of the following chapter, the ridiculous story told by Aur. Victor (*de Cæs.*, 14) respecting the adoption of Antoninus.

great number of people and caused the loss of some. It is in this way that he sought to rid himself of Favorinus the Gaul and of Dionysius the Milesian."¹ One might believe, from these words, that some sad accident happened to these two men. Now Dionysius was created a Roman knight and Favorinus died full of years in the last days of Antoninus. Caught up once by the prince respect-



The Empress Sabina.²

ing an expression, he had yielded the point immediately, and his friends rallying him for having given in so quickly, he had replied: "You will never persuade me that the most learned man in the universe is not he who commands thirty legions." It would be just to impute this expression to the want of spirit in the sophist; it is charged to the prince, who is thus represented as

¹ *lxi. 3.* Spartian says, on the contrary (16), that Favorinus surpassed all others in his friendship, and does not state that this favour had ceased.

² Bust in the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 33. The dress is in alabaster.

being impatient of the slightest contradiction. They tell of the same personage that he was astonished at three things: "That a Gaul, he spoke Greek; an eunuch, he had been charged with adultery; and, lastly, hated by the emperor, he was still alive." The eunuch was not at all modest in boasting of having been the object of an emperor's hatred; and if he preserved, as it seems,¹ Antoninus's favour, it is because Hadrian had not even driven him from his court. All the ill perhaps that he had received had been that of seeing himself preferred to other sophists. Dionysius of Miletus, and the philosopher Heliodorus also lost their credit; but Epictetus kept his, and Arrian, his disciple, "was taken from his books" to be made consul.

We know that Hadrian was fond of being surrounded by men of letters and artists—a race sometimes disputatious, and a republic full of storms, because their vanity is always easily aroused. "The prince can give thee wealth and office," said Dionysius to Heliodorus, whom Hadrian had just taken as secretary, "but he will never make an orator of thee." That a wayward mood possessed him on certain days, when fatigued, and that in his disputes with them, on some grammatical or philosophical point, he may have reminded them, by an imperious reply, of the quality of their opponent, would not be astonishing. He was fond of a laugh, and called forth disputes in which he gave back verse for verse, point for point, without sparing his opponent.² One of these sophists³ claims the immunities which the law accords to philosophers: "He, a philosopher," responds Hadrian, "what a mistake!" and he refuses. The expression was hard and the behaviour disobliging; but from a word, even if sharp, to an axe-blow, the distance is great, and I do not believe that it had been overleaped by the prince who loved literature too well to persecute its representatives.

"He honoured and enriched," says his biographer, "all those who gave themselves up to teaching, and sent away, but not till he had loaded them with goods, those who were not capable of

¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Atticæ*, xx. 1.

² *Acer nimis ad lacesendum pariter et respondendum seriis, joco, maledictis: referre carmen carmini, dictum dictui* (Aur. Victor, *Epit.*, 14).

³ Favorinus, *ap. Philostratum, Vitæ Soph.*, i.

sustaining the renown of their profession." That is our mode of compelling a retirement with all the honours of long service. Let us remark without stopping at their history, that during this reign there flourished: Plutarch, one of Hadrian's masters; Suetonius, his secretary, who lost his favour for an offence against the empress; Phlegon, his freedman, who wrote, under the dictation of his master, his history; Arrian, a skilful and learned captain; Ptolemy, the illustrious geographer; Pausanias, Aulus Gellius; lastly, a famous grammarian, Apollonius Dyscolus or the Ill-tempered. Juvenal was just dead, and Lucian, Apuleius, had as yet written nothing. Thus erudition dominates and higher literature is dead, for while every one makes verses or declaims, neither an orator nor a poet is found.

We have been able to rate cheaply Hadrian's quarrels with the sophists, but there would remain one hateful blot upon his name, if it were true that Apollodorus was put to death in revenge for his criticisms of the plan of a temple designed by the emperor. I find it difficult to believe this wicked act, and what is related about it is very obscure. They say that during Trajan's life Apollodorus became embroiled with the future emperor by referring him to his paintings one day when Hadrian wished to speak to him of his building plans, and that this rudeness was made the ground of his disgrace. Yet he still continued in favour, since the new prince charged him with the construction of a colossus which he wished to dedicate to the Moon, to be placed by the side of that of Nero, which the latter had dedicated to the Sun.² The recital of Dion Cassius, or rather of his abbreviator Xiphilius, is full of inconsistencies. Hadrian, he says, banished Apollodorus, but continued a correspondence with him; he even asked him to write the book on warlike implements of which we have already made mention and which commences thus: "Sir, I have read your letter respecting war machines, and I am glad that you have judged me worthy of executing such a work." Further on he adds, "In my more prosperous days when we were together with the army . . ." These sad but gentle words do not imply much hatred in the exile's heart towards his persecutor, nor that this

¹ Spart., *Hadri.*, 16.

² *Id.*, *ibid.*, 19.

request of the prince was a very strong source of irritation for the persecuted man. There is something here which has not come down to us. If the emperor did not put an end to the penalty of exile, it may be that the senate had pronounced it as the consequence of a fault the recollection of which was still fresh. Dion assures us that Hadrian ended the matter by ordering his death, for having said of a statue which the prince wanted to place seated in a temple: "It is too tall; in rising up it will break the roof." This skilful artist could not possibly have made to so expert a connoisseur an objection contrary to the ideas of the ancients respecting the statues of the gods, and which would have condemned Phidias at the same time as Hadrian. It is just as difficult to admit that the murder of the great architect could take place unperceived. Now Spartian, who is by no means gentle in his accusations of cruelty against the prince, and who speaks of Apollodorus, makes no allusion to his sudden death. Eutropius and Aurelius Victor knew no more of it, or at least say not a word about it. If it be a fact, we must find some other motives than those assigned, for this murder, such as it is related, would have been an act of foolish cruelty, and we have the right to say that Hadrian did not commit such acts.¹

There is a question which, at the point we have reached of the history of the Empire, must be put respecting each prince: What conduct did he exhibit towards those who were called the "desperate," and who opposed the apotheosis "of the Crucified One" to that of the emperor?

The faith which was expiring encountered that which was beginning, and they mingled like two rivers which have reached their confluence: some Christian sects differed so little from the pagan, that regarded from a distance and hastily, it was hard to distinguish the devotees of the two religions. We have quoted² from one of Hadrian's letters, but omitted a passage relating to the Christians in order to introduce it here. "In Egypt," he says, "the Christians are the worshippers of Serapis, even those

¹ Dion, lxi. 4. It must not be forgotten that we have not the text of Dion, and that perhaps the two words, *ἐφώνευσεν αὐτόν*, are an interpolation by Xiphilinus, for, in chapter 2, Dion says of the government of this prince, *φιλανθρωπία πέραν ἡρώεας*, and he only reproaches him for the executions of 119 and 137.

² See above, p. 94.

who call themselves Christ's bishops. In this country there is neither Jewish rabbi, nor Samaritan, nor Christian priest, who is not an astrologer, a diviner, and an impostor.¹ Even the patriarch, when he comes to Egypt, is forced by some to worship Serapis, by others Christ." It is clear that Hadrian felt some concern for the problems which were being agitated under him; but like the powerful and fortunate of the time, who regard from a distance and disdain new ideas, he confounded with the God of the Christians him whom the Lagidæ had made the supreme god of life, death, and resurrection.

Yet the emperor ought to have been better informed in Christian dogmas, for, at Athens, he had admitted Aristides, a converted philosopher, and Bishop Quadratus, the earliest apologist, to present to him a defence of their faith (126). The Church, with its organization and rites, then of a simple character, had no power to inspire with disquietude this tolerant prince. He had no wish to accuse them, as Domitian did, of Judaizing, or like Trajan, of forming secret societies, and he connected their doctrine of the Trinity with the purest doctrines of Plato [or with the Egyptian Trinity]. The Christians, whose apologists appeared before him in the philosopher's cloak,² seemed to him to form a philosophic school, to which he gave the liberty which he left to all the rest. If they were possessed with a spirit of proselytism, everybody then had it to such a degree that we can consider Seneca, Epictetus, Dion Chrysostom as spiritual directors; that many regarded Apollonius of Tyana as the Messiah; and that the roads and streets were blocked by preaching philosophers whose portrait Lucian has left us, which, except in the matter of dress, is the exact picture of certain mediæval preachers.

Several, and among others, Licinius Silvanus Granius,³ pro-consul of Asia, wrote to the emperor, that it did not seem just in their opinion to put a man to death because the populace cried:

¹ Vopiscus, *Saturn.*, 8. The word *alipites*, anointer with oil, is explained by the word *medic* of the preceding chapter, evidently taken in a bad sense.

² Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.*, ii. 328: "Aristides was a philosopher by profession, and kept his dress when he embraced the faith." Many Christians also wore the philosopher's cloak, as S. Justin testifies (*Dial. cum Tryph.*, init.), and Tertullian after his conversion (*de Pallio*).

³ See Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiat.*, i. pp. 197 et seq.

"To the beasts with the Christian!"¹ We have one of Hadrian's replies, that which was addressed to Minucius Fundanus, the successor of this sensible man. Justin has inserted it entire in his first *Apology*, and Eusebius has given a Greek translation of it in his *Ecclesiastical History*. Without revoking the very precise instructions given by Trajan to Pliny—an act which would have been equivalent to an official recognition of Christianity—Hadrian seems to have sought, by the vagueness of his reply, to furnish a pretext to the judges of only punishing the Christians for breaches of the common law. "If any one," says he, "accuse the Christians and prove that they have done anything contrary to the law, judge them according to the crime that they have committed; if they have been calumniated, punish the calumniator."²

It may be said that this granted nothing, since the laws of the Empire condemned the Christians. Without doubt, and first of all, by his rescript, Hadrian interdicted violence, tumultuary executions, and made legal procedure obligatory; then, in an absolute government, the laws depend upon the spirit that applies them; and it was very likely that the imperial administration put the toleration which was intended by its chief into the equivocal expressions made use of by Hadrian, since Justin found that this rescript contained all that the Christians could ask at the hands of the emperors.³

Antoninus likewise granted them actual tolerance, which was at first sufficient.

¹ If the letter of Tiberianus, governor of Palestine, given by Malala and Suidas, were authentic, it would be necessary, also, to admit Trajan's reply, ordering Tiberianus and the other governors to leave the Christians in peace. But Tillemont rejects it (vol. ii. p. 578).

² It has been thought that the rescript was a sort of amnesty given, in 127, on the occasion of the first *fête* of the *decennalia* of Hadrian.

³ See Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, iv. 8 and 9, the last edition of S. Justin, by Th. Otto, *S. Justin's opera*, Jena, 1847, vol. i. p. 162 *ad fin.* *Apolog. prima*, *ὁκ . . . μᾶλλον ἡξιώσαμεν*, and the work of M. Aubé, *Saint Justin, philosophe et martyr*, pp. xlvii.—xlix. Sulpicius Severus and S. Jerome speak of a violent persecution under Hadrian. The Jansenist, le Nain de Tillemont, would like to say as they do, but his impartiality obliges him to say: "Eusebius and the greater part of the others do not relate it. And, in fact, it does not come from any edict of this prince, as it is easy to prove by S. Melito and Tertullian." (*Hist. des Emp.*, ii. p. 319.) S. Irenæus (iii. 3) cites only one martyrdom, that of Telesphorus. Melito, bishop of Sardis, under Marcus Aurelius, complains that the Christians were then persecuted in Asia by the *edicts* of the municipal magistrates, "a thing which," says he, "has never been done," and he does not know whether these edicts were published by the emperor's order or unknown to him. (Euseb., *Hist. eccles.*, iv. 26.) Cf. Dion, lxx. 3, which shows Antoninus "surpassing the marks of esteem with which Hadrian had honoured the Christians."

What would have happened if this policy had been continued by the successors of these two princes; if some had not sought to extinguish Christianity in blood; if others had not delivered up to it the government? All the crimes committed by persecution, which exalted the heroism of the martyrs, would have been avoided, and also the hatred against pagan society, its arts and literature; and Christianity, filtering gradually into men's minds, would have transformed the world peaceably, without becoming, first of all, public authority, next territorial power, having force and employing it, and making martyrs after having itself furnished them. Then would it have been for the Empire an element of regeneration instead of being a cause of dissolution. But the government of the world is by means of passion much more than by wisdom; and this idea of the separation of the temple and the forum, or, to call it by its modern name, the separation of Church and State, which can never enter a Greek or Roman head, is a fruit which will require thousands of years to reach maturity.

As for Hadrian, there remains to him the honour of having acted as if he had a deliberate respect for conscience. Under him, no one, *by order of the prince*, suffered for his belief, either in person or in goods. Yet there were cruel religious wars. In the early days of his reign, his generals had crushed the Jewish insurrection which had broken out under Trajan, at Cyrene, in Egypt, in the isle of Cyprus, where the working of the copper mines, conceded by Augustus to Herod on condition of sharing the revenues with the imperial treasury, had attracted a very large number of Jews. As in all wars made in the name of heaven, abominable cruelties had been committed on both sides. In Cyprus alone 240,000 persons had perished, and the Jews had been forbidden, under pain of death, to set foot in the island: even one who was driven thither by stress of weather obtained no mercy.¹ Elsewhere, similar cruelties; not only are tortures spoken of, but immense massacres and cannibalism. "In Cyrenaica," says Orosius,²

¹ Dion, lxiii. 32. The historian Appian took part in this war, and nearly fell a victim in it; see the curious fragment of his xxivth book, found and commented on by M. Miller, *Rev. archéol.*, 1869.

² vii. 12. Cf. S. Jerome, *Chron.*, *ad ann.* 121, and Eckhel, *Doctr. num. vet.*, vol. vi. p. 497.

"almost the whole population had perished, and if Hadrian had not sent there numerous bodies of colonists, the land would have been void of inhabitants and uncultivated."

This time it was the [Jewish] colonies who had taken up arms. Exhausted of inhabitants, and moreover held in check by powerful garrisons, watched by skilful generals, the mother country had not possessed the strength to commence war on a large scale by means of arms; but it continued the struggle, and on the ruins of the material country some men had given themselves the task of creating the spiritual country of the Hebrew people.

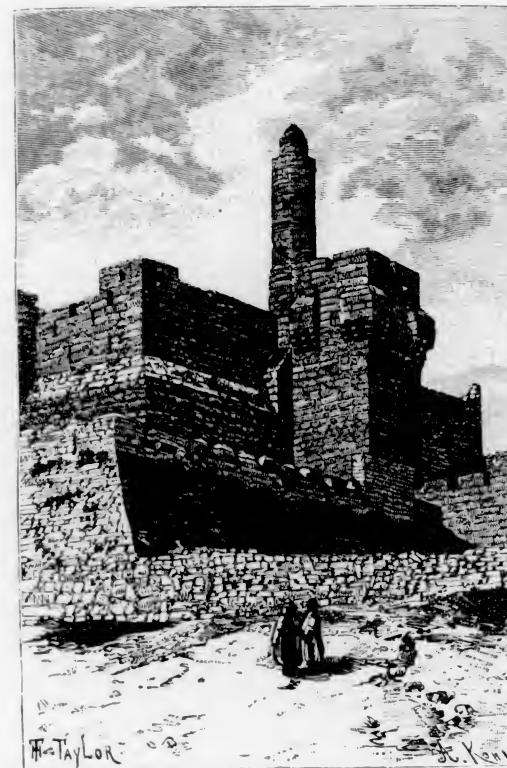
After the fall of Jerusalem the doctors of the law who had survived that awful catastrophe took refuge at Iabné (Jamnia), later on at Tiberias, and had there opened schools, which kept alive the zeal for the law amongst the vanquished, which nothing could extinguish, because they felt themselves in possession of doctrine superior to the force which had overwhelmed them.

It was by the schools, by the doctrinal teaching such as it was then understood, that the national movement was prepared, and it was in them that the Jews placed their hopes of safety. The legend of Akiba, the most celebrated of these doctors of the law,¹ is a touching evidence of it. In his youth the new Moses kept the flocks of Kalba Scheboua. His master's daughter, struck with the character of the young shepherd, asked him to marry her, but on condition that he should go previously to get instruction and to gain disciples. Akiba went; at the end of twelve years he returned, followed by 12,000 disciples, and while approaching the house of his bride he overheard the father saying angrily to his daughter: "Foolish child! how long dost thou mean to await unmarried him who has abandoned thee?" And she replied: "If my spouse intends to do as I desire him, he will pass twelve years more in study." Akiba immediately returned to his books, and after the prescribed time came back with 24,000 disciples. His bride rushed to meet him who had become the most celebrated of the doctors of the law, threw herself at his feet and embraced his knees. The disciples would have repulsed this woman in rags,

¹ "Like Ezra, he is called the Restorer of the Law, and compared to Moses" (Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 396).

in whom they had not recognized their native land in mourning; but the master cried out: "What are you doing? She it is to whom you owe all your knowledge."

Till then, among the Jews, teaching had been oral, traditional; the Law only was written. The school of Tiberias, foreseeing new



Remains of the Fortifications of Jerusalem, called the "Tower of Hippicus."

misfortunes and a new dispersion, resolved to reduce to writing, after having discussed them for the last time, all the decisions of the doctors, all the prescriptions that usage had introduced, all the rules of conduct that wisdom had found out. This was the code of laws, civil and religious, the *Mishna* or *law repeated*, which the school reduced to writing, to constitute, for all time and place, the moral bond of the nation.

When the school of Tiberias had prepared this immense work, a final tempest might arise and the Jews of Palestine perish in battles or executions: the Jewish nationality was saved.

In order to prevent the return of these insurrections which imperilled peace in the East, Hadrian did not have recourse to religious persecutions against individuals. He thought he should make them renounce their imperishable expectations of the advent



Coin of Bar Kokaba.²

of Messiah if he proved to them the hopelessness of those promises by blotting out even the name of Jerusalem. On the ruins of the Temple there had been encamping, since the great siege, a part of the legion *Xa Fretensis*;¹

Hadrian employed it in clearing the ground, and in the year 122 (?) a numerous colony was established at the foot of Mount Zion. The city of David took the name of the emperor and of Jupiter Capitolinus, *Ælia Capitolina*. On the places where every year the faithful came to worship Jehovah, the only God, they found the altars of all the Olympian divinities. Even the rite peculiar to their faith was proscribed: the imperial police prohibited the Jews from circumcizing men of foreign race.³

The Jews appeared resigned to the loss of their political independence; they rose to avenge the outrage done to their God (132). Insurrections burst forth at various points; then all the

¹ See *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1872, p. 158.

² *Simon*, in a crown of laurel; traces of the Latin inscription *TIAN. AVG.* On the reverse, *Deliverance of Jerusalem*, around a three-stringed lyre. Jewish coin, restruck on a denarius of Domitian.

³ Spart., *Had.*, 13. Hadrian had not interdicted the circumcision of Jews by birth, which would have been a religious persecution, and he felt repugnance to such a measure, which no emperor had ever ordered; he had simply renewed the edict of Vespasian, which forbade Jewish propagandism outside the nation. (*Hist. des Romains*, vol. iv. p. 726.) Some too zealous agents having made a general measure of it, Antoninus explained that the prohibition did not apply to the sons of Jews. (*Digest*, xlviii. 8, 11). The imperial policy had, in these and other like questions, such continuity that the measures of Severus respecting the Jews were the same as those of Vespasian: *Judeos fieri vetuit*. One of the principal arguments of S. Justin in his *Apology* to prove the truth of Christianity is that the Christians are persecuted and that the Jews are not. When he enumerates (*Dial.*, 16, 19, 46) the ills which have struck the Jews since their revolt, he does not mention the prohibition of circumcision. On the contrary, he says, "That rite was given you in order to separate you from the other nations, and that you should suffer alone what you now suffer justly." And those evils, he adds, have been the desolation of their country by war, their cities delivered to the flames, and their being interdicted from going up to Jerusalem.

people armed themselves under the leadership of a man who showed such courage and audacity that the Jews, again deceived by the never-ceasing illusion, saw in him the promised Saviour, "the Star which was to arise out of Jacob." Akiba, recognizing him as being the promised Messiah of Israel, handed him, in the presence of the chiefs of the nation, the commander's staff, and held his stirrup when the "Son of the Star," Bar Kokaba, mounted his war-horse.¹

The Romans were surprised, and suffered at first some checks, which were concealed, and during three years the national chief was master in "the royal mountain," a chain of heights which stretches from Samaria to Idumæa. We still possess some coins which he caused to be struck, and which are dated by the years "of the deliverance."² The Christians, as at the time of the siege of Jerusalem, kept themselves apart; accused of betraying the common cause, they were persecuted and put to death when they refused to abjure.³ But auxiliaries came from all the neighbouring countries, and what the emperor had at first regarded as one of those local disorders about which the Romans used not to trouble themselves, took the form of a public peril which required the most energetic measures. He summoned from the depths of Britain his best general, Julius Severus, gave him able lieutenants, sufficient forces, and ordered him to avoid general actions, to advance slowly but surely, leaving behind him neither man nor house. More than 900 large villages were destroyed, fifty strong places taken and razed, 180,000 men perished with arms in their hands. "But who can compute," says the historian, "those who succumbed to hunger, to misery, or to the flames of the conflagrations?" Judæa was nothing but a desert.⁴ Bar Kokaba died a soldier's death—he fell fighting; the doctors of the law, who had shut themselves up in the last fortress belonging to the insurrection, Bether, died in tortures; Akiba

¹ We do not know his real name. M. Derenbourg (*Biblioth. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. xxxv) and M. Renan (*l'Église chrétienne*, p. 197) call him Bar Kōzibā and Bar or Ben Coziba, the son of Coziba. [It is often written Barchocheba.—*Ed.*]

² Cf. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 154 et seq.; de Saulcy, *Lettres sur la numismatique judaïque* (*Revue numismatique*, 1865); Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 424. M. Renan (*op. cit.*, p. 547) believes that the coinage of Bar Coziba only consisted of restruck coins.

³ S. Justin, *Apol. IIa*, and Orosius, vii. 13.

⁴ *Itiner. Hierosolym.*, p. 159, edit. Wessel.

was torn in pieces by red-hot pincers, and the wild beasts of the Roman amphitheatres were glutted with the flesh of the captives. To those not killed or sold as captives approach was forbidden to *Ælia Capitolina*; only one day annually were they permitted to come and weep over the ruins of the Holy City.¹

When, on seeing the leader of the insurrection, Akiba had exclaimed: "Behold the Messiah!" a doctor had replied: "Akiba, the grass will have grown between thy jaws before the Messiah appears;"² and it seemed that this hard saying was true for the race itself. The work of blood had been foiled, and it might be thought that this people was annihilated: but the work of the spirit triumphed.

It was in vain to scatter them over all the continents, and let loose against them all the furies, like Æneas conveying from the ruins of Troy the Penates and the sacred fire of the national hearth, the fugitives went forth with a new ark of the covenant. The school of Tiberias, kept in the background, completed the great work of the *Mishna*; and the common country found itself wherever the book which represented it was carried. Thanks to it, from the banks of the Ganges to the borders of the Tagus, from the depths of Poland to the foot of Mount Atlas, the Jews so well preserved their language and law, that throughout the Middle Ages their doctors went from one end of Europe to the other and everywhere found fellow-citizens.

This people of the Unity, who have always desired one only God and only one Temple, had need of but one book in order not to perish. What a triumph of mind over force!³

¹ Dion, lxi. 12-14. Hadrian demanded in the senate the triumphal decorations for Julius Severus, *ob res in Judea prospere gestas* (C. I. L., iii. No. 2,830), and he himself then received his second salutation as imperator.

² Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

³ The *Mishna* includes six books, each of which is divided into several treatises, divided into more than 500 chapters. The numerous comments, made in the course of centuries on the different parts of the *Mishna*, have formed the two Talmuds. The *Massora* or *transmission* was entirely a system of punctuation, signs and writing, contrived to make unalterable the text of the sacred books, copies of which, minutely collated with the originals, were solemnly delivered after a public benediction. Thus it is that the Jews raised a *quicksset hedge*, to use their expression, around their national faith, in order to prevent the intrusion of any foreign element; and this sort of moral fortification has protected the new Jerusalem better than the cyclopean walls of the city of David. The *Kabbala* was another arm, but for offensive warfare. It was a means for giving circulation, in spite of the enemy's vigilance, to the projects, hopes, and doctrines,



Jews weeping, leaning against the Wall of Jerusalem.

However, Hadrian was advancing in years; the dark years had come with old age and infirmities; there was need to think of the future emperor.

Like all the princes since Cæsar, except Claudius and Vespasian, Hadrian had no son. He obtained the authorization of the senate to nominate his successor, a thing easy to demand, dangerous to obtain, for if it gave in advance the legal consecration to the prince's choice, which was a guarantee of order, it set in movement all ambitions, and aroused the hopes which disappointment might turn into discontent.

He hesitated a long time, and when one of his friends showed his astonishment: "It is very easy for you," he replied, "to speak so, who seek an heir for your property and not for the Empire." At last he decided in favour of L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, son-in-law of that C. Avidius Nigrinus who had conspired against him.¹ Was it a reparation granted to the family of a man whom he had loved and a protest against the haste of the senate in putting him to death? At any rate, Hadrian, by this resolution, showed himself to be above the petty spites of a vulgar mind. A gift of 300,000,000 sesterces to the soldiers and of 100,000,000 to the people secured their assent.

Verus, descended from an old Etrurian family, had, says his biographer, a kingly beauty, and this beauty served as a pretext to the slanderous tongues of Rome as an explanation of his adoption. The man who, after Verus, secured the Empire

which the initiated alone could understand by the aid of a combination of letters, figures, and Biblical quotations, of which they had the key. Our correspondences by cipher come from it.

¹ Much discussion has taken place on the date that ought to be assigned to L. Verus's adoption. If we were reduced simply to the evidence of Spartian (*Had.*, 23; *Æl. Ver.*, 3) we ought to place it before his pretorship, i.e., before the year 130. But the monuments are in opposition to this: on all those which are dated from his first consulship (136) he is called *L. Ceionius Commodus* (Orelli, Nos. 1,681, 4,354, 6,086), and it is only on those which are dated from the second (137) that he is styled *L. Ælius Cæsar* (Orelli, Nos. 828, 856, 6,527). It was therefore in 136, and, following Borghesi (*Œuvres*, vol. viii. p. 457), between June 19 and August 29, that he was adopted, declared Cæsar, and sent into the two Pannonias with proconsular powers (see *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 4,366). The passage of the letter written to Servianus in 134, and in which Hadrian calls him his son, *filium meum Verum* (see p. 94), can be explained only by supposing that this prince nominated him thus by anticipation, having at that time decided to adopt him, and already made known his intention to his family, although he wished to complete this adoption only after his return to Rome, before the people and the pontiffs, according to the solemn forms of the *adrogatio*.

to Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, cannot have been influenced by the ignoble motives ascribed to him. Besides, Verus had eloquence and talents, although he led the elegant and voluptuous life of the rich patricians.



L. Elus Verus Caesar, Hadrian's adopted Son. (Statue in the Museum of the Louvre.)

Sent, after his adoption, into Pannonia he behaved well. In sending him a long way from Rome Hadrian desired to shelter him from the plots which were likely to be formed, and had given him the command of the Pannonian legions in order to have well in hand, through his adopted son, the nearest army to Italy.

The choice, in fact, that Hadrian had just made and the uncertain health of the emperor, his presence in Rome or at the gates of the city, in his palace at Tibur, consequently the facility for striking a blow, had encouraged the Roman aristocracy to resume its favourite practices;¹ it formed conspiracies, and so furnished victims. These tragedies are very obscure. It is certain that some executions took place and that the senate became exasperated; but not at all so

certain that the most moderate of emperors had without reason renounced his moderation. These changes of view in the character and conduct of men of ripe age and experience take place only in the schools of the rhetoricians. The prince who, during twenty years, had struck no one, who, when offended by certain people, in place of punishing them was satisfied with writing to their province that

¹ They conspired even under Antoninus, the prince after the senate's own heart: see *infra*.

he withdrew his friendship from them,¹ does not become an executioner all at once; he must continue to be what we know he was, an administrator of justice.

Dion imputes to him but two sentences of capital punishment: at the beginning of his reign that of four consulars, put to death by the senate unknown to the prince; at the end, that of Servianus and his grandson Fuscus, who had disapproved, says he, the selection of Verus. Servianus, the prince's brother-in-law, had played him many bad turns. When, at the death of Nerva, Hadrian hastened to inform Trajan that he was emperor, Servianus had used every means to hinder him, in order to prevent him from arriving before the courier whom he himself had despatched. Another time he had succeeded in estranging Trajan by making known to the uncle his nephew's debts. Hadrian, however, had not kept in mind these shabby proceedings, and on many occasions he had honoured Servianus by public marks of



L. Julius Ursus Servianus, Hadrian's Brother-in-law. (Visconti, *Iconog. Rom.*, i. pl. 139.)

deference; Spartian maintains even that he had declared him to be worthy of the Empire.² At ninety years of age Servianus was too old for such a pretension, without being sufficiently wise to avoid the appearance of a dangerous ambition.³ He doubtless limited his desire to this, that the emperor should adopt his grandson. But Fuscus, who was eighteen in 137, and consequently only fourteen or fifteen when the question of the

¹ Dion, lxi. 23. "If he were absolutely forced to punish a citizen having a family, he moderated the penalty in proportion to the number of the children." (*Id.*, *ibid.*)

² Spart., *Had.*, 23.

³ *Servianum quasi adfectatorem imperii, quod servis regis cenam misisset, quod in sedili regio juxta lectum posito sedisset, quod erectus ad stationes militum senex novogenarius processisset . . . Fuscum, quod imperium praesagius et ostentis agitatus speraret* (Spart., *ibid.*, 23; cf. Dion, lxi. 17).

succession to the Empire was mooted, could not be chosen by a prince who already saw the premonitory signs of his own end. Verus's increasing favour estranged Servianus, whom a third consulate in 134 could not satisfy. Fuscus, still less reserved, allowed himself to be unsettled by some pretended prodigies which promised him the sovereign power. Around these a party must have been formed capable of creating embarrassment to Verus and disorders in the Empire, to account for our sensible prince causing this foolish young man to be put to death, and not even awaiting the natural end of an old man at the very verge of life. These two executions not the less are a blot on Hadrian's life.

Spartian mentions some other persons who on this occasion fell under the disfavour of the prince, two individuals whom he forced to commit suicide, even some soldiers and freedmen "whom he persecuted."¹ But were they mere outbursts of anger or the execution of just sentences? From want of information we cannot reply to this twofold question. Only, this author says that the adoption of Antoninus disconcerted many aspirants; that Catilius Severus, prefect of the city, who sought to pave his way to the throne, was deprived of his office; and in seeing him punish even freedmen and soldiers, one feels compelled to admit that we here find united the usual components of a real conspiracy.²

We find reference also to the misunderstanding which existed between Hadrian and the empress. These domestic details have nothing to do with political history; yet, as Dion quotes some cruel expressions of Sabina, and as it was even

¹ *Libertos denique et nonnullos milites insecutus est* (Spart., *ibid.*, 15).

² Leaving out the only victims mentioned by Dion, that is to say, the conspirators of 119, whose execution Hadrian regretted, and those of 137, who had as leaders an old man and a boy whom the prince ought to have spared, we find named by Spartian, to justify the imputation of cruelty, only Platorius Nepos and Attianus, in regard to whom the expression *hostium loco habuit* (Spart., 15) seems to mean only a dissolution of friendship (cf. *id.*, 23; see on Platorius Nepos, Borghesi, *Æuvres*, vol. iii. pp. 122 et seq.); Septicius Clarus, whom he dismissed for improper conduct towards the empress; Titianus, *quem, ut conscium tyrannidis, et argui passus est et proseribi*, which means confiscation of his estate; Umidius Quadratus and Catilius Severus, *quos graviter insecutus est*, which does not prove that they had suffered any penalty. Besides, Spartian forgets that, in another chapter (24) he charges Severus with conspiracy. As regards Polyænus and Marcellus, *quos ad mortem voluntariam coegit* (15) we know nothing of them. We saw earlier what concerns Apollodorus and the sophists, and we shall now see what regards Sabina.

inferred that her husband poisoned her,¹ we must point out here the improbabilities. In 120, while far away in Britain, Hadrian showed his affection or esteem for her by dismissing one of the imperial secretaries, Suetonius, a prefect of the prætorium, Septicius Clarus, and many other personages who had failed in respect towards the empress. There is nothing to assure us that she did not accompany him in all his travels; we know at least that she was certainly his companion in the last, the grand tour in the East—a fact not showing a union in which life in common was unbearable. The public did not believe these family dissensions: coins were struck bearing the double effigy of the prince and empress; inscriptions were carved, in which, under their united names, were the words: "To the benefactors of the city."² The apotheosis which Hadrian decreed her was only an official ceremony; but we have some of his private letters which show a heart where good feelings and not storms of anger reigned. One day he thus wrote to his mother: "All hail, very dear and excellent mother, whatever you ask of the gods for me I ask the same for you. By Hercules, I am delighted that my acts seem to you worthy of praise. To-day is my birth-day; we must take supper together. Come, then, well dressed, with my sisters. Sabina, who is at our villa, has sent her share for the family repast."³ Another very friendly letter, written to Servianus, his brother-in-law, in the year 134, when he had just given him a third consulate, ends thus: ". . . I send you some cups of changing colours



Antoninus.³

¹ *Non sine fabula veneni defuncta* (Spart., 23). If the empress was *morosa et aspera* (*id.*, 11), he had the law to enable him to separate from her by a divorce; a crime was not necessary.

² *Locupletatoribus municipii* (Gabii). (Orelli, No. 816.)

³ Engraved stone (nicolo of 62 millim. by 44) in the Cabinet of France, No. 2,093. The letters A. V., engraved on this fine intaglio, have been added by a modern.

⁴ Dositheus, § 15, *Corp. juris antejus.* ed. Böcking, vol. i. p. 212.

[iridescent glass], which the priest of the temple has given me. I have kept them quite especially for you and my sister, and I beg that you will use them at your meetings on *fête* days. Yet take care that our Africanus" (doubtless some child of the family) "does not use them with too much freedom."¹ Sabina's murder in 137 is therefore a supposed crime of which Hadrian's memory may be exonerated. But such fairness would not have suited the drawing-rooms of Rome, where calumnies had been current even against Plotina, where many others prevailed also against the two Faustinas, and it is quite natural that they



Hadrian and Sabina: Obverse and Reverse of a Bronze Coin.

should have persecuted Hadrian in his private life, doubtless with as much truth as they attacked him in his public life.

Verus lived only a short time after his adoption.² "I have leant against a crumbling wall," said Hadrian, and he

sought another successor. Dion relates that he called together to the palace the most considerable of the senators, and thus addressed them: "My friends, nature has not granted me a son, but you have permitted me by law to adopt one, well knowing that nature often gives a father a child that is a cripple or an imbecile, while, by a careful choice, one may be found who is as well endowed in body as in mind. Thus it was that I first chose Lucius. Since the gods have removed him, I have chosen to replace him by an emperor of illustrious birth, mild and prudent, readily accessible, whose age separates him equally from the rashness of youth and the indifference of old age; submissive to the laws and customs of our ancestors, ignorant of nothing that relates to government, and resolved to make an honourable use of power. I speak of Aurelius Antoninus, here present. While I know his profound aversion for public life I hope he will neither refuse me nor

¹ Vopiscus, *Saturn.*, 8. Sabina, doubtless at this moment along with the prince, is not mentioned in this letter, but Hadrian's words are a fresh proof of the intimacy then prevailing in the imperial family.

² He died January 1, 138. (Orelli, No. 827.)

you to take on himself such a burden, and that, in spite of his contrary desire, he will accept the Empire."¹ These are indeed a prince's words, and the choice was decided by serious reasons. In seeking for this scene in Aurelius Victor we see what the anecdote mongers make of history.

Antoninus was neither a relation nor an intimate friend of the prince; there was need even to grant him some time that he might make up his mind to accept what would be for him but gilded chains. As he no longer had a son, Hadrian used his higher authority to constitute a legal family for him; he caused him to adopt the son of the Caesar recently deceased, and M. Annius Verus, whose superior mind and great capacities had already struck him; so he was pleased to term him, making a pun on his name, the very true, *Verissimus*.

The adoption of Verus had made victims, that of Antoninus only malecontents,

among whom was the prefect of the city, Catilius Severus, who had taken steps for gaining the Empire.³ The matter was serious, for Severus held Rome by his cohorts, the senate by his connections, and his dignity assured him in reality the



F. Chantier

Elus Verus Caesar, as *Bonus Eventus*.²

¹ Dion, lxi. 20.

² Statue found at Cumæ. Museum Campana, Henry d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 91.

³ *Antonini adoptionem plurimi tunc factam esse doluerunt, speciatim Catilius Severus, prefectus urbi, qui sibi preparabat imperium. Qua re prodita, successore accepto, dignitate privatus est* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 24).

next place in rank in the Empire to the emperor. The recent severities had given him prudence; his intrigues did not go far, and he got off by giving up his office, which did not involve any great severity.¹ But this indulgence will astonish those only who on vague accusations believe in Hadrian's cruelty.



Elia Verus Caesar.
(Large Bronze, Cohen,
No. 52.)

The affairs of the State being arranged, the prince desired to end his own; he suffered cruelly, and urgently demanded poison or a sword, and as these were refused him, he complained of not being free to take his own life while he still had the power of condemning others to death. He died (10th July, 138) while laughing at the physicians, at whom one generally laughs in health;² some days before he had composed these verses, well worth having Pope as their translator:

Ah! fleeting spirit, wandering fire,
That long hast warm'd my tender heart,
Must thou no more this frame inspire?
No more a pleasing, cheerful guest?
Whither, ah, whither art thou flying,
To what dark undiscover'd shore?
Thou seem'st all trembling, shivering, dying,
And art and humour are no more.

This whim was just like the man who, when adopting Verus, said: "I am now about making a god!" and who would have willingly said with Rabelais: "I am going to seek a great peradventure."

We believe we have given in its true light the portrait of this prince, and have restored to him those features which his unskilful biographers have defaced. Thus, this man of peace who, during a reign of twenty-one years, did not make a single war, is the one of all the emperors who maintained the most rigorous discipline in the legions and the profoundest peace in

¹ Mention is made of other individuals whose execution Hadrian ordered and whom Antoninus saved. The adoption took place on 25th February, Hadrian's death on 10th July. Now he preserved up to the last moment all his clearness of intellect, and it is difficult to allow that if, in these four months and a half, he had pronounced a sentence of death, it would not have been executed.

² Ἐπελεύθησε, λέγων καὶ βοῶν τὸ δημῶδες, ὅτι "Πολλοὶ ἰατροὶ βασιλεῖα ἀπώλειαν" (Dion, lxi. 22).

the State.¹ This Athenian to whom there is imputed a certain vice of the age, but to whom one would readily excuse somewhat of effeminacy, was more sober than Cato.² This traveller, who seemed occupied only with the beauty of localities and monu-



Antoninus (Bust in the Vatican).

ments, this philosopher, who took pleasure in scholastic discussions, looked after everything: civil administration, military administration, and into all he introduced admirable order. Vain, it is asserted, he yet disdained titles and pomp;³ envious of all forms

¹ *Disciplinam civilem non aliter tenuit quam militarem* (Spart., *Had.*, 22).

² . . . ἡρίστα ἀνὲν αἰῶνος (Dion, lxi. 7).

³ He did not like his name engraved on the edifices which he raised; if many cities took it,

of talent, he furnished more occasions than any other for their exhibition; an irascible and jealous man of letters, he honoured literature and pensioned learned men. In fine, if history had the means of criticizing certain cruel acts which are imputed to him, it would probably have to show him a dispenser of justice.



Circular Monument at Baalbek.

From the monument at Lambessa, from Dion Cassius and Spartian, we know what Hadrian required of his soldiers; from the *Periplus* of Arrian, what he required of his generals; from the *Poliorectica* of Apollodorus, what he expected of his engineers; from inscriptions and medals, whatever watchful solicitude he imposed on himself for the provinces. Pausanias has shown us how he

if many monuments bore it (Spart., *Hadr.*, 18-19), that was a municipal affair; and this kind of flattery belongs to all times.

embellished the cities, and Hadrian's Wall in what manner he defended the frontiers. The senatus-consulta preserved in the *Digest* give us the character of his legislation, and the rescript respecting the Christians an example of his political wisdom. In short, in reflecting that he made besides an important reform in the government and codified the Roman laws, we must indeed recognize in him the fruitful activity of superior intelligence and not the sterile working of an unquiet mind.

His reign marks, between those of Augustus and Constantine, the second period of the imperial monarchy—that which was at one and the same time the most brilliant and the most fortunate. We have the proof of this in the ruins which are still to be seen in the Syrian desert and even in the African oases. These endless colonnades, these streets of monuments, these remains of gigantic temples, as well as the majestic ruins of Palmyra, Baalbee, Gerasa, etc., which belong to the age of the Antonines, were the work of a happy and rich people. “After the great terror of the year 1000,” says a writer of the Middle Ages, “and the return of confidence and security, they began everywhere to rebuild the basilicas, and the world put on the white robe of the churches.” The same had been the case in the Empire, and from analogous causes. This efflorescence of art, which was exhibited in splendid monuments from the banks of



One of the Temples of Baalbek (Heliopolis), on a Bronze Coin.



Felicity.



Festivity.¹

the Rhone to those of the Euphrates, was the product of Roman peace. For two centuries there had been no foreign wars, or at least no cause for serious disquietude on the frontiers; in the interior, except the disorders which followed upon the death of Nero, no civil wars; in the cities, no outbreaks. Hadrian's reign is the culminating point of this prosperity in which, thanks to him, his successor could keep the world; and, contrary to habit, his contemporaries, if not at Rome at least in the provinces, had the consciousness of this, and expressed their gratitude for it. Among

¹ FELICITATI AVG. COS. III. P. P. Vessel with rowers. HILARITAS Pontifex Maximus, TER COS. Silver coins.

the 1,200 medals which are known to be of Hadrian's time¹ a large number was the product of official flattery; but can one assert that some did not reflect the true feeling of the population, those, for example, which bore the inscription: *Felicitati Aug.* On one of these medals Hadrian and public Felicity, both standing up, are holding hands;² on another, Festivity, *Hilaritas P. R.*, represented by a fair young woman, who puts aside with her hands the veil which was hiding her face, in order to let the joy of the Roman people be seen—pleasing signs in which all was surely not deception.

Could Hadrian have done more?

Hadrian might have been able to accomplish the great political task Augustus had not dared [as we have shown] to undertake, and with greater ease, because he understood the provinces better, and these afforded a better source of popularity, and because they, at that time, included a greater number of Roman citizens. But he had only a vague feeling of this necessity, and his institutions tended only to introduce into the government more order and justice without touching the absolute power, so that, after as before him, the fortune of the Empire will depend upon the capacities or the vices of the emperor. In this direction Hadrian is lost in the crowd of his predecessors, not one of whom had recognized the situation.

Yet one cannot demand of a man that he should be a strong reformer; and justice is done by confining oneself to the examination, how he lived in the position where he found himself placed, what advantage he knew how to derive from the circumstances which history had created. From this point of view, in spite of his imperfect ideal of government, Hadrian will remain a great prince. And if I am asked what emperor has done the most good, and most deserves to be imitated, I should reply: This intelligent, firm prince, without cowardly complaisances towards soldiers and people,³ who had tolerance for ideas and none for abuses; who made law reign, and not arbitrary rule; who organized a formidable army, not for useless conquests, but in

¹ This is, at least, nearly the number of those which have been described by M. Cohen.

² Cohen, *Had.*, 230 and 268.

³ See Dion Cassius, lxi. 6 and 16.

order that, behind this impregnable rampart, the genius of peace might fertilize all the sources of the public weal; who, in short, as foreseeing at the last hour of his life as he had been skilful during his reign, assured two generations of excellent leaders to the Roman world. When the glory of princes will be measured by the happiness which they have given to their peoples, Hadrian will stand forth the first of the Roman emperors.¹

¹ [So Merivale calls him (*Hist. of the Romans*, vii. p. 251) "the best of the imperial series."—*Ed.*]



Figure from the Parthenon (after Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage arch. en Grèce*, etc.).

CHAPTER LXXXI.

ANTONINUS AND MARCUS AURELIUS (138-180 A.D.).

I.—ANTONINUS (138-161).

"I should have wished," says one of our old chroniclers, "that there had fallen to me a share of eloquence like that of the ancients; but one draws with difficulty from a source whose waters are dried up. The world grows old, the edge of our acuteness is blunted, and no one of this age can resemble the orators of the past." This misgiving would suit the compilers of the *Augustan History*, for they have neither the flame which glows and illumines, nor the patient courage of those who know at least how to collect materials for the more skilful. The biography of Antoninus Pius by Julius Capitolinus is even more meagre than that of Hadrian by Spartian. It contains in a few pages the history of a reign of twenty-three years, and reduces us to say of this emperor these words only, which are sufficient for his glory, but too few for our curiosity: *transiit benefaciendo*, he passed through life doing good.¹

As early as the time of Xiphilinus, the chapter in which Dion Cassius related the history of this prince has been lost, and if we wish to judge of what value the *abbreviators* are who are at present our principal resource, let the narrative of Aurelius Victor be read, telling how Antoninus's adoption took place. It will then be understood how such writers naturally recall to our mind the chroniclers of the Middle Ages, nor will there be any astonishment felt at our having brought bold criticism into the midst of these puerile tales: "... Hadrian summoned the senate to create a Caesar. As the senators were hastening to the assembly, the

¹ His first names were *Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boianus Arrius Antoninus*; after his accession he was called *T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius*; he was born September 19th, 86, in the villa of Lanuvium. For the consular *fasti* of 138-147, see Lacour-Gayet, in vol. i. of the *Mémoires de l'École française de Rome*.

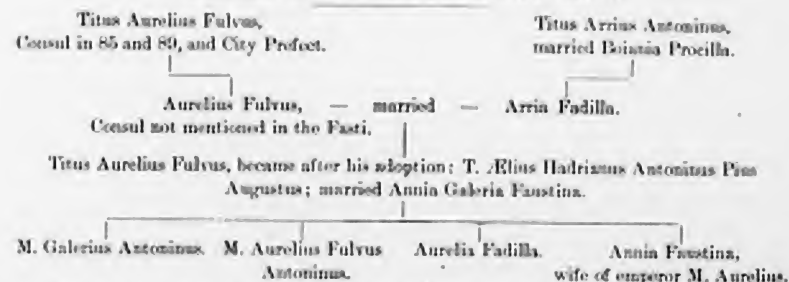
emperor by chance perceived Antoninus, who was upholding with his arm the tottering steps of an old man, his father-in-law or his father. Filled with admiration at the sight, Hadrian caused all the necessary ceremonies to be performed for the adoption of Antoninus as Caesar, and he ordered the massacre of the senators who turned him into ridicule. After his death, the senate, unmoved by the prayers of the new prince, refused to decree to Hadrian the honours of apotheosis, so much afflicted was it by the loss of so many members! But when it suddenly saw those reappear whose decease it was deploring, each one after having embraced his friends finished by granting what had at first been refused." These are the fabulous stories which malignity had circulated, which folly accepted, and which give us the measure of respect due to such intellects.

Antoninus's ancestors, originally from Nîmes,² had exercised the highest functions at Rome and had made themselves remarkable by the dignity of their life. Five times had the consular fasces been



Galerius Antoninus, Son of Antoninus Pius and the Elder Faustina.³ (Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 49.)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ANTONINE FAMILY.



² From the time of Tiberius this city had possessed the *jus Latii*, which gave the freedom of the Roman City to those of the inhabitants who had held there any municipal office.

borne by that house, and it was said of his father that he was a man of integrity and of pure morals,¹ of his grandfather that it was impossible to find a cause of reproach against him, *homo sanctus*. The latter, Arrius Antoninus, was that friend of Nerva who felt pity for the old consular because he exchanged a private condition for that of emperor. Antoninus inherited these virtues



Faustina, Wife of Antoninus Pius. (Bust in the Capitol, Gallery, No. 2.)

and this moderation. He was consul (120), pro-consul of Asia (128 or 129), judge (*judex*) of one of the four Italian provinces, and member of the imperial consistory, functions which prove that for a long time past Hadrian's attention had been drawn towards him. His wife, the elder Faustina, had borne him four children, of whom two sons had died before his accession. He lost one of his two daughters during his proconsulship of Asia; the other was the younger Faustina who married Marcus Aurelius.

An able manager of his patrimonial estate, Antoninus augmented his fortune by economy and not by usury, for he lent money below the legal rate; he employed it in helping his friends much more than on his own pleasures, and once made prince, he appropriated his income to the wants of the State. On his accession he refused the *aurum coronarium* which Italy wished to present him, and accepted only the moiety of what the provinces offered him; so that he was obliged to draw from his own income a part of the donative due, on this occasion, to the soldiers and people. He possessed taste, eloquence, and governed his own mind as he

¹ *Homo castus et integer* (Capit., *Anton.*, i.). His paternal grandfather had been prefect of the City. Arr. Antoninus was his maternal grandfather.

ruled his own house, like a master who desired that everything should be well ordered. He was a good listener, deliberated slowly, and when a decision was arrived at he kept to it firmly; good administration can only arise on this condition. He valued popularity at its just worth, acted only in view of duty, and felt no anxiety about the rest: he was truly wise.¹

He had however one defect regrettable in a prince: he was over-careful about small things and fond of "splitting hairs."² It was maintained that he was miserly; but only slanderous tongues assert it, and these insinuations were perhaps the price paid for his great renown. At the *consilium* he always favoured mild resolutions, and during his reign he preserved this disposition for showing mercy:³ a royal virtue when its intention is to pardon an offence against the prince, but dangerous if this goodness of heart weaken the authority of the law. Like all those whom we style the Antonines, he lived less like an emperor than as a wealthy private person, permitting liberty of speech to his friends, even acts of turbulence to the people. During a scarcity of corn the crowd threw stones at him; he replied by a speech. At the house of one of his intimates he admired certain columns and asked from whence they came: "When you enter another person's house, be deaf and dumb," replied the other rudely, and the emperor showed no anger.

On reaching Smyrna, during Hadrian's reign, as proconsul, he alighted at the house of Polemon the rhetorician, at that time



Faustina, Wife of Marcus Aurelius. (Bust found at the Villa Hadriana. Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 39.)

¹ See the portrait which Marcus Aurelius has traced of him in his *Meditations*, i. 16, and the phrase: *Kai to pantes ta peri tous iporas ton mupakiou*, which very learned men construe differently; what is not doubtful is that it contains a eulogy of Antoninus.

² *Kupwopistēs* (Dion, lxx. 3): or, as we should say, "skin a flint."

³ *Ad indulgentias pronissimus fuit* (Capit., *Anton.*, 10). *Procuratoribus quos Hadrianus damnaverat in senatu indulgentias peti* (*ibid.*, 6).

absent; when night came the sophist returned and made such a noise at the trouble given him that Antoninus decamped at once. Some years after an actor came to make complaint that Polemon, the president of the Olympic games, had driven him from the theatre in broad day. "And me, too," said the prince, "he drove



Marcus Aurelius as a Boy. (Bust in the Capitol, Gallery, No. 70.)

out in deep night." Another time the courtiers were annoyed to see Marcus Aurelius crying for his deceased preceptor; he reproved them sharply: "Let him be a man," he said to them, "for neither philosophy nor empire ought to dry up the heart." More than once he was heard to repeat that he wished to act towards the senate as he had desired, when a senator, that they should act towards him; a thought which seems the precursor of the grand moral precept which Alexander Severus will later on inscribe on

the walls of his *laryrium*: "Do not to others what you would not they should do unto you."¹ (*negative form*)

We should have to narrate many munificent acts of his, many liberal gifts made to private individuals, to the people of Rome,² to provincial cities, which he helped or adorned; in fact, we see from the number of inscriptions that he followed the example of his predecessor.³ All this shows an excellent natural disposition, and on this point there is no question; but was the prince on a level with the man? It is difficult to answer; for his political history is so obscure that it is half obliterated, and its features lost in the shade.

He was fifty-two years of age, when full maturity is reached without activity or strength being as yet decayed. Hadrian's activity had seemed sometimes restless and noisy; that of Antoninus was silent and discreet. His predecessor was always in movement; he, for nearly a quarter of a century did not leave Rome or its environs, except for a rapid tour in



No. 1.



No. 2.

Gold Coins of Antoninus, bearing Liberality on the Reverse.⁴

Asia. The war-loving Trajan had been succeeded by a lover of peace; the nomadic emperor was replaced by a sedentary prince. It is the law of contrasts which pleases peoples as it does artists. Some of the inconveniences of a *régime* mask, in the eyes of the crowd, its advantages, and we fall into another system for the sole reason that change is pleasing.

Hadrian died in great unpopularity with the senate; we have

¹ [Jesus Christ had long before put the idea in clearer and more precise form.—*Ed.*]

² Nine times during his reign the 200,000 citizens who took shares in the public distributions received each 300 to 400 sesterces (Eckhel, vol. vii. pp. 11-27), and the gifts under this head reached 640,000,000 of sesterces (*Chronogr.*, ed. Momms. p. 647). In spite of these and other donations, in spite of the expenses of the State, which for the army alone reached each year perhaps to 250,000,000 of francs, Antoninus left a sum of 2,700,000,000 of sesterces, or from 500,000,000 to 600,000,000 of francs (Dion, lxxiii. 8); and this means that the financial system was excellent, since during the twenty-three years of his reign the imperial budget must have had a surplus from receipts of 25,000,000 of francs. As regards the army expenses, see vol. iv. p. 255, n. 1; only it is necessary to increase the figures for Antoninus's epoch, when there were thirty legions in place of twenty-five.

³ Thus he finished the aqueduct begun by Hadrian in New Athens. (*C.I.L.*, vol. iii. No. 549.)

⁴ No. 1: LIBERALITAS AVG. II. Antoninus seated on a stage; Liberality standing, scattering from her cornucopia some coins into a man's hands who stands at the foot of the stage. No. 2: LIBERALITAS VII. COS. IIII. Liberality standing, holding a tessera and a wand.

seen that the reproaches against him arose from the silent irritation of the *Patres* against a prince whose errant court removed far from them the *éclat* and reality of the government, so that the nothingness of their authority was no longer hidden even behind appearances. They wanted to refuse his apotheosis, that is to say, to declare him a tyrant and to annul his acts. Antoninus refused to be a party to this act of injustice, which besides would have disturbed his own rights. His entreaties would perhaps not have triumphed over the ill-will of these pitiful senators, unless, behind the compliant prince, they had perceived an orator persuasive in quite a different manner, the soldier, who did not intend that this outrage should be done to the memory of his beloved chief. According to Dion, all opposition dropped from fear of the army. Hadrian was accordingly placed in the rank of the gods; Antoninus erected a temple to his memory at Pozzuoli, appointed flamens to it, and instituted a quinquennial feast in his honour. The apotheosis and temple were for the defunct prince affairs of imperial etiquette. These honours done to the memory of Hadrian did not consequently require that the senators should decree the title of *Pius* to the new emperor; but as they had used up with other emperors all the epithets of praise they found only this one which remained at their service; and since the prince was not associated with their hatred against Hadrian, in giving this title they connected themselves with his filial respect. These highly-successful tergiversations, this clever strategy of the lobby, formed all the art which remained to the descendants of the great generals of Rome, now become the most daring of courtiers.

During this reign of twenty-three years the Empire enjoyed profound peace, and the grateful subjects regarded the State as a great family governed by the best of fathers.¹ A contemporary, Pausanias, wished that the emperor should be called "the Father of the human race."²

In his desire to avoid every sound, every movement which might upset the fair order introduced into the Empire by his predecessor, he resumed Tiberius's rule for the long duration of the

¹ *Quæ incredibili diligentia ad speciem optimi patrisfamilias exsequebatur* (Aur. Victor, *Epit.*, 15).

² *Πατήρ ἀνθρώπων* (lib. viii. cap. 43).

magistracies, but extended it. He kept in their offices those who had been appointed by Hadrian; when he had to make a fresh selection he raised to office only experienced men, and often, says his biographer, he allowed them to die at their post.¹ Thus his friend, M. Gavius Maximus, during twenty years commanded the praetorian cohorts; Orfitus² held the prefecture of the City as long as he pleased, and was replaced only at his own request; some governors remained seven years, even nine years, in their governments. P. Pactumeius Clemens, legate of Cilicia under Hadrian, was raised to the consulate and yet kept his command.³ The emperor had changed the official rank of the province rather than not leave in it the magistrate most acquainted with its wants. This was an excellent policy, provided however that it was not carried too far, for the most active man is sure to fall off when his duties continue always the same; just as life becomes extinct in the midst of stagnant waters, so administration which does not maintain a certain process of renovation soon reaches senility. Antoninus's reign will perhaps furnish us a proof of this.

Civil law owes much to him,⁴ and the *Pandects* contain many fragments of his constitution or rescripts. One is celebrated under the name of *Antonine fourth*, or *lien* established in favour of the adopted upon the estate of the adopter. As proof of his liberality of mind, we may mention also the decision which permits the children of a new citizen, when they did not agree to choose their father's nationality, to preserve their rights of inheritance. Formerly, a Greek on obtaining the *jus civitatis*, but whose children continued provincials, was obliged to demise the succession to some citizens or leave it to the treasury, as property escheated.⁵ Some publicani had exercised a right over wrecks. "I am the sovereign of the world," he replied to the shipwrecked crew who appealed against this act of cruelty; "but there is a law of the sea, which the Rhodians made; let us decide in accordance with that." And

¹ *Capit., Anton.*, 5 and 8.

² Serv. Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus had been raised to this office by Hadrian to replace L. Catilius Severus.

³ See Borghesi, vol. viii. p. 393, note.

⁴ *Multa de jure sanxit* (*Capit., Anton.*, 12). On the legislation of Antoninus, cf. Hænel, *Corpus Legum*, pp. 101-114, Lips., 1857.

⁵ Pausanias, viii. 43.

the treasury was proved in the wrong.¹ By a rescript difficult in its application, but very just in spirit, he authorized the husband to bring a suit against the wife as an adulteress only in case he himself had preserved conjugal fidelity.² The condition of slaves was also ameliorated. Antoninus declared that the master who, for a frivolous pretext, had killed his slave should be punished with banishment or death; that he who had maltreated one unduly should be forced to sell him, and that he should not be able either to repurchase him or to insert a damaging clause in the contract, such as this: "Prohibited from freeing him;" or this: "He, or she, shall be delivered up to prostitution." One of his rescripts runs thus: "It is to the interest of masters that support against hunger, cruelty, and intolerable injustice be not withdrawn from slaves who justly implore it."³

In the financial administration he retrenched useless expenditure, pensions paid to those who "preyed upon the State" without rendering it any service; he sold some villas of the imperial domain, jewels, valuable furniture—dead capital, of which he made the public treasury the beneficiary; as Hadrian did, he also cancelled the arrears of taxes, and Marcus Aurelius and Aurelian will do as he did. His economy gave him the means of developing the alimentary institution and of aiding cities desolated by fire or earthquake, as Rome, Antioch, Narbo, and Rhodes. I make no mention of buildings erected by him or in his reign in Greece and Ionia, in Syria and at Carthage,⁴ at Lambessa, several of whose monuments date from that epoch, at Tarragona for its harbour, at Gaëta for its lighthouse, at Nîmes for the Arena and Pont du Gard, at Baalbec for its Temple of the Sun.⁵ All the emperors were great builders. It was a debt which at Rome they paid to the entire people, by decorating the City with new monuments: to the poor in giving them work; to their predecessor in raising to his honour the temple demanded by the apotheosis; in the

¹ *Digest*, xiv. 2, 9: *Hoc idem divus Augustus judicavit.*

² [This is done in English law by what is called the "interference of the Queen's Proctor," who stops proceedings for divorce in such cases.—*Ed.*]

³ *Instit.*, i. 8, § 2.

⁴ Pausanias, viii. 43.

⁵ An inscription of Antoninus's reign, between 147 and 161, shows that Gerasa had dedicated a propylon and a portico "to the health of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius." (Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 218.)

provinces it was the condition of their popularity. Besides, each emperor, like the princes of the East, wished to have his dwelling untouched by any memorial of the past. For this reason Nero had abandoned the palace of the Cæsars, Vespasian destroyed the House of Gold, and Antoninus did not desire to occupy the Tiburtine Villa. The age of the Antonines was a fortunate one for the architects, for they were incessantly pulling down in order to build up. But it must be repeated that, outside Rome, constructions were especi-



Interior of the Arena at Nîmes.

ally the work of the rich cities, where they were paid for from the municipal revenues, by the gifts of the citizens, and often by an imperial subvention. This observation is so much the more necessary in regard to this reign, because Marcus Aurelius said of his adoptive father that he was not fond of building.

As Hadrian had done, Antoninus founded new chairs of rhetoric and philosophy in many cities,¹ while granting to their holders a stipend which was paid them by the State when the local resources were insufficient.² To the pay he added honours: in the small

¹ *Rhetoribus et philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria detulit* (Capit., *Anton.*, 11).

² Zumpt, *Ueber den Bestand der philos. Schulen in Athen*, p. 45.

cities, five physicians, three sophists, and three grammarians, in the large, ten physicians, five sophists, and five grammarians were exempted from municipal offices;¹ and he honoured declamation even by giving, in the year 143, the consulate to two famous rhetoricians,



The Discobolus of Miron, found at the Villa Tiburtina.
(Vatican, Salle du Buge, No. 618.)

the Greek Herodes Atticus and the Latin Cornelius Fronto. But poets did not seem to him so necessary; at least, he reduced the pension that Hadrian had bestowed on the lyric poet Mesomedes.

Notwithstanding this there were senators found conspiring against this prince who made the public weal the sole object of his government. This time no one can doubt, as was the case under Hadrian, of the reality of the crime; the *Patres*, who, themselves or by their freedmen transformed into historians, were making the reputation of princes amongst posterity, allow for the favourite of the senate

a peril the existence of which they had denied for the friend of the provincials. No executions took place: Atilius Titianus was quit of it by the loss of his property; Priscianus took his own life; Avidius Cassius, who rebelled under Marcus Aurelius, had at

¹ *Digest*, xxvii. 1, 6, §§ 1 and 2.

least the desire to overturn Antoninus; Celsus, lastly, whom we do not know, made a serious attempt, since twenty or thirty years after the younger Faustina recalled the circumstance to her husband.¹ The senate showed great zeal in seeking out the guilty persons; Antoninus stopped them. "What shall I gain," he replied to those who pressed him to show severity, "what shall I gain beyond knowing that a certain number of my fellow-citizens hate me?"

Antoninus did not like war. "It is much better," said he, "to save a citizen than to slay a thousand enemies." Of himself he undertook no expedition,² but his lieutenants had to wage wars of defence: in Africa against the nomadic tribes, on the frontiers of the Carpathians and of the Danube against the Dacians, who had taken refuge in the mountains, and against the German tribes established in the neighbourhood of Pannonia. Capitolinus tells us that the Jews again made a disturbance, and that there were some rebellions in Egypt and Greece. A disturbance in Greece so soon after Hadrian is inexplicable, unless it be a question of conspiracy like that of Celsus, for example,³ of which we know neither place nor date, or of some popular tumult to which Lucian seems to make allusion (157);⁴ and a revolt of the Jews would have been, it seems, very difficult after all the blood which Trajan and Hadrian had shed of this people.⁵ In Egypt the affair was more serious, since the prefect Dinarchus was killed (147-8), and that, so an ancient writer says, the emperor considered himself obliged to make his journey to the East.⁶



Mauretania. (Large bronze of Antoninus, Cohen, 686.)

¹ Vulcacius Gallicanus, *Avid. Cass.*, 10.

² . . . Πόλεμον μὲν Ῥωμαῖος ἰθὺς ἐπηγάγειτο οὐδὲνα (Pausanias, viii. 43).

³ *Capit.*, *Avid. Cass.*, 10.

⁴ *Peregr.*, 19: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιθεῖν ἀντάρσασθαι ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίους.

⁵ The coins of Alexander cited as proofs by Munter (*Die Juden unter Hadrian*, p. 98) do not lead to a positive conclusion, and the war of the Parthians, by the aid of which Gratz (*Jüdische Gesch.*, iv. No. 20) tries to get out of the charge, took place only three years before Antoninus's death.

⁶ Letronne (*Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 250) places this revolt in the years 148 and 149. Cf. Malala, *Chronogr.*, xi. p. 280, ed. Niebuhr and Aristides, i. 350, ed. Dind. The mention of Antoninus's voyage to the East, of which Capitolinus says nothing, is found in Malala, an author of little authority, it is true, and one who has heaped together many

In Britain, Lollius Urbicus, who had distinguished himself in Judæa under Hadrian, repressed the Brigantes (140), and being at the narrow part of the island behind the *Vallum Hadriani*, carried back the line of defence of the province further north, as far as



Antoninus giving his Hand to the King of the Quadi. (Large Bronze, Cohen, 759.)

Agricola's rampart, *Graham's dike*, made of turf, running between the Firths of Clyde and Forth.¹ As a reward for his services Lollius obtained later on the highest office of the State, that of prefect of the City. The Parthians prepared an expedition against Armenia; a letter from Antoninus stopped them. The Lazi, the Quadi,



Antoninus placing the Tiara on the Head of the King of Armenia. (Large Bronze, Cohen, 758.)

the Armenians, accepted the kings whom he gave them;² his protection sheltered the Greeks on the coasts of the Euxine against the Scythians of the neighbourhood and Armenia against the brigandage of the Alani. Appian relates that he saw at Rome the deputies of barbarous tribes who begged to be received as subjects of the Empire; Antoninus refused: this was the policy of Augustus and Hadrian. There came also embassies from Bactria and India: a proof that commercial relations continued with these distant regions.

To sum up, the wars under Antoninus were of no importance and the outbreaks without peril. "At that time," says his biographer, "all the provinces were flourishing . . . and no prince was so much respected by the barbarians." A contemporary, the rhetorician Aristides, shows what confidence this long peace inspired: "The entire continent is in a state of repose, and one no longer believes in war, even when it is raging at some far off point."³

stories, but who perhaps found this fact in the *Chronicle of Antioch*. Cf. Waddington, *Chronol. du rhéteur Aristide*.

¹ See above, vol. iv. p. 709.

² See in Eckhel, vol. vii. pp. 3 and 15; in Cohen, *Anton.*, Nos. 758 and 759, the medals with the inscription: *Rex Quadis datus Armeniis*, which are placed between 139 and 145. The latter of these two authors says (*Anton.*, p. 279) that the decadence of art begins to be apparent under Antoninus in the medals, especially the silver ones.

³ Aristides, i. 3, ed. Dind.

More respectful than Hadrian towards the old usages and ancient legends, he considered an element of social stability was to be found in matters which his predecessor saw only with sceptical curiosity. He tried like Augustus to re-animate expiring patriotism by bringing again into fashion the marvellous beginnings of the Roman people; some of his coins represent the flight of Æneas, the foundation of Alba, Mars and Rhea, Romulus and the first *spolia opima*, Horatius Cocles defending the Janiculum bridge, or Æsculapius arriving in the isle of the Tiber under the form of a serpent (Glycon). To set up firmly the gods on their tottering altars, he scrupulously performed his pontifical functions, drew to the temples the crowd eager for spectacles, and earned this inscription: "The senate and Roman people to the very good, very great, and very just prince Antoninus Augustus, *ob insignem erga cærimonias publicas curam ac religionem*."² At the same time he tried to stop the progress of Jewish conversions by renewing the penalties declared by an edict of Vespasian against those who practised circumcision on those not of the Hebrew race.³



The Serpent Glycon.¹ (Reverse of a Coin of Antoninus.)

Seeing in him this disposition, one might fear that he would treat the Christians cruelly. Nothing of the sort. He followed, as regards them, the policy of his adoptive father, and granted them a virtual toleration, which was, however, disturbed a few times by too zealous magistrates condemning a victim impatient to die. With regard to the rescript that Eusebius ascribes to him, we cannot regard it, at least in its actual form, as authentic. It is certain that this prince and his predecessor never dreamt of giving full citizenship in the Empire to the new religion; but they would not have wished any the more to persecute it. The latter from philosophic indifference, the former

¹ Bronze coin of Ionopolis (Mionnet, *Descr. de Méd. ant.*, vol. iv. p. 550, No. 5). The human headed serpent is the personification of Glycon, the new manifestation of Æsculapius, whose worship received in the time of the Antonines great extension.

² Orelli, No. 844. This inscription is of the year 143.

³ *Digest*, xlviii. 8, 11: *Circumcidere Judeis filios suos tantum rescripto divi Pii permittitur: is non ejusdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis poena irrogatur*; now, this penalty was death. *Médico qui exciderit, capitale erit, item ipsi qui se sponte excidendum præbuit*. See above, vol. iv. p. 726.

from goodness of heart, felt repugnance at shedding blood for beliefs. "During Antoninus's reign," says Orosius, "peace reigned in the Church."¹

At this period the faith found a clever and bold defender. Justin represents in the history of the Empire that decisive moment when Christianity, which with S. Paul had confessed the impotence of reason,² and which with the early successors of the Apostles lived in shade and mystery, comes forth into the day and proudly claims its rights as rational doctrine. Then what was contemptuously styled "the religion of slaves and women, of children and old men," makes its claim, not only before the executioner, but before the man of science, and attempts to absorb into itself pagan wisdom purified by the new revelation.

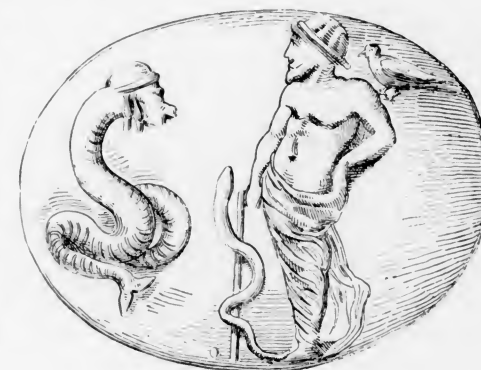
Justin was a Greek of Palestine who had explored all the philosophic systems before reaching Christianity, and who has himself related, in a dialogue after the manner of Plato, not without elegance, the different stages of his mental progress. He does not commit to the flames, as so many others did, what he had revered. Christianity is in his eyes a new philosophy, more certain, more useful than the ancient; but he does not abjure that which had preceded it. "Socrates," said he, "had been the incarnation of the Λόγος, or divine reason infused into humanity, Λόγος σπερματικός, for every intelligence contains a portion of it. Christ was another more complete, because He is absolutely Truth. When Plato's master tried, with the force of truth, to rescue men from the demons, these latter had him put to death as impious and atheistic. They act similarly against us. Atheists we are against your gods, but not in respect of the true God, the Father of every virtue that we adore, with the Son whom He has sent to teach us, with the army of the good angels, His satellites, and the prophetic Spirit. You ancients have taught certain dogmas which we expound in a more divine manner and of which we alone prove the truth. We say, like Plato, that God has created and ordered everything; like the Stoics, that the world will perish by fire; like your poets and philosophers, that the good will be recompensed

¹ Orosius, *Hist. sac.*, ii. 46: *Antonino Pio imperante, pax ecclesiis fuit.* Cf. Euseb., *Hist. eccles.*, iv. 13, 26; Tertullian, *Apol.*, 5; Dion, lxx. 3.

² Cf. *Epist. Rom.*, i. 21-24; 1 *Cor.*, i. 19; iii. 18; *Gal.*, i. 8.

and the wicked punished. When we call Jesus Christ the divine Λόγος, the Reason of God, we apply to Him the name given to Mercury. . . . If it is said that He was crucified, in that even he resembles those of Jupiter's sons who, according to you, have had torments to suffer; that He was born of a Virgin, he has that in common with Perseus; that He healed the lame, the paralytic, the infirm, and raised the dead, is what you relate of Æsculapius. . . . All who have lived conformably to reason are Christians. Such were, among the Greeks, Socrates, Heraclitus, and those who resemble them, as of our own time Musonius,¹ and among the barbarians Abraham, Ananias, Mishaël, Elijah, and many others."

Christianity was, therefore, the completion and not the contradiction of natural revelation.



Æsculapius and Glycon.

Justin defends himself, but he also attacks. He opposes the god of the Christians to the incestuous and adulterous gods of paganism, and to the scandalous lessons of their history God's holy commandments. Before the face of the old state of society, legalizing its vices by the income which it derives from them and raising altars to Antinous, he places the new state, which, instead of impure festivals and bloody sacrifices, has for its creed prayer, almsgiving, the kiss of peace, the brotherly communion of bread and wine; then he exclaims: "Cease, then, from imputing to saintly men your debauches and those of your gods!"

As preaching to the poor and oppressed, the Gospel would have been preferable; as pleading before a pagan tribunal, the

¹ It is in the *Apology*, ii. § 8, where the name of Musonius is found; the others are found in the first, § 21.

defence was clever, not wanting in truth and grandeur. We find even in the opening words of this apology the masculine boldness of a man who accepted the combat with the masters of the world:—

TO THE EMPEROR TITUS ÆLIUS ANTONINUS, PIUS,
 AUGUSTUS, CÆSAR,
 TO HIS SON VERISSIMUS, PHILOSOPHER,
 TO LUCIUS, PHILOSOPHER,
 SON OF CÆSAR BY BIRTH AND OF ANTONINUS BY ADOPTION,
 A PRINCE, A LOVER OF LITERATURE;
 TO THE SACRED SENATE AND TO THE ENTIRE ROMAN PEOPLE,
 IN THE NAME OF THOSE WHO, AMONG ALL MEN,
 ARE UNJUSTLY HATED AND PERSECUTED;
 I, ONE OF THEM,
 JUSTIN I HAVE WRITTEN THIS DISCOURSE.¹

This mode of address, this expression borrowed from the Stoics, but which he found in his own manly soul: "You can kill us; you cannot harm us," proceeded from a believer ready to give his life for the faith, and who will give it.

Since Trajan's time Christianity had acquired sufficient importance to secure that Justin's first *Apology* should reach the hands of the emperor, without however determining him to break the laws of the Empire, of which he was guardian, by the publication of an edict of toleration. The Christians therefore continued exposed to the violence of the populace in cities where they showed too much zeal against idols, too much ardour for martyrdom, and under this gracious prince some Christians perished. A letter from the faithful of Smyrna to the churches of Asia, which Eusebius has preserved, is a living picture of these abominable yet sublime scenes. A Phrygian, named Quintus, belonging to the country where Cybele exacted sanguinary worship, persuaded some Smyrniots and Philadelphians to provoke their own death in order the sooner to enjoy eternal bliss. They were twelve in number, and showed heroic courage in the midst of the atrocious tortures which

¹ The composition of the first *Apology* is about 150, that of the second at the end of 160 or the beginning of 161.



Antoninus crowned with Oak. (Statue found at the *Villa Hadriana*.—Vatican, Salle Ronde, No. 550.)

the executioners taxed their ingenuity to vary. One of them, Germanicus, was conspicuous among them all by his contempt for the tortures. The proconsul felt repugnance at striking men who appeared to him only guilty of religious obstinacy; he would have wished to save them: "Have pity on your youth," said he to Germanicus; but the latter, eager for death, irritated the beasts in order to be more quickly torn in pieces. Just as the combat was beginning the Phrygian trembled and abjured his faith. As the people were thus defrauded of one victim, cries arose to replace Quintus by Polycarp. He was an old man of eighty, and the most illustrious of the bishops of Asia. The imperial governor, who was well acquainted with him, had never disturbed him, and the latter, without denying his faith, had been allowed to reach that great age. He did not believe that martyrdom should be sought; at the time when the popular fury had burst forth, aroused by the rash deed of Quintus, he had left the city and had retired into a remote house. They went there to take him; he could have made his escape, but did not. The proconsul tried for a long time to extort a word which would permit him to spare him: "Swear," said he to him, "by the fortune of Caesar; say, 'Remove the impious from the world,' and I will dismiss you as discharged." He replied, "I am a Christian; if you wish to become acquainted with my religion, give me a day: I will make you acquainted with it." The proconsul having answered that it was the people whom he must convince, Polycarp replied: "I do not refuse to instruct you, because I have learnt to render to men in high position the honour which is their due, but this vulgar crowd does not deserve my making a defence before them."

As the people kept demanding that this enemy of the gods, one who wished to abolish their religion and their sacrifices, should be thrown to the lions, the governor objected that he was not empowered to do so because the games were ended. "To the stake then!" howled the crowd, and ran to find wood at the baths and shops, then they arranged the pile while the old man quietly undressed to mount it. When it was ignited, the wind carried the flame behind him, which formed a sort of arcade above the martyr's head, "just as it fills the sail of a ship; and he seemed to us to look like gold or silver tried in the furnace. At the same time we

perceived a sweet odour of precious perfume." The executioner finished him by a stroke of his sword.¹

The procedure established by Trajan: "If they are accused



Antoninus. (Bust in the Museum of Naples.)

and convicted let them be punished," had been followed. The governor had not referred the matter to Rome, nor had he need so to do. The people had cried: "The Christians to the lions!"

¹ The date of S. Polycarp's martyrdom has given rise to much discussion. M. Waddington (*Vie d'Aristide*, p. 235) places it on 23rd February, 155. M. J. Réville (*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. iii. p. 369) brings it down to 166. As regards the matter of date, doubt still exists; but it is of no consequence to general history whether Polycarp died under Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius. Doubtless the emperors were never aware of it, and the judgment we pass on them cannot be modified by it.

and the Christians voluntarily offering to satisfy the joy of the crowd, their blood had stained the arena.

On the statement of Justin, such scenes took place in several parts of the Empire. His *Apology* would lead us to believe in more martyrdoms than there were, for exaggeration is one of the characteristics of this description of writings.¹ But it is certain that the hatred against "these blasphemers of the gods" increased amongst the people with their increase in number; that the faith, more confident, became rash, and that the imperial officers must have been driven far beyond what intelligent and sceptical administrators would have desired, seeing they were but slightly pre-occupied about Jupiter, but much about preserving the public peace.

Did the emperor know anything of these distant matters? It is very doubtful; it is not even certain that he knew in the last years of his reign of the execution of the Greek Ptolemaeus and of two other Christians which was ordered by the prefect of Rome. They were insignificant persons who had never been sought after, and who, moreover, had delivered themselves up. Their fate interested no one, and in a world so cruel, so prodigal of human life, a capital punishment was by no means so rare as to cause any stir in the city.

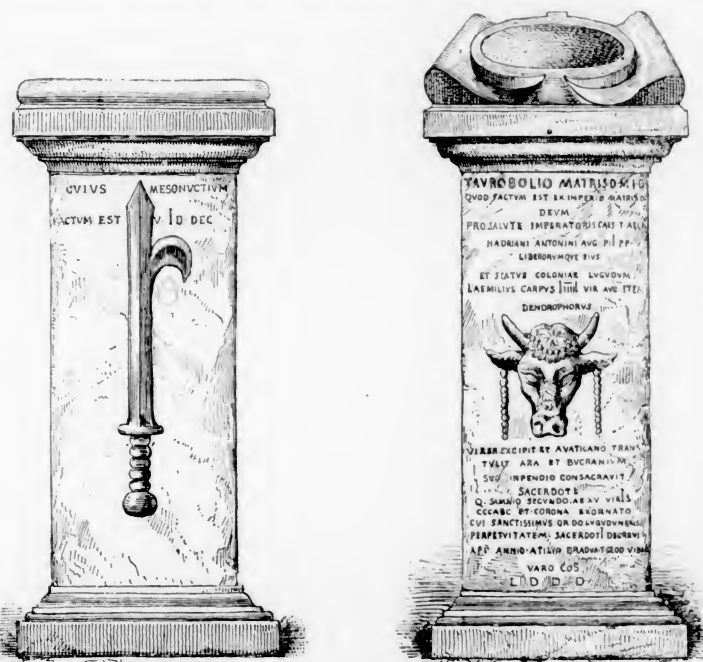
The Christians responded to the blows which struck them by secret and irritating menaces. The Sibyl assigned only three successors to Antoninus, and announced the destruction of Rome, of Italy, and of the Empire, as about to take place in 195: "Oh! how wilt thou weep then, when despoiled of thy brilliant laticlave and clothed in mourning garments, oh! thou haughty Rome, daughter of old Latinus! Thou shalt fall never again to rise. The glory of thy legions with the proud eagles will disappear. Where will be thy might? What people will be thy ally out of those whom thou hast enslaved to thy follies?"² To see so much hate displayed upon both sides makes it clear that between the ancient and the new society an abyss had been formed into which victims must fall.

If we imperfectly know what Antoninus did when emperor, we know well what the enemies of the Empire did after him; hence a question arises: Ought Antoninus to be held responsible for a part

¹ *Apol.*, i. 39; ii. 12; *Dial.*, 39, 110, 131.

² *Carm. Sib.*, viii. 70 et seq. Cf. Renan, *L'Eglise chrétienne*, p. 533.

of Marcus Aurelius's misfortunes? Antoninus's adoptive father had prepared for him, by the strict discipline introduced into everything, a peaceable reign; did he not bequeath to his successor many dangers by the mildness of an administration which, from dislike of punishing, closed its eyes and allowed everything to become slack? On finding after his death that the legions were without discipline, the frontiers insecure, the Parthians again audacious, the bar-



Taurabolic Altar, found at Lyons, on the Fourvières Hill, in 1704; front and side views. (See p. 168.)

barians at one and the same time crossing the Rhine, the Danube, the Alps, and reaching as far as Aquileia on the route to Rome, and as far as Elatea in the heart of Greece, we have the right to think that Antoninus had been too fond of repose, too much disposed, in order to gratify the senate, to pursue a course of conduct different from that which his predecessor had pursued. Never had the barbarians seen him slowly going along the frontiers to make sure that, on the side of Rome, they were well guarded, and that

on the other there were not being formed among them any menacing combinations which ought to be combated by policy or arms. Never did he appear in the midst of the legions to examine with attentive eye their wants and their discipline, to join in their exercises, and by his presence to maintain their military virtue. Inactive behind their ramparts and their camps they no longer knew how to handle their arms nor support fatigues, and the cruel severity of Avidius Cassius was required to extricate the troops from their want of vigour, to break off their use "of the baths and the dangerous voluptuousness of Daphne, to make the flowers drop from their heads with which they adorned themselves at the festivals."¹



Faustina, Antoninus's Wife. (Bust in the Vatican, found at the Villa Hadriana.)

Antoninus reached an advanced age: he had attained his seventy-fourth year, and, without being attacked by any disorder, his physical



Hexastyle Temple, the Reverse of a Denarius of Faustina the Elder.



Bronze Medallion of Faustina the Elder.



Puelle Faustinae. Reverse of a Gold Coin of Faustina, senior. (Cohen, No. 107.)

strength was decreasing. Therefore prayers for his health were offered in the temples. At Lyons a monument exists which recalls

¹ See Fronto (*Epist.*, II. i. p. 128, and *Principia hist.*, p. 206): . . . *seditiones, contumaces, apud signa infrequentes . . . praesidiis vagi . . . ac palantes, de meridiis . . . temulentis; ne armati quidem sustinendo aduerti, sed impatientia laboris armis singillatim omittendis in relictum atque funditorum modum seminudi . . . ut ad primum Parthorum conspectum terga verterent . . .*

the fact that three months before the prince's death the great expiating sacrifice of those days (*the taurobolium*) had been there offered.¹ In March, 161, he was carried off by a fever in three days. When expiring he gave to the tribune of the guards for a password: "Patience and resignation, *Æquanimitas*." This was leaving



Apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina. (Bas-relief from the Pedestal of the Antonine Column.—Vatican.)

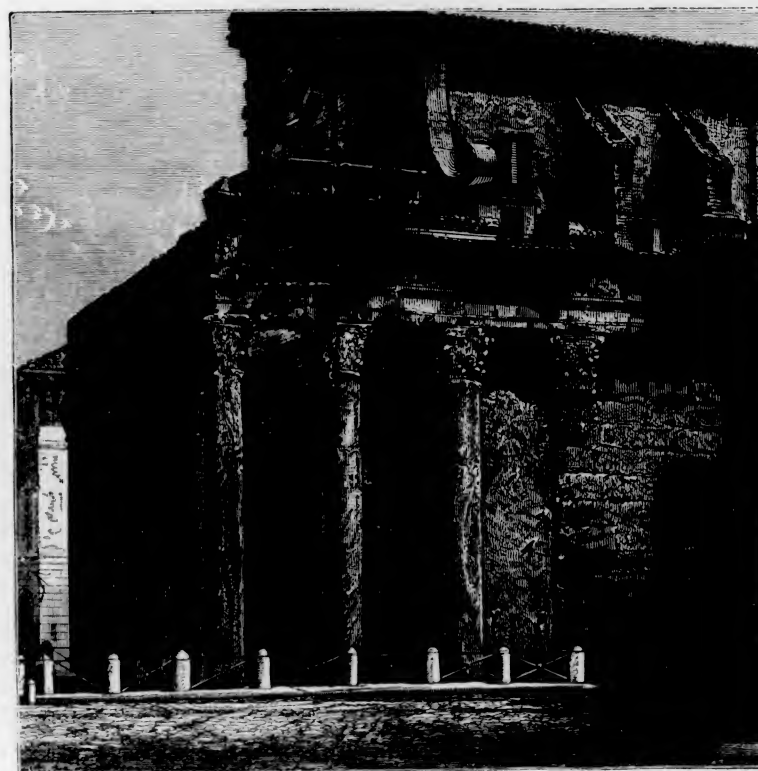
the world like a philosopher; but may it not be said that Antoninus had always lived as he died?

He has been set down as a complaisant husband and the same thing has been said of his successor: the two Faustinas have a bad reputation.² These charges are easy to propagate but difficult to refute; and it seems as if malignity, not being

¹ "For the welfare of the emperor and of his sons, and for the prosperity of the colony of Lugdunum." (De Boissieu, *Inscr. ant. de Lyon*, p. 24.)

² *De hujus uxore multa dicta sunt ob nimiam libertatem et vivendi facilitatem quæ ille cum animi dolore compressit* (Capit., *Anton.*, 3). I do not see that these words indicate the adultery of Faustina; this silent grief of mind might have had for its cause only a certain tone of behaviour and not definite acts.

able to expend itself on the Antonines, determined to be indemnified by giving rein to itself respecting the two empresses. I shall not undertake to warrant for their virtue; but the accusations with which they have been charged during seventeen centuries are vague or absurd, and it does not seem to me to have proceeded



Remains of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, before the Recent Demolition of San Lorenzo.

from philosophic resignation that their husbands supported what is termed the shame of the imperial family. There was not only affection in these words of Antoninus to Fronto respecting the first Faustina: "In the discourse which thou hast devoted to my Faustina, I have found much more truth than eloquence. For it is the fact; yes, by the gods! I would rather live with her at

Gyaros than without her in the palace."¹ Beneath love I perceive esteem. When, a short time after his accession (141) he lost the mother of his four children, he refused to marry again,² and he built a temple at Rome in her honour. That was the fashion.

But when he himself was dead and accounted a god, the senate, for the purpose of preserving the remembrance of this mutual affection, connected the married couple when dedicating the temple: *To the god Antoninus and to the goddess Faustina*. There still exist the magnificent ruins at San Lorenzo in Miranda, a church constructed in the temple which was the object of the admiration of the Romans.³

He did better than giving Faustina priestesses and statues of gold: he perpetuated her name by a charitable foundation for the benefit of "the Faustian Girls." A medal bearing the empress's image shows on the reverse Antoninus surrounded by young children, with these words in the exergue: *Puella Faustinae*; and to his last hour he supported and extended the institution of the *pueri alimentarii*, which saved poor families from despair by preventing them from having recourse to the ancient and abominable custom of abandoning the new born.⁴

When Antoninus perceived his end drawing near he ordered the golden statue of Victory, which never left the emperor's pillow, to be carried into the room of his son-in-law and adopted son, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, entitled the Philosopher.

¹ Fronto, *Epist. ad Ant. Piam*, p. 163, Naber. Gyaros was a desert island and place of banishment.

² Yet it must be told that, following the Roman usage, he took a concubine (*Capit., Anton.*, 8; *Marc. Aurel., Meditations*, i. 17, and Orelli, No. 5,466). Julian, in the *Cesars*, 9, says of him: "A moderate man, except with regard to Venus."

³ There remains of it the cella, ten columns in *cipollino* marble, 16 mètres high, with an entablature and frieze in Parian marble on which was cut in relief the inscription *Dive Faustine*. The other words, *Divo Antonino*, were cut on the architrave after Antoninus's death. (Orelli, No. 868.) These fine ruins have been lately cleared. The *Itinerarium* called Antoninus's belongs neither to this prince nor his time. This work was doubtless the anonymous later compilation of the Roman administration, a sort of official postal guide.

⁴ We have the proof of this from inscriptions of 149 (Cupra Montana), of 150 (Urbino), and from medals of the years 151, 160, and 161.

II.—MARCUS AURELIUS.

We must not let this title of philosopher deceive us. We are going to pass from a reign of silence to a history of storm. In the interior of the palace Marcus will have no need, as has been asserted, of the patience of Socrates or the imbecile blindness of Claudius; but this friend of the gods and of humanity will see let loose upon the world every sort of scourge: inundations, pestilence, famine; this lover of peace will live in the midst of continual wars, which will cost the provinces innumerable captives carried off by the barbarians; in fine, this compliant prince will have to carry out implacable severities, this just man will shed innocent blood. The contrast between the sentiments of the philosopher and the life of the prince give to Marcus Aurelius's public life a singularly tragic interest.



Faustina the Younger, Antoninus's Daughter and Marcus Aurelius's Wife.²

His family was originally from the municipium of Succubo¹ in Spain; he himself was born at Rome 26th April, 121. His grandfather, made patrician by Vespasian, had been twice consul and prefect of the City. He had no youth. From the age of twelve he assumed the philosopher's cloak and practised the severest stoical austerity, working without intermission, eating little, and sleeping on the hard ground; his mother, Domitia Lucilla,³ had to use many entreaties to get him to use a bed on which some sheep skins were stretched. After his adoption by Antoninus, when eighteen, he continued to attend his masters; when emperor he heaped upon them honours

¹ *La Ronda*, or *Sucubi*, in the province of Granada, near Cordova. His name was *Marcus Amnius Verus*; after his adoption he was called *Elus Aurelius Verus Cæsar*, after his accession *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus*.

² Bronze statuette of Roman production, found in the Swedish island of Oeland (a communication of M. Léouzon Le Duc). A coin of Sabina, Hadrian's wife, has been found in Finland. Cf. *Bull. de l'Assoc. scientif.*, 12th January, 1879.

³ Lucilla was descended from Domitius Afer. Cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii. 35.

and rewards; many of them were consuls;¹ to others he raised statues. Their portraits were placed in the midst of his Lares, and on the anniversary of their death he used to go and sacrifice on their tombs, which he always kept decorated with flowers.



Domitia Lucilla, Marcus Aurelius's Mother.
(Bronze Coin struck at Nicaea.)

One of them, the philosopher Rusticus, had rendered him the service of combating the detestable taste which Fronto had engrafted at first on his pupil, those affectations, those conceits which are found in Marcus Aurelius's letters to his first master. "I have read a good deal this morning," he wrote to him one day, "and I have noted ten figures or subjects of comparison;" at another time: "I send you an idea which I have developed this morning and a common-place of the day before yesterday . . . ;



Marcus Aurelius (Large Bronze).

to-day it will be hard for me to make anything else than the thought of last evening. Send me three thoughts and ten common-places."² What an education for a prince! Later on he said: "Rusticus has turned me aside from the false paths into which the sophists enter and from the affected elegancies of rhetoric; to him I owe the practice of never lightly giving my assent to skilful speechmakers; and he it is who has put into my hands the commentaries of Epictetus."³

Being of a weakly constitution, he regulated his life minutely in order not to exhaust its powers more rapidly than nature demanded, and he followed the directions of his physicians, amongst whom was Galen, as an obligation imposed upon him of preserving for his soul's use the temporary covering in which the gods had inclosed it. Chaste and sober, he never knew what men called pleasure; or rather, he found it in devotion to duty,⁴ in that unceasing study

¹ Thus the philosopher Junius Rusticus was twice consul and prefect of Rome; Fronto had already held the fasces.

² *Epist. ad Marc.*, ii. 9, and v. 59.

³ *Med.*, i. 7.

⁴ He wrote to Fronto: *Verecundia officii res est imperiosa* (*Epist. ad M. Ant. de fer. Als.*). This is in other words the constant thought in the *Tà eis iavrov*.

which he imposed on himself in order to reach a high degree of perfection. Marcus Aurelius is the moral hero of pagan antiquity.

He had an adopted brother, Lucius Aurelius Verus, son of that Ælius Verus for whom the succession to Hadrian had at first been reserved. Instead of keeping him in the obscurity in which hitherto this young man had remained, he made him his colleague and son-in-law, so that the State had for the first time two masters, "although the senate had transferred the Empire to one only." Nevertheless, Verus took the part of a lieutenant, not of an equal. He found his advantage in doing so, having more taste for pleasure than for power. It is said that it was through him that Rome again saw some scenes like Nero's debauchery: drinking bouts in low taverns; fights at night in the streets; extravagance in the shows, play, and feasting; as much as 6,000,000 of sesterces spent in one day; happily no cruelty. Besides, Marcus Aurelius's gravity of life made amends for everything and secured the honour of the imperial house, which ran fewer dangers than is pretended. Fronto and Dion Cassius give, in fact, quite a different idea of Lucius;¹ and



Lucilla, Daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Wife of Lucius Verus, in the character of Ceres. (Capitol, Salon, No. 19.)

¹ Fronto, *Epist. ad Verum*, lib. i. and ii.; Dion, lxxi. 1: *ἔρρωτό τε καὶ νεώτερος ἦν, τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς τε ἔργοις καταλλογότερος*. Eutropius (viii. 5), Sextus Rufus (20), raise no reproach

in one of his letters this prince felicitates himself on having learnt from his master freedom and the love of truth much more than the knowledge of fine language.

The two emperors had made as a grant to the armies, by way of gift for a happy accession, the enormous sum of 20,000 sesterces to each soldier.¹ This ransom of the Empire was a necessity from which the best prince was unable to clear himself, and for the moment, an act of prudence, for Antoninus had left war to his successor on all the frontiers. His last moments had been troubled by threatening visions: "In the delirium of fever," says his biographer, "he talked only of the Republic and of the kings who wanted to assail it." In fact, scarcely had the commotion of the



Vologeses III. (Face and Reverse).²

fêtes celebrated in honour of the two princes' accession passed away than they learnt of the invasion of Spain by the Moors, already disturbed by an insurrection of the Lusitanians. In Gaul, seditions agitated the Sequani; in Britain, the Picts over-ran the country, and most serious of all, the legions wished to induce their commander, Statius Priscus, to take the purple. Then again from the East alarming news arrived. Vologeses had for a long time been making warlike preparations there; in 162 he threw his Parthians into Armenia, where they utterly destroyed a Roman army, and into Syria, whose legions were overcome; this province was compromised, Cappadocia threatened, Asia Minor laid open defenceless with all its wealth to the swift cavalry of the great king.³

In face of these perils Marcus Aurelius showed resolution and activity. Statius Priscus, recalled from Britain, in order that

against him, and if his letters to Fronto (*ad Verum imp.*, lib. ii. epist. ii. p. 129, edit. of Naber) on the Parthian war show little modesty, they also prove that he did not pass all the campaign in pleasures.

¹ Probably 20,000 sesterces, or 5,000 francs, to each prætorian; but much less for the legionaries.

² Obverse: head of Vologeses III.; behind, B. On the reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Tetradrachma of the king of kings, Arsaces Vologeses, the just, the illustrious, the friend of the Greeks. Vologeses seated, to whom the city presents a sceptre. Silver coin; the Parthians did not make gold coin.

³ We cannot give the dates of all these movements.

his disinterestedness should not continue exposed to such dangerous temptations, was replaced by a commander whose name was of good augury for a command in that country, Calpurnius Agricola.¹ Priscus was sent into Cappadocia, whilst a skilful general formed from the *élite* of the legions of the Danube and Rhine war battalions (*rexillationes*), which he made haste to march thither.² Another went to drive back the Catti, and the governor of Belgica, Didius Julianus, who became such a sad emperor, drove away the Chauci from his province. At Rome the fugitive king of the Armenians had been received with honour; he had been presented with the senatorial laticlave and the consulate: this was a promise of help. Strong forces were, in fact, sent to the East; Marcus Aurelius even desired that his colleague should go there.

Instead of placing himself at the head of the expedition with that juvenile ardour and the inexperience which would have embarrassed the veteran generals, Verus, by his brother's orders, stayed at Antioch to collect the reserves and munitions of war,³ to watch and keep the neighbouring provinces in check, whilst his lieutenants pushed on in front. The principal of them, Avidius Cassius, was a Syrian, a hard, ambitious man who was said to be a descendant of Caesar's assassin;⁴ he was not at all displeased to hear himself called Catiline, and he would have wished to be looked upon as at least a new Marius. He was pitiless in all that concerned discipline. While *en route*, no baggage; he severely punished those who had brought anything else than some bacon, biseuit, and vinegar. For some act of violence towards the inhabitants of the province, the guilty were fixed up over a large fire and perished both from suffocation and the flames. In the case of deserters, he had them hamstrung or their thighs cut. One day some auxiliaries surprised a body of barbarians and destroyed them. They had attacked without orders; Cassius ordered the centurions to be crucified. "Who assured you," he

¹ The new general, nevertheless, seems to have fallen back from Antoninus's rampart to the *Valium Hadriani*, where an inscription has been found bearing his name (Orelli, No. 5,861). Later on Marcus Aurelius sent 5,500 Iazyges cavalry into this province. (Dion, lxxi. 14 and 16.)

² Cf. L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 123.

³ Dion, lxxi. 2: Τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χορηγίας ἀποκίζων.

⁴ He was originally from Cyrrhus, and his father, the rhetorician Heliodorus, had been, under Hadrian and Antoninus, prefect of Egypt. Cf. Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 129.

said to them, "that it was not a snare and that the honour of the Roman army would not be compromised?" Thereupon a sedition broke out, and the whole army menacingly surrounded the pretorium of the general. He stepped forth unarmed: "Strike me," said he, "and add this crime also to the upsetting of discipline." All returned again to a state of order. The writer from whom we derive these details ends his narrative with these words: "He deserved to be feared, because he had no fear himself."

Such was the man whom Marcus Aurelius had given to his brother as lieutenant and to be at the head of the troops. "I have intrusted to him," he wrote to a prefect, "these legions of Syria who live in the delights of Daphne. You know him; he has all the severity of those whose name he bears, and he will re-establish that ancient discipline without which an army cannot exist."

The day after his arrival Cassius proclaimed by sound of trumpet that the soldier seen at Daphne should be ignominiously discharged, and he drove out of the camp everything savouring of luxury or effeminacy. Continual drills, frequent reviews, not for mere parade but of severe inspection, a threat to keep the army the whole winter under tents, had in a short time restored to these effeminate troops the look of veteran legions, and Cassius, now their master, took the offensive. We do not know the incidents of his campaigns, which lasted four years. Mention is made of numerous successes gained by the Romans, of the capture, by the skilful Priscus, of Artaxata, the principal fortress of Armenia, whose king re-entered into his states as a vassal of Rome, and of a great victory near Zeugma on the Euphrates, which opened up to the legions a way to the very heart of the Parthian empire.¹ It was Trajan's expedition repeated: the same triumphs, the same conquests—that in the north of Mesopotamia with Edessa and Nisibis, the invasion of Assyria and Media, the taking of Ctesiphon and burning of the king's palace, the destruction of Seleucia after an immense slaughter of its inhabitants; but also the same march back saddened by hunger, thirst, and the death of a large number of soldiers. Had Cassius adopted better measures

¹ Lucian (*de hist. conscrib.*, 19-21 and 28-9) speaks of several battles.



Lucius Verus, junior. (Vatican.)

than Trajan, or had the war of extermination made upon the Jews by Hadrian suppressed one of the most effective causes of revolt in those regions? We know not, but Vologeses demanded peace (165), which he had disdainfully refused before the commencement of hostilities; and he gave up the northern part of Mesopotamia, which the Romans still kept at the end of Commodus's reign. By this acquisition, the only one needful to be made to the east of the Euphrates, their influence in Armenia, where now their vassal was reigning, was consolidated. We have already pointed out how from thence they held in check, by means of their allies, the Armenians, the tribes of the Caucasus, and by themselves the empire of the Parthians. The two emperors celebrated a triumph at which they took the titles of Parthicus, Armeniacus, and Medicus.



Lucius Verus Armeniacus.

These successes resounded far into Asia, and Roman trade profited from them for extending its connections. The Chinese annals make mention about this time of an embassy sent by an Emperor Antoninus to the Son of Heaven. These ambassadors, unknown to our Roman writers, were, according to all appearance, some merchants who, in the interests of commerce, had assumed a political character. In exchange for elephants' teeth, rhinoceros' horns, and tortoise-shell offered to Houang-Ti they received a great quantity of the silk which used to be sold in the Empire for its weight in gold.²



Triumph of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. (Bronze Medal, Cohen, No. 388.)

During the Parthian war Marcus Aurelius had remained at the centre of the Empire, in order to provide speedily for all its wants. He had shown much deference to the senators, coming from the depth of Campania not to miss being present at one of

¹ L. AUREL. VERUS AUG. ARMENIACUS IMP. II. TR. P. III. COS. II. Bust of Lucius Verus on a fine bronze medallion, a recent acquisition of the *Cabinet de France*.

² Letronne, *Mém. de l'Acad. des insér.*, vol. x. p. 227. Houang-Ti, who reigned from 147 to 168, was consequently a contemporary of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius.

its deliberations, and not leaving the senate house until the consul had pronounced the ancient formula: "Conscript Fathers, we have nothing more to propose to you." Like all the emperors who exercised their duties in earnest, he strictly fulfilled his judicial



Lucius Verus bearing a Figure of Victory. (Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 123.)

work; he heard both sides, decided according to law, and above all equitably, without haste but also without delay; and in order that the judges should do as he did, he forced them to sit two hundred and thirty days in the year.¹

Ancient society showed anger and hatred against the guilty; it took revenge by torturing them; it demanded not only punishments but suffering, a slow and cruel death. Marcus Aurelius caught a glimpse, by an instinct for mercy rather than from the fixed principle of social expediency, of the modern doctrine that punishment should be

employed for the amendment of the criminals: "We ought," said he, "to seek by means of punishments to bring to light the good which often lies hidden in the depths of the criminal's heart." He reduced the penalties without showing weakness for the crime,²

¹ Capit., *M. Ant.*, 10.

² *Omnia crimina minore supplicio . . . puniret* (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 24); *egregia ratione humanitatis* (*Digest*, xlviii. 18, i. § 27). "That would not be humane," says he elsewhere (*ibid.*, xl. 5, 37).

but with great severity towards the informers convicted of calumny.¹ He recommends humanity: in doubtful cases the judge is to pronounce the mildest sentence;² he wishes, as Hadrian did,³ that the governors, when an accusation comes before them, should inquire not only into the facts but also into the intention, because it is the determination to harm that constitutes criminality. A son kills his mother, but he is suspected of having acted under the influence of sudden mental aberration; Marcus Aurelius, when consulted, replies: "He will be sufficiently punished by his misfortune. Yet, for his own security and that of others, let him be given in charge of his friends in his own house. The guardians of lunatics ought to prevent these unfortunate persons from doing harm to themselves or others. If this should take place, it is their keepers who should be punished."⁴ He used to say, moreover: "We ought not to be enraged against evil-doers; on the contrary, they must be taken care of and patiently borne with. If it be possible, reform them; in the contrary case, remember that benevolence is for the purpose of being exercised towards them."⁵

Hadrian had divided the administration of Italy between four consulars, Marcus Aurelius replaced these by *juridici*, whose intervention restrained the municipal jurisdiction, and he admitted prætors to this office in order to enlarge the area of choice.⁶ He developed the institution of chief magistrates, which originated under Trajan: "Many cities," says his biographer, "had them on his appointment;" and to raise their dignity he often selected them from the senatorial order. These chief magistrates enjoyed

¹ Tertullian, *Apol.*, 5; Euseb., *Hist. eccles.*, v. 5.

² . . . *Humanior sententia a prætore eligenda est. Hoc ex D. Marci rescripto colligi potest.* This became a principle of the juriconsults, which is to be found in the fragments of Paulus, Ulpian, Gaius, Marcellus, etc. *Digest*, xxviii. 5, 84; xxxiv. 5, 10, § 1; l. 17, 56; *Semper in dubiis benigniora præferenda sunt*, etc.

³ *Divus Hadrianus hæc rescripsit: in maleficiis voluntas spectatur, non exitus* (*Digest*, xlviii. 8, 14. Cf. *ibid.*, i. § 3; xlviii. 19, 16, § 8; l. 17, 79, and *Code*, ix. 16, 1).

⁴ *Digest*, i. 18, fr. 14.

⁵ *Medit.*, ix. 3 and 11.

⁶ In an inscription from Ariminum (Orelli, No. 3,177), the *juridicus* of Flaminia and Umbria is praised *ob eximiam moderationem et in sterilitate annonæ laboriosam fidem et industriam ut et civibus annona superesset et vicinis civitatibus subveniretur*; the same thing at Concordia. The *juridici* then were not solely judges, but in case of need were administrators, like our ancient [French] parliaments. Moreover, the Romans did not understand what we call the separation of powers.

in ancient Italy, for the administration of finance, the part filled by the *podestus* of Italy during the Middle Ages for judicial purposes. At both periods the cities hoped to escape disorder only by the intervention of strangers to the city; but in the one the citizens preserved their autonomy because they elected the *podesta*;



Marcus Aurelius. (Bust in the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 33.)

in the other they lost it because the prince nominated the *curator*.¹ Some decurions already gave way under the burden of their municipal honours; he forbade intrusting these offices to such as were unable to bear them without harm to themselves, and he prohibited that others should be forced to sell corn to their fellow-citizens

¹ After Marcus Aurelius the greater part of these chief magistrates were taken from the equestrian order, which tends to show that their number increased; see *infra*, cap. lxxxiii. § 2.

below the market value.¹ He established around Rome a customs boundary, which Aurelian afterwards changed into a line of fortifications.²

To assure the fact of citizenship Marcus Aurelius ordered that all free-born children should in thirty days be registered at Rome at the office of the prefects of the treasury of Saturn; in the provinces, at the public registrars: these are our civil registers; and in order to give greater guarantee to minors for their property he created a *prætor* for wards, an office which France does not possess, but which Denmark, Norway, a part of Switzerland, and England have borrowed from the great Antonine. These guardians at first were accountable to the consuls, who often changed office and had a thousand other cares; a special administration, enlightened and vigilant, henceforward examined into their management. This same solicitude for the interest of families led him to extend the law so as to give guardians to adults under twenty-five years of age who were injuring their fortunes,³ and he commenced the reconstitution of the natural family, the bonds of which were being so often severed by the facilities recognized as belonging to adoption, by issuing an edict that children of both sexes should be admitted to the inheritance of their mothers dying intestate, even should they have entered another family by adoption.⁴

The *alimentary* institution was further developed and became one of the most important charges of a civil character. It had hitherto been directed by simple knights or procurators. Marcus Aurelius, in order to show the importance which he attached to it, confided its supervision to *prætorians* or consulars, who took the title of *præfecti alimentorum*.⁵

The slaves, as well as the sons of the family, had their share in his just provisions. In order to secure a last act of applause from the people by providing for their pleasures, even after death, some citizens would insert a clause in their will that certain of

¹ *Digest*, l. 1, 6.

² Cf. de Rossi's *Plans of Rome*.

³ *Statuit ut omnes adulti curatores acciperent, non redditis causis* (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 10).

⁴ This is the *senatus-consultum Orphitianum* of the year 178. (*Instit.*, iii. 4.)

⁵ *De alimentis publicis multa prudenter invenit* (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 11). He promulgated, respecting the institution for maintenance, an edict, the first words of which Fronto has preserved: *Florere inlibatam juventutem*, which is explained as showing the desire of seeing the cities of Italy filled with youth.

their slaves should be sold in order to fight the wild beasts; Marcus Aurelius nullified these testamentary clauses.¹ Perhaps also the decision came from him which gave the *ancilla* absolute liberty, protected by the condition *ne prostituatur*.² Lastly, he made the



Marcus Aurelius giving a Congiarium. (*Atlas du Bull. arch.*, vol. iv. pl. 1.)

funeral rites for poor citizens a public charge, and as the *colleges* or private societies had as their principal object to assure their members the last honours and a tomb, he authorized them to receive legacies.³ This was to constitute them *civil persons*, capable of possessing property, capital, or slaves. So he found himself led

¹ *Digest*, xviii. 1, 42: . . . *ut cum bestiis pugnarent*.

² Ulpian, in the *Digest*, ii. 4, 10, § 1.

³ *Digest*, xxxiv. 5, 20.

to acknowledge also their right to set free, *manumittendi potestatem*.¹ These privileges were important, and contrary to the old spirit of Roman policy. He hoped to guard against any danger from the decision by laying it down that no one could be a member of two colleges at once,² which was intended to preserve the isolation of the corporations.

The father had the right of shattering the dearest affections of the son by obliging the latter to put away his wife; Marcus Aurelius suppressed this tyrannical power, or at least only permitted its exercise for very grave reasons.³

There is scarcely need to add that many imposts were reduced, much poverty relieved, and many disasters repaired. He helped Smyrna, Ephesus, Nicomedia, and Carthage, which had been destroyed by fires or earthquakes, to rise from their ruins, and remitted the arrears due to the treasury or the aerarium for the last forty-six years by provinces, cities, and individuals, and he allowed those who were condemned to the tortures of a cruel punishment to evade them by a voluntary death.⁴

We thus see after a general survey of the legislation of the Antonines, that in the second century of our era the imperial government—whether administered by a soldier, like Trajan, by a scholar, like Hadrian, or a sage, like Marcus Aurelius—can claim the honour of having made efforts to defend the weak and succour the unfortunate as generous as have ever been put forth at any period.

A pestilence of the most disastrous nature was raging in the East. Sprung from Ethiopia or India, it entered Egypt and Parthia. The story goes that the Romans had taken it at Seleucia, in a gold coffer stolen from a temple of Apollo, and from whence the terrible miasma escaped since sacrilegious hands had violated the secret of the god. Verus, returning to Italy with a part of the army of Syria, spread the evil on his passage; even at Rome, where many perished, the dead were removed by cartloads, and some said that the end of the world was near. Later historians,

¹ *Digest*, xl. 3, 1.

² *Ibid.*, xlvii. 22, 1.

³ *Ex magna et justa causa* (Paulus, v. 6, § 15; *Digest*, xxiv. 2, 4; *Code*, v. 17, 5).

⁴ Dion, lxxi. 32, and *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 8, § 1.

puzzled to find an explanation of the boldness and success of the barbarians in the following years, asserted that the Roman army had been well-nigh destroyed by this scourge.¹ To appease the anger of the gods, Marcus Aurelius had recourse to all the expiatory rites ordered by the ritual. There was one which popular passion called for and which he had the weakness to grant or to allow to be carried out: the Christians, whose faith Hadrian and his successor had either contemned or respected, were disquieted afresh. We



Stone commemorative of the Sacrifices offered by Marcus Aurelius to charm away the Pestilence.²

shall see that some, at Rome and in certain provinces, perished or were sent to the quarries.

Another form of worship, that of Serapis at Pelusium, was persecuted, doubtless owing to local circumstances which we do not know. It was not only the sovereign pontiff of the Empire who condemned religions foreign to the Græco-Roman polytheism, but also the man who, by a singular union of defects and opposite qualities, proved himself, without hypocrisy, in his meditations to be a philosopher most unembarrassed by the bonds of creed, and in

¹ *Ut . . . maxima hominum pars, militum omnes fere copie languore defecerint* (Eutrop., viii. 12).

² Engraved stone (blood-coloured jasper) published in the *Hist. de l'Acad. des inser. et de belles-lettres*, vol. i. p. 279. Marcus Aurelius as sovereign pontiff; on his veiled head a globe, symbol of his sovereign power; behind him an augur's staff; facing the emperor, Rome helmeted and Æsculapius with horns; under Aurelius, Hygeia or Health; lastly, the head of Faustina. The Sagittarius who occupies the centre marks the time of the sacrifices, offered in November or December.

his public life the most superstitious of princes. No one wearied the gods as he did by most frequent sacrifices; a supplication from the victims was circulated: "To Marcus Cæsar, from the white oxen. It is all over with us if you return conqueror."

It does not appear that since the time when Tacitus drew a picture of Germany any great changes had taken place in the midst of those peoples; but this prolific race had increased in time of peace, and their greed had augmented with their strength. At the sight of the riches which the productive activity of the Romans amassed on the other side of the frontier, their hearts were filled with hate and envy. Those charming villas on the Danube and Rhine which they saw from their own wild bank seemed an insult to their straw huts. In their national poem, the *Nibelungen*, the object of their heroes' ardent pursuit, the conquest for whose sake the people are butchered and kings perish, is not the woman, the daughter of Jupiter and Leda, as in the case of the Greeks under the walls of Troy, nor a tomb, as in the case of the French before Jerusalem: but treasure! In the midst of their sterile lands and savage forests, that sensual race, greedy and poor, even then breathed the verses of Mignon about the lands where the golden apples grew, and which, during eighteen centuries, have excited their cupidity. In the time of the Cæsars, they, by their continual attacks, disturbed that civilized, rich, and peaceable Empire, which, under the Antonines, gave humanity a hundred years of peace; at the end, they succeeded in throwing down the colossus, and they precipitated the world into the sorrows and tears of the Middle Ages.

If ever invasion became impious it was when a prince reigned who was pre-eminently the fittest man for power, who looked upon his people as his family and would willingly have considered all his neighbours in the light of friends. Accustomed to subject the body to the soul, his passions to reason, Marcus Aurelius made virtue the sole good, vice the sole misfortune; all else was indifferent to him. Consequently pestilence, famine, earthquakes, a terrible war, were let loose against him without intimidating him, and Horace would have selected him as the sage who remained calm and fearless amid the crash of a falling world. In the midst of the gravest perils, in contact with the barbarians,

Marcus Aurelius was calmly composing the gospel of the pagan world.

The philosopher was obliged to turn soldier, but with what repugnance and what disdain for the glory of conquerors! "A spider," says he, "is proud of having taken a fly, and among



Marcus Aurelius. (Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

men one is proud of taking a hare, another a fish, a third wild boars and bears, a fourth the Sarmatians!¹ In the eyes of the sage are they not all robbers?" He was obliged, nevertheless, to put on the cuirass as much as the professional warrior. During Trajan's reign the barbarians of the North had entered into relations with those of the East which were certainly still existing,

¹ x. 10.

and Vologeses doubtless counted upon a powerful diversion when he crossed the Euphrates. But from the banks of the Saale to those of the Tigris the route was long and difficult; the Germans allowed the Empire time to overwhelm the Parthians. Yet they completed their preparations: numerous spies informed them respecting the state of the Roman fortresses, and in the common markets open all along the frontier they purchased all that would



Council of German Chiefs. (Bas-relief of the Antonine Column.)

be serviceable for war.¹ They seem to have wished this time to come to an agreement and unite the largest number of their tribes, as in the days of Arminius and Marbod; better even than at that time, for these two chiefs were rivals and their peoples divided. To see with what a gathering the barbaric world moved along the Roman frontiers from the *agri decumates* to the Euxine, one would suppose that some grand council directed the national movement. That was probably true respecting the tribes of south

¹ The principal intention of Marcus Aurelius in the treaties that he concluded with these peoples was to establish an efficient frontier police, in forbidding any of them from frequenting the common markets, ἵνα μὴ . . . τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατασκήπτωται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀγοράζωσιν (Dion, lxxi. 11).

Germany,¹ the Marcomanni, Narisci, Hermunduri, Quadi, and Iazyges; but the Sarmatian and Seythian nations, the Victovales, Roxolani, Costoboci, Alani, and others besides, took action certainly for their own account and according to the inspiration of their chiefs. As for the people of the North they held themselves aloof (165).

An expression used by Capitolinus seems to intimate that in the interior of this barbarous crowd there were some oscillations of peoples which pressed some tribes on to the frontiers of the Empire, where they demanded, as did the Cimbri of Marius, that Rome should give them lands on the condition of taking part in any wars that it might require. Marcus Aurelius refused a form of assistance which might turn out very dangerous; then both petitioners and enemies together rushed upon the Empire, where they caused infinite misfortunes. Armies were destroyed; two prefects of the prætorians killed; a number of towns pillaged; provinces ravaged with fire and sword. "It was," say the writers of the time, "a new Punic war." Marcus Aurelius renounced for a short time his habitual moderation: he promised 500 pieces of gold for the head of a barbarian chief; double to him who should deliver up the chief alive.

The garrisons of Dacia, protected by the Carpathian mountains and the strong position of their fortified places, seem to have kept a bold face, although some barbarians had marched through the province and burnt the city of Alburnus (Verespatak), whither they had been drawn by the richness of its mines. Rhaetia, Noricum, which their mountains and the skill of Pertinax² defended, received some incursions, but the enemy could hold no footing there. It was by the plains of Pannonia that the weight of the invasion passed in order to cross the Julian Alps, the least elevated of the chains of mountains which nature has given to Italy as a bulwark. The Marcomanni and their allies laid siege to Aquileia, the citadel of Rome on this side; they reached even as far as the Piave, where they sacked Opitergium (Oderzo).

¹ Thus the Quadi, Marcomanni, and the Iazyges were allies, for in the treaties made with them Marcus Aurelius forbade the Quadi, situated as they were between the two other tribes, having any relations with their neighbours (Dion, *ibid.*). According to Capitolinus (cap. 22) all the tribes from Illyricum to Gaul acted in concert.

² Capit., *Pertin.*, 2.



Battle with the Marcomanni. (*Atlas du Bull. arch.*, i. pl. 30.)

The Hellenic peninsula was menaced as well as the Italian, and "Barbaria" tried to lay hands on Athens and on Rome, in order to seize the riches heaped up for ages past in these two sanctuaries of the world's civilization. The Costoboci reached the centre of Greece, as far as Elatea, in Phocis, where Pausanias found the souvenir of their ravages and the statue of a victor at the Olympic games, who fell in fighting against them.¹ In the opposite direction outbreaks of the soldiers and populace agitated Egypt and the Mauri continued to ravage Spain. Of all the frontiers those of the Euphrates and the Rhine remained in peace, the latter guarded by the legions whom the Germans of the North did not disquiet, and the former defended by the vigilant and able Avidius Cassius.

The peril was great; Marcus Aurelius was not moved by it, and in the year 167 he crossed along with Verus the Po and the Adige at the head of such forces as he had been able to collect. The barbarians, whom this grand title of emperor still intimidated, retreated at his approach to put their captives and booty in security. The Quadi even, whose king had perished, consented, according to a custom which in their case dated from the time of Augustus, that their new chieftain should ask the emperor's consent before exercising his authority.

The two brothers seem to have returned to pass the winter (167-168) in the capital of the Empire, in order to prepare a considerable force. But, just as after the disaster of Varus, the citizens refused enlistment.² Even slaves and gladiators had to be armed—an example that the Republic had elsewhere given; the bandits of the Apennines, of Dalmatia, and Dardania to be attracted by the offer of gold; the *sagum* of the legionary to be put on soldiers acting as police to keep safe the roads in the provinces; and to pay everywhere those of the barbarians who felt disposed to sell their courage. We see in what a state were the military forces of the Empire thirty years after Hadrian. The organization given by Augustus to his army and kept up by his successors had its inevitable consequence:

¹ Pausanias, x. 34.

² Capit., *M. Ant.*, 23. There were, however, some levies of troops made in Italy (Wilmauns, 636). This is the only example that is known as regards the second century.

society, unaccustomed to arms, no longer furnished a single soldier, and even for its own salvation was incapable of a generous effort. When Marcus Aurelius removed the gladiators from Rome to the army little short of a popular outbreak took place. "He deprives



Lucius Verus. (Bust in the Capitol.)

us of our amusements," cried the crowd, "in order to compel us to be philosophers."¹

Money had failed as well as men. Rather than increase the taxes, Marcus Aurelius first of all exhausted all the resources of the treasury balance; then during two months he put up to auction, in the Forum of Trajan, the statues, paintings, Murrhine cups, valuable furniture, a thousand curiosities of the imperial

¹ Capit., *ibid.*, 21.

palace, even the robes, the mantles woven of silk and gold belonging to the empresses. The army, recruited at the price of such great sacrifices, advanced beyond Aquileia, and rendered some security to Illyria, but did not dare or was unable to strike a decisive blow at the barbarians. On his return from the campaign without glory, Verus died of apoplexy in the very chariot which brought him back to Rome along with Marcus Aurelius (169).¹



Jupiter causing Rain to fall on the Roman Army.²

He had never given any very valuable co-operation to his brother and colleague, nor ever any serious cause of embarrassment.

We do not possess any details of this war, which for several years detained Marcus Aurelius at the banks of the Danube, usually in the fortified place called *Carnuntum*.³ The emperor showed there no military ability; for if any grand operation had been undertaken some souvenir of it would have remained; we

¹ Dion or Xiphilinus makes him die of poison, and on reading them (lxxi. 2) one would be led to believe that Marcus Aurelius had got rid of his colleague, which is absurd. Marcus Aurelius reproached him only for being *remissior*. But it did not require much softness to merit such an epithet from a severe Stoic. (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 20.)

² Bellori, *la Colonne antonine*, pl. 15. *Jupiter Pluvius*, under the figure of an old man with wings, extends his long arms, from which the rain falls in torrents. The soldiers collect it in their helmets and bucklers, and some barbarians lie on the earth struck by the lightning.

³ Hainburg, or Petronel in the neighbourhood of Hainburg.



Antonine Column, or the Column of Marcus Aurelius (after Canina).

hear only of murderous combats, sometimes on the frozen Danube,¹ which procured to a number of officers who fell before the enemy the honour of a statue in the Forum of Trajan.² One day when the Romans, surrounded by the Quadi, were in want of water and seemed likely to perish, an abundant rain fell on the camp, while the lightning striking the barbarian army threw it into disorder and dismay. This happens every summer's day in some corner of the world. But events, if natural, are not valued by the superstitious, who in all ages have desired to mix up divine providence with human affairs, forgetting that it has made us free to bear the responsibility for our follies. The Romans had also a god of armies, and the pagans did not doubt that Jupiter, influenced by Marcus Aurelius's prayers, who had already done the same service for Trajan, had worked the miracle. Tertullian claims it for the *Thundering* legion, which he represents as composed of Christians,³ and the two legends still exist: the one in the traditions of the Church, the other sculptured on the Column of Antoninus, on which is still to be seen the lord of Olympus sending forth from the open

¹ Capit., *M. Ant.*, 22.

² Dion, lxxi. 7.

³ The *legio XIIa Fulminata*, quartered in the East, was probably never in the country of the Quadi. Cf. Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, ii. No. 325, and Noël des Vergers, *Essai sur Marc Aurèle*, pp. 90-93. Pious frauds began early: letters of Marcus Aurelius were put in circulation attributing the safety of his army to the prayers of the Christians. (Euseb., *Hist. eccles.*, v. 5.) For the intervention of Jupiter in the Dacian war, see *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 768.

height of heaven the rain which saves the legions and the thunderbolts which destroy the barbarians. It is the same with the legend as with the grain which the bird let drop on the snow-covered mountain: it rolls, grows larger and larger from the snow which it carries while descending, and reaches the valley a thundering mass: in its origin a very simple fact, later on a far-sounding prodigy.

Yet Marcus Aurelius must have imposed some check on the Germans, since they gave him the opportunity of going to establish order in the East, which had become disturbed by the revolt of Cassius.¹

In his earlier years Cassius had already conspired against Antoninus, and he excited the suspicions even of Verus, who, during the war in Syria, had written to his brother: "Keep an eye on him; whatever we do displeases him. He contrives to collect friends and resources, and tries to make us ridiculous in the eyes of his soldiers by calling you an old woman who philosophizes and me a school-boy who frequents gaming houses." Marcus Aurelius replied: "Your complaints are neither worthy of an emperor nor of our government. If the gods destine the Empire for Cassius we shall not be able to get rid of him; for you know the saying of our great-grandfather:² 'No one has ever slain his successor.' Let heaven, on the contrary, abandon him, he will catch himself in his own snares, without our exhibiting cruelty in enticing him into them. Besides, how can one find a man guilty whom no one accuses and who is beloved by his soldiers? You know that in acts against the sovereign he even who is guilty of the crime always passes as innocent. Hadrian had a habit of repeating: 'What a miserable condition is that of princes! They are believed respecting plots from their enemies only after they have fallen victims to them.' The expression is Domitian's; but I have preferred attributing it to your grandfather because the best maxims lose their authority in coming from the mouth of tyrants. As to what you tell me about

¹ The treaty mentioned at page 189, note, was perhaps concluded at this time (175). Capitolinus (*M. Ant.*, 22) speaks of Marcomanni transferred to Italy and doubtless distributed as colonists among the landed proprietors; Dion (lxxi. 2), of Germans distributed among the armies and colonies; those who were settled near Ravenna tried to seize it in order to pillage it.

² Hadrian.

providing by Cassius's death for the security of my sons, I would rather that they should perish, if the good of the State requires that Cassius rather than Marcus Aurelius's children should live."

This is a noble letter; yet Verus was right, and the advice



Marcus Aurelius receiving the Homage of the Parthians.¹

that he had given demanded something else than that easy resignation to the will of heaven.

Marcus Aurelius had invested Cassius with the superior command of the oriental provinces which faced the Parthian empire, from Mount Amanus to Pelusium, and a revolt having burst forth in Egypt, he authorized him to enter with his troops into that country, where this able general soon brought the insurgents to

¹ Bas-relief of the triumphal arch which was raised to Marcus Aurelius on the Flaminian Way. (Capitoline Museum.)



Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius. (On the Capitol, at Rome.)

their senses (170). Thus, while the emperors with difficulty defended the frontier of the Danube, and one of them, as if exhausted by the exertions imposed on his weakness, died on the way back to Rome, their lieutenant in the East humiliated the great king, conquered provinces, and subdued rebels. It seemed as if all the manliness of the Empire had, as it were, withdrawn into the camps of Cassius. These successes turned his head. He felt sure of his army, the people of Antioch and of Egypt, which his father had for a long time governed and the prefect of which was devoted to him; he said to himself that he was going to reproduce the history of Vespasian. On a report which he set circulating of the death of Marcus Aurelius, some soldiers proclaimed him emperor.

We have one of Cassius's letters addressed by him to his son-in-law, which can be regarded as his manifesto. "Marcus," he says, "is without doubt a good man; but in order to have his clemency praised, he lets persons live whose conduct he condemns. Where is that Cassius whose name I uselessly bear? Where is Cato the Censor? Where are the old manners? Marcus is engaged in philosophy; he discusses about clemency and the soul, about justice and injustice, and does not think of the Republic. Do you not see that, in order to restore to the State its ancient vigour, there would be needed edicts, sentences, swords? Woe to those men who consider themselves the proconsuls of the Roman people because the senate and Marcus have handed over provinces to their luxury and avidity! You know the prefect of the Praetorian Guard appointed by our philosopher; in the evening he was begging; the next day he was rich. How did that take place except by gnawing the entrails of the Republic and the provinces? They are rich! Well, the treasury is going to be replenished; and if the gods favour the good cause, the Cassiuses will restore its grandeur to the Republic."¹

Some of these reproaches are just: Marcus Aurelius philosophized too much, and these rhetoricians, these philosophers to whom he gave the consular fasces, must have been curious statesmen if we judge by what has come down to us about the

¹ Dion, like Cassius, reproaches him with having tolerated malpractices, probably from want of vigilance.

most celebrated of them, Cornelius Fronto.¹ It is said that when setting forth for his last campaign, the emperor held, during three days in Rome, long conferences on the doctrines of the different schools. A good deal of philosophy in one's private life and on



Marcus Aurelius wearing the Cuirass. (Statue in the Capitol.)

the eve of death is excellent, but other cares ought to occupy a prince on the commencement of an important war.

Cassius's letter asserts also a relaxation of authority which I pointed out in Antoninus's reign, and which probably continued under Marcus Aurelius; but at the same time it shows what an implacable and harsh government the descendant of "the tyrannicide" dreamt of setting up. The soldiers had no need to read this manifesto to form an idea of the severities which awaited them. Their attitude and that of the provinces obliged him to decree in advance the apotheosis of the man he wished to slay. This was a bad augury for the success of his enterprise. Cassius, obeyed in spite of his severity so long as he had continued in obedience, ceased to be so as soon as he

departed from it. What he had done on behalf of discipline turned against him, and the soldiers, who had so long trembled before the legitimate lieutenant of the prince, massacred the general when a usurper, three months and six days after his prefect of the praetorium had invested him with the imperial insignia.²

¹ One of his editors, Niebuhr, says of his *Letters*: *Pravum et putidum genus!* and the last, Naber: *Verba venditat et voces, et praeterea nihil . . .*

² M. Waddington has found in the Hauran five inscriptions with the name Av. Cassius,

At the first news of this revolt the senators had proclaimed Cassius a public enemy and had confiscated his goods. This effort exhausted their courage, and many were imagining that they already heard the legions of Syria crossing the Alps, as had been done a century before by the Flavian army, when the news came that the head of the rebel had been brought to the emperor. On seeing it Marcus Aurelius felt distressed that the Republic had lost a good general and he the occasion of a gracious pardon. "But," it was said to him, "would Cassius if victor have spared you?" And he replied: "Our piety towards the gods and our conduct in regard to man assured us the victory." Then he passed in review all the emperors who had been slain, and proved that there was not one of them who had not deserved this destiny by his own fault; whereas Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, were not vanquished by the rebels, and that several, moreover, of the latter had perished, like Cassius, unknown to these princes and against their desire.



Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.¹
(Bronze Medallion, Cohen, No. 369.)

In this way, by a strange and fortunate inconsistency which often arises, Marcus Aurelius, while fully accepting the fatality of the Stoic philosophy, maintained that by force of wisdom destiny could be controlled and rendered favourable.

Faustina, the prince's friends, the senate, demanded acts of severity;² he refused: a few centurions only were sacrificed for

dated 168, 169, 170, and 171. Now the duration of the functions of a legate in the consular provinces being five years, Cassius was in 172 in the last year of his command; then came his revolt. (*Inscr. de Syrie*, No. 2,221. See Borghesi, v. 437, No. 11.) Yet, according to an inscription of the *C. I. L.*, iii. No. 13, Marcus Aurelius would have arrived at Alexandria only in 176.

¹ COMMODUS CAES. GERM. ANTONINI AVG. GERM. FIL., around the bust of Commodus as a boy. On the reverse, M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXVII. and Marcus Aurelius in a cuirass. Bronze medal of the greatest rarity. *Cabinet de France*.

² Vulcatius Gallicanus gives, in the *Life* of Avidius Cassius, a letter of Faustina, the answer of Marcus Aurelius, and an extract from the message of the latter to the senate to stop

the sake of discipline. As regards Cassius's children, they kept the half of their father's property and did not forfeit the right of aspiring to public office. But Marcus Aurelius decided that no one for the future should govern a province in which he had been



Triumph of Marcus Aurelius. (Bas-relief on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. From the Capitol Museum.)

born, and this interdiction has remained one of the rules of our ancient administrative law.

The emperor thought it necessary to re-establish order in the oriental provinces by his presence. He visited Antioch, which he punished for its fidelity to Cassius by prohibiting for a time any

proceedings against Cassius's family and accomplices; he adds that Commodus, after his father's death, caused the rebel's children and kinsmen to be burnt alive. Tillemont (ii. 641) believes that the letters of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina respecting Cassius are not genuine.

sort of spectacle or *fête*; Alexandria, which saw him without court or guards, wearing the philosophers' cloak and living as they did; Athens especially, where he admired less the monuments of art than those of thought, and where he sought out traces of Plato



Rome, of Superhuman size, as a Divinity gives the Globe of the World to Marcus Aurelius. (Bas-relief; *ibid.*)

and Socrates rather than those of Phidias or Pericles. There he instituted courses of lectures for teaching all branches of knowledge,¹ and received initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, the only institution of paganism which implied an examination of the conscience, rejected the guilty, and admitted only the innocent.²

On his return to Rome he there celebrated a triumph for

¹ Πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις . . . ἐπὶ πάσης λόγου παιδείας (Dion, lxxi. 31).

² . . . Ut se innocentem probaret (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 27).

successes gained over the Germans, gave the consulate to his son, as well as the tribunitian power, and shared with him the title of *imperator*. Eight times already had the legions from interested zeal decreed him this honour, which is better explained by the donatives with which it was followed than by the decisive victories which should have preceded it. Some medals, with no less veracity,



Commodus when a Boy. (Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

promised perpetual peace to the Empire. They had hardly been struck when Marcus Aurelius was obliged to set out (August 5th, 178) for the frontiers of Pannonia, where the barbarians, checked, but not subdued, were always in commotion. He had exacted, by a treaty which seems to be of the year 175,¹ that the Marcomanni should withdraw five miles from the Danube, which they were to approach only on market days; that the Iazyges should not put a boat on the river; that the Quadi should set free their captives.

And one can measure the extent of the ravages made by this people in the Empire by the numbers of their Roman prisoners: the Quadi had promised to deliver up 50,000, and the Iazyges restored double that number.² There was another danger: the great nation of the Goths had begun a movement from the north towards the south, and when it drew near the Empire, the tribes bordering the Roman frontier pressed

¹ He had taken, from the year 172, the title of Germanicus. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 73.)

² Dion, lxxi. 15-19. The Iazyges obtained then the liberty of trading with the Roxolani across Dacia, on the condition of asking every time for the authorization from the governor of this province. See above, p. 190. Capitolinus says that on account of these numerous wars, Marcus Aurelius gave to consulars, being magistrates regarded as more capable, governments hitherto intrusted to praetorians. A praetor, moreover, replaced the procurator of Rhaetia and Noricum.

on this barrier so strongly as to threaten to break through it.¹ Rome would have needed a Trajan, who by vigorous blows would have made these barbarous hordes retrace their steps; but it had only a virtuous man, who knew how to bear adverse fortune but not how to compel it to change. After twenty months passed in the midst of labours, disquietude, and fatigues, which he forgot in order to converse with himself, he died at Vindobona (Vienna) March 17th, 180, at the age of fifty-nine.

All the historians reproach Marcus Aurelius for a shameful

weakness in regard to his wife, and a culpable one in respect of his son. But the miserable retailers of anecdotes who in the third century wrote the history of the Cæsars, took pleasure in scandal and

did not shrink from the absurd.³ The misfortunes of the married have, unfortunately, at all times furnished an inexhaustible subject of mirth; those of princes have even a particular attractiveness, because they seem a set off against their grandeur and they bring them near to human troubles. In spite of the forbearance of some ancients in this respect, I do not believe in the expression attributed to Marcus Aurelius, who was urged to repudiate his wife and who was made to reply: "Then I must restore the dowry also;" he meant the Empire. But the Empire had not been Faustina's dowry, since Marcus Aurelius was Cæsar before marrying her. The crowd thinks vaguely as in a dream; as in a dream, a



Faustina, the Mother of Camps.²

¹ To believe Pausanias, who wrote in Marcus Aurelius's reign, this prince subdued Germans and Sarmatians. This is read also in the inscription No. 861 of Orelli's collection. Herodianus, more exact, is satisfied with saying: "He had conquered a part of these tribes and treated with the others; the rest took refuge in their forests. His presence kept them there and prevented them from undertaking anything."

² On the obverse, the head of Faustina the younger; on the reverse, the inscription MATRI CASTRORUM and Faustina seated, holding in one hand a globe surmounted by a phoenix and in the other a sceptre; before her three ensigns. Large bronze, Cohen, No. 194.

³ L. Vulcatius Gallicanus (*Avid. Cass.*, 9) apprises us that the writer who was the principal source for the *Scriptores Hist. Aug.*, Marius Maximus, had sought to defame Faustina, *infamari eam cupiens*. Capitolinus simply says (*M. Ant.*, 23): *De amatis pantomimis ab uore fuit sermo; sed hæc omnia per epistolas suas purgavit.*

mere rumour sufficed to give a new direction to thoughts which the will does not control. Thus the imagination of the crowd and that of writers who follow it take a mere expression to make up a whole story. Commodus, Faustina's son, having been less a



Apotheosis of Faustina, Wife of Marcus Aurelius. (Museum of the Capitol.)

prince than a gladiator, was supposed to be the son of a hero of the arena; hence the story of his birth, which can only be told in Latin, but to which the bust and medals give the lie by his likeness to Marcus Aurelius.¹ With all his virtues, the emperor had one dangerous defect: he was tedious. Did this defect produce

¹ This likeness is attested by Fronto. "I have seen thy sons," he wrote to the emperor, "... tam simili facie tibi ut nihil sit hoc simili similis" (*ad M. Ant.*, i. 3). Capitolinus himself treats as popular fable the story of Commodus's birth (*talem fabellam vulgari sermone conterunt*) and that of the relations of Faustina with Verus, whom afterwards she would have

faithlessness? Such has sometimes been the case, but not always. The fair empress doubtless found that the austere personages with whom her husband was surrounded were only pedants, and the fine lady showed her disdain for the insignificant men whom he favoured. The latter took their revenge by underhand slanders, which after her death burst forth into calumnies which the follies and cruelties of Commodus seemed to verify:

the mother paid the debts of the son. Dion, almost a contemporary, is silent, at least in what remains of his writings, on the subject of these fabrications. It is only in passing and by a word that he or his abbreviator makes allusion to "some faults;" and the letters of Faustina to Marcus Aurelius, preserved by Vuleatius Gallicanus, are those of an empress, a wife, and mother. She had accompanied her husband in the greater part of his expeditions, a fact which had obtained from the soldiers



Faustina, Wife of Marcus Aurelius. (Bust in the Naples Museum.)

the title of "mother of the camps," and she was still along with him in the East when sickness carried her off at the foot of Mount Taurus. Those who had calumniated her when alive did so also when dead, by spreading about the absurd tale that she had urged on Cassius to revolt by the offer of her hand, and that she committed suicide from fear that her husband might discover this complicity.¹ Marcus Aurelius caused a temple to be built to her

poisoned. Faustina had had two sons before Commodus, who died young, and four or five daughters, the eldest of whom, Annia Lucilla, married first of all Verus, then Pompeianus. Three of Commodus's sisters survived him. (*Lamprid., Comm.*, 18; *Herodian*, i. 12.)

¹ The biographer of Avidius Cassius denies this complicity, which good sense rejects. See the letter of Faustina which he quotes.

memory at the place where she died; at Rome, he desired that the empress should be represented on a bas-relief as being carried to heaven by a genius and himself following with a look of affection the apotheosis of "his dear Faustina." In the temple of Venus and of Rome he set up an altar, on which, on their wedding day, the young married couples offered a sacrifice; in the theatre her statue of gold was put in the place which she had usually occupied, and the grandest ladies of the Empire came, at the time of the games, and seated themselves round about it.¹ Would Marcus Aurelius have thus insulted public decorum if he had felt any doubts respecting the mother of his seven children, and would he have written about her what one reads in the *Meditations*? We are told all this was pretence. But what the *Veracious* has written he believed. To try and maintain that he knew nothing of such misconduct is to make him a sort of stage fool, and the enemies whom the empress's beauty, gifts, perhaps her pride, had raised up in the midst of a court of parvenus, would have easily found means of informing the deceived husband.²

With respect to his son, Marcus Aurelius is accused of having known, without daring to oppose them, the wicked inclinations of that perverse nature. At the death of his father, Commodus was only nineteen, and in spite of the stories told of his licentious wild youth, he had doubtless not yet exhibited the vices which have given him a place apart among tyrants. All the Antonines

¹ He wrote to Fronto (v. 25): "Every morning I pray to the gods for Faustina." To honour her memory, *novas puellas Faustianas instituit*. (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 26.) See vol. iv. p. 790, n. 4. A bas-relief of the Villa Albani represents Faustina in the midst of the young girls and giving them some corn, which the latter receive in a fold of their dress.

² On the question see a Memoir of M. Renan in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscri.*, 1867, pp. 203-215. Wieland has upheld the same view with a less amount of proofs, in his *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. xxiv. p. 378. Spon had, nearly two centuries ago, already invented the false fashion, clamorously revived in our days, of making the history of a person from the features of his face, in his dissertation on the *Utilité des médailles pour l'étude de la physionomie* (*Recherches curieuses d'antiquités, XXIVe dissert.*, p. 386; 1683). He says of the younger Faustina: "Abusing her husband's good nature, she gave herself up to a dissolute life. Her physiognomy makes it easy to recognize her disposition. She was pretty, had a sly look, and the appearance of a giddy woman whose head goes faster than her feet. She has even the air of a bird, and particularly of those singing birds who are engaged only in flying, singing, and sportiveness; for that small head, those small eyes, that little forward look, that long neck have sufficient likeness to a linnet." I should not be astonished if from thence comes that expression of Ampère: "Her busts have always the look as though she wished to engage in conversation with the first comer . . . and her head, a little bent, seems to be listening to a conversation." By such means a character for wit may perhaps be made, but not history.

succeeded to the Empire late in life; Commodus took possession of it about the age of Nero. To explain how he had lived like the latter there is no need to accuse Marcus Aurelius; the enjoyment of absolute power, at the age when the passions are burning, quite suffices to furnish a full explanation. But if he be not called to account for his son's cruelties, it is right to reproach him for having made these cruelties possible, by renouncing a system which, for the last eighty-three years, had prevailed in settling the succession to Empire.

During its whole duration, the Empire oscillated between two opposite principles: royal *heredity*, which is always in the thought of the prince and often in the complaisance of his subjects, and popular *election*, which was in all the recollections, and in the spirit of the constitution, in the need, unceasingly appearing, of selecting a chief, since the imperial families had

been powerless to transmit the inheritance from want of heirs. But the law and Roman customs furnished a means for conciliating these two opposite systems by the facilities furnished through adoption. No people has practised this institution to the same extent which Rome did: its great families were

¹ A statue found in the neighbourhood of Lanuvium (*Civita Lavinia*). Campana Museum, H. d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 96.



Annia Verus, Son of M. Aurelius and Faustina.¹

continued only by calling into them strangers, who, by this legal affiliation, secured all the rights attached to natural sonship. On the other hand, the emperor represented the people, who continued in theory the true sovereign; besides, in virtue of the professed original delegation which had been made to him, and which, on the accession of each prince the *lex Regia* seemed to renew, the perpetual tribune legally exercised all the powers of the public assembly. The result therefore was that the choice of the future emperor, although decided by one, seemed to be an indirect election by the people. The confirmation given afterwards by the senate and armies was the assent of the nobility and of those who were regarded, much more than the Roman populace, as the real Roman people. Such was the constitutional law of the Empire, and thanks to the religious respect paid by the Romans to formulas and appearances, a few words pronounced according to the ritual and old usages sufficed to give the force of law to what was really in fact only the law of force.

With these private and public manners quite peculiar to imperial Rome, with this ease with which the prince could choose how and when he wished the son and heir whom it pleased him to select, the emperors had the means of always securing suitable chiefs for the Empire. In this way were selected, for the happiness of the world, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus. Two princes, Galba and Hadrian, had even given the reason for this system,¹ which had just shown its capabilities; it had already lasted a sufficient time to cause to be accepted as State law what had been not only the law of families, but also, in fact, for two centuries, the law of the Empire. Out of seventeen emperors, only two are to be found, viz., Titus and Domitian, who were the natural heirs of their predecessor. If then Marcus Aurelius had possessed a firm political mind, he would have "sacrificed," as Augustus used to express it, "his paternal affections to the public good,"² and would have bequeathed his power to some well-tried

¹ See Tac., *Hist.*, i. 16, *et supra*, p. 137.

² Augustus, who was himself the adopted son of Caesar, had arranged for the accession of his son-in-law, the great Agrippa, at the expense of his grandchildren, and in adopting Tiberius to the detriment of his legal heir, Agrippa Posthumus, he had obliged Livia's son to adopt Germanicus while Tiberius himself had a son of man's estate. In his turn Tiberius left

consular. Quite close to him was a senator who had twice been consul and commander of an army, his son-in-law, Claudius Pompeianus; in the *Cæsars* Julian reproaches him for not having chosen this man of action and of good deliberative capacity. "Pompeianus," says he, "would have governed well." The system of adoption would have been strengthened by this fresh example of a free choice; and the Empire would perhaps have handed down to modern Europe a principle of government superior to that of heredity. But by the strangest inconsistency, the philosopher who to govern himself regarded the world from so lofty a position, had no wish to look outside his own house for a governor of 80,000,000 of men; and the sage in whose eyes all privileges were obliterated, thought that his son, by being born in swaddling clothes of purple, had found there the sceptre of the universe. This error threw back into the hazards of royal births and barrack riots a society which, no longer possessing for its defence those precautionary institutions whose elastic bonds hold together without wounding, began once more to live from hand to mouth, according as fortune put a wise man or a fool at its head. Severus will do for Caracalla what Marcus Aurelius did for his son Commodus; the Antonines will be replaced by the Thirty Tyrants, and a bad plan of succession will increase the causes of ruin, which will shortly be developed in the heart of that monarchy lately so strong and prosperous.

III.—STOICS AND CHRISTIANS.

Another fault weighs on his memory—the persecution of the Christians. Then took place the first great collision between Christianity and the Empire. We cannot omit this blood-stained page of his rule, for there is contained in it an historic problem which often meets us, which will continually recur, and which forms, far more than battles, the dramatic grandeur of history.

the power, not to his own blood relations, but to Caligula. Claudius, by the adoption of Nero, disinherited his son Britannicus. Finally the adoption of Clodius (Cicero, *pro Domo*, 13) proves that, from the time of Cicero, the ancient conditions of adoption were, according to circumstances, observed or put on one side.

War, which broke down the confined area of the Roman city, had also shattered the narrow boundary of systems; thought had grown as had the State. Metaphysics had gained little by this progress. Turned aside by the practical tendencies of their genius from the quibbles on which the subtle mind of the Greeks was led astray, the Romans had put aside theoretical discussions to reach direct individual and social consequences. Their philosophers had been simply moralists; and even the latter with characteristics of their own. A peace of two centuries' duration, such as the world had never known, had softened the wild passions which perpetual wars had aroused, and had opened the source, till then closed, of kindly feelings one to another. The morality of Zeno and Cleanthes, which aimed less at regulating human nature than at subduing it by pride of soul and insensibility of body, by degrees lost its rudeness. The spirit of charity softened it; it grew warm with an expansive tenderness, and its scornful haughtiness became changed into a sympathetic mildness. The idea of humanity faintly seen in Greece grew into clearness, and it was an emperor who wrote: "The Athenian said, 'Oh, beloved city of Ccerops!' And thou, canst thou not say of the world, 'Oh, beloved city of God!'"¹ This thought of Marcus Aurelius extends even beyond humanity, it embraces the whole of nature and God. The world is to him a divine *cosmos*: "O world, whatever suits thee is agreeable to me! O nature, whatever thy seasons bring me is a fruit ever ripe!" etc. A new moral conception was therefore added to the treasury of benevolent ideas of which man was in possession.

The older Stoicism had only the two negative principles, *sustine et abstine*, bear and forbear; the new had found a third, the principle of action necessary to make the two others fruitful: *adjuva*, love your fellow-creatures and help them. By this motto the Stoics returned into the society whence their proud virtue had driven them out.

But if humanity became one large family it was needful, by a natural order, to regard men as brethren and equals, who, having the same blood, had a right to the same esteem. In Nero's time

¹ Marcus Aurelius, iv. 23.

Seneca wrote: "All men are noble, even the slave; all are brethren, for they are all sons of God."¹

At the same time being no longer deceived by a belief in gods of wood and stone, inert representatives of the blind forces of nature, the sages of paganism, modified Stoics or followers of the new Platonism, endeavoured to penetrate the secrets of the invisible world.

Thus from Zeno to Marcus Aurelius philosophy had not ceased to develop ideas of humanity, of mutual goodwill, of moral equality; it ended by reaching the thought of divine Providence, which was for the imperial philosopher what it ought to be for all, the necessary agreement between cause and effect: "Go straight," said he, "*according to law*, and follow God, who is the guide and end of thy way." Cleanthes had already sung in a magnificent hymn of *the law* common to all existences.² Philosophy, which had first of all been a cry of revolt, was become now the sense of duty, for that which then formed its dominant idea was submission to that law which every one can discover by a persevering examination of himself.

If the apologists of the second century and so many doctors found Christians existing before Christ,³ no one in heart was so much so as Marcus Aurelius, for never has a man carried further the desire for inner perfection and the love of humanity. Consequently, he remains the very loftiest expression of that purified Stoicism which bordered on Christianity without entering its territory or taking anything from it. After his death there were found in a casket ten bundles of tablets, intended for his own eye, without plan or order, as the thought occurred day by day; which no eye had seen, which perhaps no one ought to see; and this dialogue with his soul, these solitary meditations have formed a work of sublime morality. In his view the virtuous man is "a priest" of the god within, that is to say, of conscience. "May the god who is in thee," he says, addressing himself, "govern a man truly a man, a citizen, a Roman, an emperor." But this

¹ *Omnes . . . a diis sunt* (Ep., 44) . . . *Jure naturali omnes liberi nascuntur* (Ulp. in Digest, I. i. 4).

² See above, vol. ii. p. 217.

³ See above, p. 158.

Roman, this emperor, he wants him to be mild, compassionate, the friend of man. "Believe that men are thy brethren, and thou wilt love them." "Can you say, I have never done wrong to any one either in action or word? If you can you have fulfilled your task. In a short while you will be only dust and ashes; while awaiting the coming of that moment what should you do? Honour the gods and do good to men." But in what does the good consist? In acting according to right reason, *ὁρὸς λόγος*, which is an emanation from the universal reason, and conformably to the divine will, which is sovereign justice. Moreover humanity commands us to love as our brethren those who have injured us; and one only act of vengeance is permitted, not to imitate those of whom we have cause to complain. It is not enough to do good, it must be done for its own sake, without any thought of a return. "You complain of having obliged an ungrateful man, and would have wished to be recompensed for your trouble, as if the eye asked for its wages because it sees, or the feet because they walk. The horse which has run, the dog which has hunted, the bee which has made its honey, the man who has done good, do not proclaim it to the world, but pass on to another action of the same nature, as the vine produces other grapes when the next season comes round." To abstain even from the thought of evil, by fashioning the soul to the divine likeness; to support wrongs with resignation; to love mankind; to sacrifice even the object accounted the dearest to the fulfilment of duty—all this is seen in Marcus Aurelius. And he believed that this manly religion of duty would suffice for humanity. The mistake of a noble mind into which it is glorious to have fallen, and which, thank God, still exists in the case of some heroic spirits! But when will it become the belief and the rule of the multitude?

This philosophy simplified life by making no reference to death; or, at least, in not being disquieted at what may be found beyond the tomb, it divested itself of interest on questions which have most troubled the human soul. At first it had extolled the reasonable exit, *εὐλογος ἐξαγωγή*, by which man gives back to nature the elements which she had lent him for a time; and we have seen, from Tiberius to Vespasian, a real epidemic of suicide. Marcus Aurelius, the man of law, condemns voluntary death as a

weakness: "He," says he, "who tears away his soul from the society of reasonable beings transgresses the *law*; the servant who runs away is a deserter." So he blames what he calls "the obstinacy of Christians seeking death with tragical ostentation." But he accepts the summons of nature "without transport, pride,



Marcus Aurelius reading the Petitions of the People: "Bear in mind that men are thy brethren." (Bas-relief from the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. Capitoline Museum.)

or disdain," since death is a necessary consequence of the *laws* of the world. "Many grains of incense," he says, "are destined to burn on the same altar; to let one drop into the flame sooner and the other later, where is the difference?" And again: "We should give up life like the ripe olive, while blessing the earth, its nurse, and giving thanks to the tree which has borne it." His virtue was not a bargain made with heaven, he had found in it

his reward, and he expected nothing from the gods; "the eternal silence of infinity" did not affright him.

In his *Meditations*, the method, that is to say, the persevering study of himself and the exquisite purity of sentiment are Marcus Aurelius's own, but the stock of ideas belongs to his age. It will suffice to read the first chapters, in which he acknowledges to each of his masters, his relatives and friends, what he has received from them. By the doctrine of the *λόγος*, which unites man to God and men to one another, the new Stoics had asserted the principle, the basis of human society and of the divine commonwealth, that we ought to honour the divine spirit that is within us by moral purity, and that which is in our fellow-creatures by charity. Now history has shown us these ideas leaving the school to permeate civil law, which they change, and even penetrating into the administration of it, which they modify. Jurisconsults, such as the world has not seen since, following one another uninterruptedly during two centuries, have transformed the old *Quiritary law*, first of all ameliorated by the *law of nations*, then by the *law of nature*, into that form of legislation which has been termed written reason, or, as Ulpian calls it, "the holiest civil wisdom." Celsus, a friend of Hadrian, defined law as "the knowledge of the good and the just;" and Justinian has placed at the head of his *Pandects* these three sentences of Ulpian: "The precepts of the law are to live honourably, to injure no one, to give to every one his due."¹ The law becomes a religion, that of justice, and the *prudentes* with pride call themselves its chief priests.² The spirit of equity, which the jurisconsults introduced into the law, entered also into government: imperial Rome shared her civil and political rights with those whom Republican Rome had termed the *foreigner* and the *enemy*, and we have seen how the Antonines alleviated the condition of women, sons, and slaves; gave assistance to the destitute children, a physician to the sick, funerals to those who were unable to pay for a pyre or a tomb.³

While Marcus Aurelius, in his tedious vigils in the country

¹ *Digest*, i. 10, with this definition of justice: *Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuendi.*

² *Cujus merito quis nos sacerdotes appellet: justitiam namque colimus et boni et aequi notitiam profitemur* (Ulpian, in *Digest*, I. i. § 1).

³ These ideas are developed in chapters lxxxii. § 4, and lxxxvii. § 2.

of the Quadi, was writing the work called the *Meditations*, of which a cardinal has said: "My spirit grows redder than my purple when regarding the virtues of this Gentile," other men in the heart of great cities, often in rags, were meeting together in the gloom also to search after the invisible world. Now these are the words to which they listened:¹ "If you love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you.—Ye know that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; but I say unto you that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment. Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar and then rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift.—Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."

And again: "When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory, and before Him shall be gathered all nations; and He shall separate them one from another as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. And He shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left. Then shall the King say unto them on His right hand: Come ye blessed of my Father; inherit the kingdom prepared for you; for I was an hungered and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me. The righteous will say: Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered and fed Thee, or thirsty and gave Thee drink? And the King shall answer them: Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Thus heaven, which had been so long closed, now opened again;

¹ Justin, in his first *Apology* (15, 16) presented to Antoninus, had cited several of these sentences.

the soul, as Plato says, found wings again. The wisest of the pagans proudly limited their hopes to this life, the Gospel extends its to eternity. Our stay here, instead of being the end, is only a time of probation, a journey in a place of exile; riches and honours become a danger, poverty and suffering a promise, death a deliverance.

Atys.¹

Till then religion had been a worship of terror or of pleasure: it now appeared as the worship of love. It had spoken to the senses and the imagination, it spoke now to the heart. Is it to be wondered at that the poor, the infirm, the slaves, all the outcasts of pagan society, all those who, suffering in body or soul, needed love and hope, that women especially should welcome the Gospel, and that so many Christian communities should be so rapidly formed?

Consequently, apart from dogma, humanity at that time whispered the same words under gilded roofs and in the hut of the

¹ Marble statue in the Lansdowne Collection.

² S. Nilus and the Anchorites of Sinai. Nilus had simply substituted the name of S. Peter for that of Socrates, suppressed a thought about love and introduced the idea of the

them existed an abyss, or rather a still impenetrable mass of passions, interests and superstitions, which the old social system and its murderous laws protected.

The old worship, which nothing upheld, was crumbling to pieces. The oracles were silent, accused by the pagans themselves of deception. The temples remained deserted, and Lucian, who wrote in the time of Marcus Aurelius, pursued with impunity the gods with the lash of his pitiless satire. The former lords of Olympus inspired him with no more respect than they had inspired Seneca, and the new comers irritated him. "From whence have fallen into our midst," he puts into the mouth of Momus, "this Atys, this Corybas, this Sabazios? Who is this Median Mithra, with a tiara as head-dress? He does not understand Greek and does not know one's meaning when his health is proposed. The Scythians and the Getæ, seeing how easy it was to make immortals, imagined they had the right of inscribing on our registers their Zamolxis, a slave who is found here, I do not know why. As if we did not possess the Anubis with a dog's head and the bull of Memphis! Yet they have priests and utter oracles. And thou, great Jupiter, how dost thou like those ram's horns which they have fixed on thy brow?"²

Jupiter Ammon (with Ram's Horns).¹

These are the feelings of the educated, and this contempt for the traditional polytheism led them, as it did Marcus Aurelius, Apuleius, and so many others, to the conception of one only God.³ But in the ignorant crowd, the vacuum caused in their inmost souls by the destruction of the official religion was filled up by

immortality of the soul, omitted in the *Manual*. It was still read in the thirteenth century in the Benedictine convents.

¹ Engraved stone (cornelian of 15 millim. × 11) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,433.

² Lucian, *The Assembly of the Gods*.

³ On this idea, which shows itself everywhere, see Macrobius, *Saturn*, I. xvii. 19; S. Augustine, *Epist.*, 16, letter of Maximus of Medaura, etc.

foreign devotions; the East overflowed the West with its thousand superstitions. After a long eclipse the Greek genius had awakened, no longer clear, as in the best days of Hellenic civilization, but tainted with impure elements, disturbed, restless, seeking after the impossible, even the follies of mysticism. Before it the simple genius of Rome and the Transalpine nations retreated. The priests of Persia, Egypt, Syria, the astrologers, the necromancers, the sibyls, the prophets, those searchers into the future from whom the future always escapes, but who, at certain periods, got hold of the present, inundated the cities and attracted the crowd.¹ Apuleius, one of Marcus Aurelius's contemporaries, shows us, by the terror which magic inspired, the importance which the magicians at that time possessed; they professed to have eighty certain means of constraining destiny to reply to them.² Thus does it happen whenever a strong belief grows feeble or begins to totter: at the end of the Middle Ages the sorcerers began to multiply; at the end of modern times, the illuminated.

The Christians were the natural enemies of these men, who, being either sharp witted or themselves deceived, took advantage of the popular credulity, and also of the philosophers, who desired, as Epicurus and Lucretius had expressed it, "to free the world from the chains of superstition." Others ascribed to Christians every sort of crime: they used to eat children, an accusation which the Christians will repeat against the Jews in the Middle Ages; they celebrated by turns "the incestuous union of Oedipus and the abominable feast of Thyestes." Or, indeed, their hopes of heaven were transformed into entirely earthly appetites, and a social peril was seen in their doctrines which certainly existed, since the Church was able to triumph only by the upsetting of established order. And we do not speak of heresies which veiled from the eyes of pagans the figure of Christ under strange and sometimes monstrous additions. Thus, in the case of those who,

¹ Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.*, x. 94-5; vi. 510-555, and Suetonius, Tacitus, *passim*. Marquardt, *Handbuch der Röm. Alterth.*, vol. iv. pp. 99-130. Artemidorus, in Antoninus's time, had written a treatise on dreams, *Oneirocriticon*, and Marcus Aurelius (i. 17) believed that he received during his sleep revelations respecting some remedies which he afterwards employed.

² Apuleius was himself accused of magic. S. Justin tells us in his second *Apology* that the prophetic books of Histaspes and the Sibyls were prohibited, and that those who read them were punished with death. The trifles on which rested the accusation brought against

regarding from a distance and carelessly, confused everything, Christianity seemed a revolt, not only against the Empire, but also against all human law.

Read what is related by the author of a dialogue found in the works of Lucian. Might he not be called a terrified conservative falling into the midst of a democratic club?

"I was walking up High Street when I saw a lot of people who were talking in a low tone. I come near and see a little old man quite feeble, who, after much coughing and spitting, began to speak in a squeaky voice: 'Yes, he will abolish the arrears of taxes; he will pay public or private debts, and receive everybody without bothering himself about their social position,' and a thousand similar fooleries to which the crowd eagerly listened. An accomplice comes up, without hat or shoes and wearing a cloak in rags: 'I have seen,' he says, 'a man badly dressed and shaven face who came from the mountains. He has shown to me the name of the liberator written in signs: he will cover High Street with gold.' 'Ah!' I exclaimed at last, 'you produce on me the effect of having slept long and dreamt much; your debts will increase in place of diminishing, and he who reckons on much gold will lose his last farthing.' However, one of the bystanders persuades me to seek the place of meeting of these rascals. I climb to the top of a winding staircase and enter, not into the Hall of Menelaus, all glittering with gold, ivory, and the beauty of Helen, but into a wretched garret, where I see some pale fellows, dejected looking, bent towards the ground. As soon as they saw me, they ask me quite joyously what bad news I am bringing them! 'Why, everything is going well in the city,' I replied, 'and one feels delighted at it.' They, knitting their eyebrows and shaking their heads, said: 'No, no, the city is big with misfortunes.' Then like persons sure of what they say, they began to retail a thousand absurdities: that the world is going to change; that the city will be a prey to dissensions; that our armies will be conquered. Unable to contain myself I cried out: 'You wretched creatures! stop your wretched chatter, and

Apuleius show how easily these dangerous prosecutions were begun. They must have made many victims, not so many, however, as our trials for sorcery. In two years (1527-8), in the single city of Wurzburg, the bishop burnt a hundred and fifty-eight alleged sorcerers.

may the misfortunes into which you want to see your country plunged fall on your own heads.'"

Had Marcus Aurelius read the *Apologies* presented to his two predecessors and himself? We cannot say. If he knew them, the *Λόγος* of S. Justin ought to have given him pleasure. But, in agreement with the Christians in his *sentiments*, he was not at all so in *theological doctrine*, which has so often prevented kindred souls from understanding one another. With his stoical ideas respecting the soul of the world, of which the different gods were the external manifestation, he could not comprehend the Christian dogma of the Trinity nor this God made man in the womb of a virgin. And as he only counted upon, as his reward, the satisfaction secured by the fulfilment of duty, as he asked for nothing in the hopes of a future life, he reckoned as worthless the propagation among the vulgar of this belief in a glorious resurrection of the flesh and the spirit, which the wise had not discovered in the depth of their reason. These two doctrines, one of which sacrificed heaven to earth, and the other earth to heaven, were of necessity enemies. In the announcement of the kingdom of God, expected by the faithful, Marcus Aurelius saw, in addition, a menace to the Empire, and in the prophecy of the Sibyl on the approaching destruction of Rome, a sacrilegious impiety.¹ In fine, if he rejected the scandalous histories of Olympus, he religiously observed the rites in honour of these gods, which his soul had purified and his doctrine attached to the first cause. He was then not like Hadrian, a sceptic, and consequently a tolerant man; philosophy had made him a pagan of a peculiar sort—one who continued convinced and very devout;² moreover he was a prince, and the basis of his morality being the absolute submission of the individual to the laws of reason, the basis of his policy was the absolute submission of the individual to the laws of the State. So, when in the early days of his reign the populace, terrified by the famine and the inundations, rose up against the faithful and demanded their punishment to appease their gods, he left the prefect of Rome,

¹ This prophecy was current in Antoninus's time. Cf. Alexandre, *Orac. Sibyll.*, liv. viii. v. 73 *et seq.* It threatened "the three emperors" (Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Verus) with the return of Nero, ὁ φονὴς μητροκτόνος, that is to say, of Antichrist.

² Cf. Capit., *M. Ant.*, 13, and Amm. Marcellin., XXV. iv. 17.

Junius Rusticus, his old master, to apply the laws. Among the condemned was S. Justin, who seems to have gone to meet his death by the generous vehemence of his second *Apology*.¹ There was, however, no rescript of the prince, for Tertullian, who was



Marcus Aurelius sacrificing before the Temple of Jupiter.²

living in the time of Marcus Aurelius, asserts that he did not promulgate one; but some victims were struck by the particular edicts of certain governors—a thing which, says the evidence of S. Melito, had never yet been seen:³ thus perished two bishops of proconsular Asia at Smyrna and Laodicea. Towards the end of this

¹ M. Renan (*l'Église chrétienne*, p. 491) places Justin's death under Antoninus, but with hesitation.

² Bas-relief from the arch of Marcus Aurelius. (Capitol.)

³ Nevertheless, there is found in the *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 30, a rescript of Marcus Aurelius which condemns to banishment on an island those who upset persons' minds by superstitious

reign, in 177, many executions took place at Lyons, brought about by a popular outbreak. Eusebius has preserved a letter in which the Christians of that city relate to the brethren in Asia the distresses of the infant church. It is therefore a cotemporary document in which may be seen in action the violence of the people, the credulity of the judge, and the ardent faith which the hope of immortality furnished.

"First of all we were driven away from the baths, public places, and all the parts opened to the public; then we had to suffer outrages, blows, the violent acts of an infuriated multitude." That was the first act: the crowd enraged against men who, from the simple fact of being Christians, insult all that it believes and all that it loves, its religion and its pleasures. Persecution begins by an outbreak.

The second act is marked by the intervention of authority. Charged with the maintenance of peace in the city, the magistrate makes the Christians responsible for the disorder of which they have been the exciting cause. A tribune and his soldiers brought them to the forum;¹ on avowing that they are Christians the duumvirs apply Trajan's law to their case; they are seized and shut up in prison until the return of the governor. The latter, on his return, interrogates them at his high tribunal, near which is collected a crowd whom the soldiers with difficulty keep in order. Yet the course of procedure is slow, and its forms are observed. The public avowal of *Christianizing* is sufficient for condemnation, but the judge has heard other crimes mentioned, and wishes to know what they are and orders an inquiry.

In this terrible drama which always arises out of outbreaks produced by popular excitement, the excess of credulity equals the audacity of unscrupulous falsehood; everywhere and always passion and fear furnish to troubled imaginations accusations which they greedily accept. "They bring into court the pagan servants

practices. This rescript certainly had reference to the Christians. I should like to consider it a means furnished to judges for pronouncing against them some punishment other than death, and we know that a certain number of Christians were in fact sent into Sardinia. See, in vol. vi., the reign of Commodus. As regards Polycarp's martyrdom in the time of Aurelius, we have followed the calculations of M. Waddington. (See above, p. 164.)

¹ For the topography of Lyons, see vol. iv. pp. 52, 575, with the corresponding notes.

of these champions for Christ, who, from fear of tortures and the solicitations of the soldiers, are forced to confess that we commit all these abominations. When these calumnies are spread about amongst the public such anger arises against us that even our very friends share the fury of the governor, the soldiers, and the people."

Yet a Roman citizen, wealthy and of influence in the city, named Vettius Epagathus, stepped forth from the crowd and said to the governor: "I claim to defend these men, and I engage to prove that they have not committed any of the crimes brought against them." "Then you are yourself a Christian, since you wish to take their cause in hand?" "I am." He was immediately arrested and placed among the accused, indicted with being "the Christians' advocate."

More than ten of them, yielding to the threats, denied their faith, and promised to sacrifice to the gods; but the rest confounded their executioners by their calmness. A young slave, Blandina, weak and ailing, found strength in the very tortures. From morning till evening was she tortured; her body formed but one wound, her bones were as if broken, her joints torn apart; but one exclamation came from her: "I am a Christian; no evil is committed among us!" The exaltation arising from her faith made her bodily nature insensible to pain.

Tortures were useless: "the victims were loaded with chains, which served them for ornament, like the gold fringe to the robe of a young bride;" they were thrown into an infectious cell, where many of them perished. Pothinus was then ninety years old. "His soul," says Eusebius, "only remained in his body that it might render a last witness to the triumph of Christ. 'Which is the god of the Christians?' the judge asked him. 'You will know him when worthy of it,' he replied. He was led to prison in the midst of the insults of the crowd; he died there on the third day."

Four of the prisoners were first of all condemned: Attalus, being a citizen, to be beheaded; Sanctus and Maturus, as provincials, and Blandina, as being a slave, to be thrown to the wild beasts. The letter from the faithful of Lyons expresses with innocent grace this combination of all conditions. "The martyrs

offered God a crown of divers colours, in which all kinds of flowers were well assorted." A feast day had been expressly fixed for their execution. On its eve, the condemned took their last supper together in public, and the next day those who were destined for the beasts were led to the arena. Attalus, who could



Jupiter Gaulois, found at Lyons. (Small Bronze Figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,929.)

not be executed without the emperor's order, had been kept in prison. When the crowd saw that he was not given over to their pleasures, they demanded him with loud cries. He was brought in and only marched round the amphitheatre with this writing on his breast: "This is Attalus the Christian." The crowd roared with fury; it revenged itself on the other martyrs. The wild beasts would have killed them with one bite. They were not permitted to attack, but it was instead who could imagine some fresh torture, some forgotten punishment. Cries arising from all the seats of the amphitheatre excited the executioners. "Now for the wedges, the pincers, the plates of heated copper; lacerate, but don't

kill!" When there remained no place on these poor bodies where the torture had not passed, they were placed on an iron chair made red-hot, then a sword-thrust put an end to their life. Blandina had seen all this from a stake in the midst of the amphitheatre to which she was fastened naked; the beasts were let loose at her, but they did not touch her, and the people, tired out, postponed her death to another festival. On this day

there were no gladiators, the soldiers of Christ had satiated the ferocious pleasures of the multitude.

Persecution immediately bore its fruits; the other captives felt themselves strengthened and the apostates returned to their faith, calling for punishments to prove the sincerity of their return: "The living members of the Church had raised the dead to life." Marcus Aurelius, when consulted about the accused who were citizens, had replied that the law must take its course: to behead those who persisted and dismiss those who recanted. Lyons was about celebrating on August 1st the festival of all Gaul; the persecution was resumed and went on rapidly; there was need to be ready for the games.

It is to the honour of human nature that injustice revolts it, exalts it, and produces that contagion of self-devotion which has produced martyrs to all great causes, sometimes even to bad ones. During the fresh examinations, a man was seen amongst the spectators who was touched by the courage of the victims and showed a pity for them which irritated the crowd. He was immediately denounced to the governor. "Who are you?" the latter asked him. "A Christian," he replied, and he went and sat down amongst the martyrs. The festival arrived. Eighteen confessors had already succumbed to their sufferings in the prison; two had perished in the amphitheatre, twenty-eight were reserved for death, some by the sword as being citizens, the rest by the wild beasts.

Two Greeks, come from a long distance to visit the Christian's common country, inaugurated the games, Attalus of Pergamus and Alexander of Phrygia. They submitted to all the customary tortures: Attalus on the red-hot chair, pointing to the smoke of his burnt flesh, which spread itself through the amphitheatre, simply said: "In truth, to do what you are doing is to devour men; but we do not eat them." To devour infants! That was the charge which had provoked the outbreak, followed by the trial and tortures.¹

Blandina and Ponticus had been present at the shocking

¹ While false as regards the Christians, the accusation might be true respecting others. In all periods traffickers in the occult sciences professed to obtain the favour of the devil by sacrificing to him the most innocent creatures, *i.e.*, infants: an infant's blood was required for their magical operations. This took place even in Louis XIV.'s time: the Abbé Guibourg and la Voisin confessed having slain several. (*Archives de la Bastille*, vol. vi.)

spectacle. They were reserved for the last day of the festival. When they were led in, the crowd for a moment felt pity for them. They were so young! Ponticus was scarcely fifteen. "Swear by the gods," a thousand voices called out. Blandina strengthened her companion's courage, and he bore all the torments till he expired. As for her, "she met death as if going to a marriage feast." They tried everything against her. After being scourged, bitten by the wild beasts, placed in the red-hot chair, she was wrapped up in a net, and a furious bull let loose at her. "Thus," says Eusebius, "the blessed Blandina died the last, like a courageous mother who, after having sustained her children during the fight, sends them on in advance to the king, to announce the victory." What an overturning of ideas!



Aureus of Marcus Aurelius.
(Emperor's Head. Reverse,
Rome helmeted, holding Victory
in her hand.)

what a revolution in the relations of society! Christian Lyons soon came to venerate and hold in honour the poor slave whom ancient society despised and crushed under its feet.

The others condemned were all Romans: twelve men and as many women.

This last figure shows with what success the new faith had spoken. They were decapitated near the altar of Augustus. Their bodies were given to the dogs or burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Rhone. It was desired that not a fragment should remain of them, in order to destroy, by this complete destruction of the body, the hope of the resurrection of the flesh. "Let us see now," said the pagans, "if they will rise again."¹

The far-reaching report of this execution excited the zeal of some governors, that especially of the pro-consul of Africa, who sent to the torture Namphamo and his companions, the first African martyrs. We can also regard the Scillitanes, put to death July 17th, 180, as the victims of the detestable policy inaugurated by Marcus Aurelius.

When the victorious Church had conferred upon itself the

¹ The Christian community at Lyons must nevertheless have been few in number. We have many inscriptions of this city, and those which relate to Christians do not appear before the fourth century. The same is the case as regards Nîmes.

sovereign power of deciding what is necessary to be believed and to be done, it, in turn, sent victims to the torture. Trajan and Marcus Aurelius punished those who refused to obey certain laws of the State; the inquisitors burned those who did not think as they did on heavenly things. The former believed they were protecting society; the latter considered themselves to be defending religion; both were deceived. Coming from a rude soldier like Trajan the mistake is not astonishing; it does surprise us as regards Marcus Aurelius, who ought to have comprehended that his duty as a philosopher and a man was to examine into these doctrines in order to test them, and to weigh these accusations in order to silence them. But he neither liked the books, the sciences, nor the history, which would have given him a virtue which they impart—tolerance, and he took delight only in pure speculation,¹ which, like a too generous wine, often blinds and inebriates. Every political fault brings after it its punishment; that society which laughed at the sufferings of the Christians is still under the malediction of the Church, which it does not wholly deserve; and the executions ordered or permitted by Marcus Aurelius have left a stain on the purest name in antiquity.

It is right to say also that history, led astray by this purity, has given too high a place to the emperor. In this reign of nineteen years we find neither new institutions,² great feats of war, nor an advantageous peace; simply a fine book. That is sufficient for the thinker, but too little for the chief of an empire. Let us place him then among those men to whom we owe the highest respect; but do not let us place him in the rank of those princes who have deserved best of their country. Plato said, and Marcus Aurelius repeats it: "Happy those peoples where the philosophers are kings, or where their kings philosophize!" Rather let each do his own work: the philosopher in the schools and the prince in affairs of state.

I should not like to conclude by appearing to throw too strong a shadow upon this fine character. There are two kinds of politicians: those who are especially pre-occupied with the useful and those who think more of the honourable. The former guide men

¹ Cf. *Pensées*, i. 17.

² *Jus autem magis vetus restituit quam novum instituit* (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 11).

by their interests; the latter try to lay hold of them and lead them by the exalted qualities of their nature. Marcus Aurelius belongs to these latter, who often fail, but they always deserve honour. So, when, on the Piazza di Capitolet, we contemplate his equestrian statue, the magnificent life-like work of an unknown artist, we feel it fitting that the figure of the prince who was, by his lofty morality, the purest expression of imperial authority, should alone remain untouched and standing above the ruins of the city of the Cæsars.



Lucilla, Daughter of Marcus Aurelius. (Bronze Coin.)

THE EMPIRE AND ROMAN SOCIETY

IN THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES OF OUR ERA.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

THE FAMILY.

I.—THE FATHER AND THE CHILD.

IT is not intended to detail here all the principles of civil and administrative law belonging to the Empire. But we require to know the organization of the *family* and of the *city*, those two primary elements of society which are not creations of the law, since they existed before the State, and which communicate to society their strength or their weakness. In recalling the historical circumstances which had determined amongst the Romans the organization of both, it will be understood how the State, kept firm in the midst of storms by two safe anchors, continued during centuries strong and prosperous, in spite of so many political commotions.

The Roman by descent was a freeman, a citizen, and a member of a family.¹ From this threefold condition, certified by the census-books, the taxation rolls, and the registers of births which Marcus Aurelius ordered to be kept, and in case of need by evidence of witnesses, were derived certain private rights which constituted the civil state, or, as the law expressed it, the *caput* of each citizen.

¹ The Roman citizens were divided into *ingenui*, who were freeborn, and *freedmen*, who had once been slaves; into persons *alieni juris*, subject to another's power, or held in a sort of bondage which will be explained later on, and into persons *sui juris*, who were absolutely independent, or submitted, by tutelage or guardianship, to only a temporary suspension of their full liberty.

These rights, called in the language of the juriconsults *powers*, were four in number: the *potestas dominica*, the right of the master over his slave; the *patria potestas*, that of the father over the child; the *manus*, the right of a husband over his wife; the *mancipium*, the right of a freeman over another freeman whom the law had permitted him to seize (*manu capere*). The *dominium*, or right of Quiritary proprietorship, had reference to things.

Let us say at once that persons possessing these powers could undergo three sorts of changes in their condition, which were called *diminutions*:¹ the greatest, by the loss of liberty; the less great, by the loss of citizenship; the smallest, by the change of family. As regards the *dominium*, it was naturally extinguished by the loss or alienation of property.

Freedom was acquired by birth or affranchisement; it was lost by certain judicial sentences or by captivity in an enemy's country. In the latter case the loss was not definitive. If the captive returned he was counted not to have ceased being a citizen; he again entered into his previous legal condition and recovered, by virtue of the *jus postliminii*, all his rights except such whose existence implied an actual continuity, such as possession and marriage.² Freedom was protected by a pretorian interdict *de libero homine exhibendo*, which prevented, like the *habeas corpus* of English law, arbitrary detentions.

Roman citizenship was acquired by birth, naturalization, and affranchisement. In order that a child should be a citizen by birth, it was necessary that the father be a citizen at the time of conception, and that the marriage, *connubium*, should have been performed with all the legal forms. Without *proper nuptials* the children assumed the condition which the mother had at the time of their birth. It followed from this principle that a woman reduced to a state of slavery after conception, as the result of a judicial sentence, gave birth to a slave. Hadrian modified this

¹ *Capitis deminutio maxima, media, minima.*

² Cicero, *Topica*, 8; Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 129; *Digest*, xlix. 15. Cf. *Jus postliminii*, by Bechmann, Erlangen, 1873. An old law recalled by Plautus, *Stichus*, 28-30, declared the marriage null and void at the end of the third year of absence: *Neque id inmerito eveniet: nam viri nostri domo ut abierunt hic tertius annus*. Julianus (in the *Digest*, xxiv. 2, 6) required for the wife of a soldier taken by the enemy an interval of five years: *Sin autem in incerto est an vivus apud hostes . . . vel morte præventus . . . quinquennium*.

rigorous right by deciding that a woman free during any time of her pregnancy should give birth to a free child. Naturalization was granted by a law, and later on by an imperial constitution, sometimes to individuals, sometimes to a city or a people. The *Latini* and the *Latini Juniani* could obtain it on fulfilling certain conditions or by imperial favour.¹

The freedom of the city gave rise to certain rights which the provincials did not possess:

1. Political rights: the *jus suffragii*, which was extinguished under the Empire, Tiberius having closed the comitia of the *Populus Romanus*, of which nothing more than the appearance existed, and the *jus honorum*, which then suffered certain restrictions.²

2. Civil rights: the *jus connubii*, which allowed to contract proper marriages, without which there could exist neither the *patria potestas* nor the *jus agnationis*, with its important results on succession; the *jus commercii*, or the right to acquire as well as the power to dispose of one's property according to the rules of civil law, and by consequence with the right of making a will.

At Rome property was distinguished by a character both political and religious. The State, the original proprietor, had instituted individual property by distributing lands to the citizens, the boundaries of which had been traced by the augurs and over which the god Terminus guarded. Proceeding from the State and consecrated by religion, this Quiritary property was obtainable only by those who were members of the sovereign State and worshippers of its gods, *i.e.*, by citizens only. They did what they pleased with their property; they might use or misuse it. Still the idea of the superior rights of the State, or rather that of the common weal, imposed certain restrictions. Although since the end of the Social War (*Lex Julia*, 89 B.C.) the Italian soil had become Quiritary land, it happened often that decrees promulgated for the foundation of colonies obliged the inhabitants to give up to the colonists a part of their lands. The execution, by the State or by a city, of works needful to the community, required also

¹ Ulpian, *Lib. reg.*, tit. iii. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 4 and 6.

² In Claudius's reign a *senatus-consultum* was needed to grant to Gauls already citizens the right of aspiring to the Roman senate and the offices of state.

expropriation for the sake of public utility. Did the expropriated owners receive compensation? Assuredly not when colonies were in question; probably they did when they were dispossessed for the construction of a road, an aqueduct, or a sewer, etc.; at least this practice was established under the Empire.¹

The freedom of the city was lost, and with it all civil rights, in the case of him who became a slave *jure civili*, or whom a sentence condemned to hard labour for life, to the interdiction of water and fire, or to transportation, two penalties, formerly different, but which became one and the same. Naturalization in a foreign state also caused the loss of the freedom of the city; and by foreigners, *peregrini*, the Romans meant individuals and peoples who, while included in the Empire, had not the freedom of the city. Even the citizens who left to found a colony underwent the *media deminutio capitis*.

Let us now enter the family.

The freeman, even if a magistrate, acquired the full dignity of the citizen (*patria potestas*, etc.) only if he were the father of a family. The Romans intended that no authority should be interposed between father and son, husband and wife. For them the domestic hearth was a sacred asylum, into which not even the law's representative could penetrate.²

In order to follow the formation of the family, we ought to speak of the mother before being concerned with the child, and to study the rights of the husband before those of the father; but the latter explain the former and oblige us to reverse the natural order.

The idea which the Roman juriconsults had formed of marriage made a certainty of the legitimacy of children born during the union; hence the famous axiom: *is pater est quem nuptiæ demonstrant*. The child born out of the marriage bonds or of a

¹ Frontinus, *de Aquæd.*, 6. The Republic had laid down the principle of the right belonging to the State to resume without indemnity the public domain lands the enjoyment of which had been conceded. The Empire repudiated this harsh law; the emperors will prohibit the treasury putting forth any claims on the property of which they had received the money value. A rescript of Alexander Severus says: *ne fiscus rem quam vendidit evincet* (Cod., x. § 1).

² *Domus tutissimum cuique refugium atque receptaculum* (Digest, xi. 4, 18) . . . *de domo sua nemo extrahi debet* (*ibid.*, 21).

union that was prohibited, could plead his maternal filiation, for, in the eyes of the law, he had no father.

The paternal power had been recognized even in the period called patriarchal. The Romans had formed it into a political institution.

In lawful marriage, the father's power laid hold on the child from the moment of its birth, and extended even to the right of life and death. The new-born infant is laid at the feet of its judge. If it is taken up, that is to say, recognized, it will live; if it is left on the ground, it is because the father casts it off. In that case it is carried away and placed at some cross-roads, where it soon dies unless a slave merchant picks it up in order to sell it. The father has his reasons when he thus does violence to nature: first, doubts as to parentage, as that of the emperor Claudius,¹ who ordered his daughter to be cast down at the corner of a boundary; sometimes also poverty, or a family already numerous. "Why let beings live who will know only misfortune?" said Chremes in the *Heautontimorumenos*.² Feebleness of constitution, deformity, brought condemnation also in their train; Rome required vigorous soldiers, robust labourers; and since it kept demanding such, the fatal practice continued: it is found in the second century of our era.

In the absence of the father, judgment is suspended till his return; the newly-born is only provisionally nourished. Sometimes the father has given his consent before quitting home. "Bring up that which shall be born in my absence."³ A sad formula! *What shall be born!* Just as one would talk of a flock of sheep.

¹ See vol. iv. p. 142. Augustus caused the child of the second Julia to be killed. (Suet., Oct., 65.)

² That is at least the general sense of vv. 634-64.

³ *Quod erit gnatum me absente tollito*. Cf. Plaut., *Amph.*, 501; Ovid., *Met.*, ix. 678; Juvenal, *Sat.*, ix. 84; Statius, *Sylv.*, ii. 1, 79; Terent., *Andr.*, 219. This right was still practised at the end of the second century: *Pater peregre proficiscens mandavit uxori suæ . . . ut si sexus sequioris edidisset fatum . . . necaretur* (Apol., *Metam.*, x.). Seneca says (*de Ira*, i. 15), approving it: *Portentosos fatus extinguimus, liberos quoque, si debiles monstrosique editi sunt, mergimus*. It is the practice in barbarous times which still exists in China and Africa. The journal of the *Missions catholiques* related some years ago, according to a letter from the apostolic prefect of Zanzibar, that the Wazarmos, a tribe in the vicinity of the mission establishments, throw to the beasts of the forests infants born on Wednesday, or during the full moon, and those afflicted with the least bodily defect. For a sum of from 2 to 5 francs these savages had agreed to give up their infants (*mbaya*) to the missionaries.

After the law *Papia Poppaea* passed by Augustus, paternity was furthermore a title to honours and profits.¹

Paternity, besides its natural joys, received therefore at Rome, and in the provinces, wherever citizens existed, special privileges, the *jus trium liberorum*, which those enjoyed who had at least three children, or who obtained, by special privilege from the prince, the right of being considered as if they had. Three children, even if born out of wedlock,² gave a Latin woman the freedom of the city, and as a consequence the right to the distributions. This encouraged loose morals; but the ancients did not always possess our delicacy of feeling, and the emperors wanted by all means to recruit that class of free men which was daily decreasing.³

The birth of a son is a piece of good fortune to be joyously celebrated, a happy day to be marked in white. The whole house has a festive look. The door is crowned with garlands of flowers and green.⁴

The eighth day is the day of purification for girls; for boys it is the ninth. This solemnity gives occasion for a family reunion followed by a repast. The oldest female relative in a loud voice expresses their good wishes for the newly-born. "It is," says Perseus,⁵ "the grandmother, the maternal aunt, or some god-fearing woman, who takes up the infant from its cradle: first of all with the middle finger she rubs the forehead and the moist lips of the newly-born with saliva to purify it, then she strikes it lightly with the two hands, and already in her supplications she has sent forth this frail creature with her hopes to the possession of the rich domains of *Licinius*." On the termination of this ceremony the name of the now purified child is inscribed on the public registers.⁶

The child, rich or poor, will preserve a religious respect for his

¹ *Sat.* ix. 87.

² . . . *vulgo concepti* (Ulpian, *Lib. reg.*, iii. 61).

³ See *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 791, n. 1.

⁴ *Trucul.*, 345.

⁵ *Sat.* ii. 31-36.

⁶ The Roman had three names, sometimes four. *Proprium nominum quatuor sunt species*, say the grammarians Diomedes and Priscianus: *Prænomen, quod nominibus gentilitiis præponitur, ut Marcus, Publius*; *nomen, quod originem gentis vel familie declarat, ut Portius, Cornelius*; *cognomen est quod uniuscujusque proprium est, ut Cato, Scipio*; *agnomen est quod extrinsecus cognominibus adjici solet, ex aliqua ratione vel virtute quesitum, ut est Africanus, Numantinus, etc.*

birthday, and will observe its anniversary religiously.¹ He will invite all the members of his family to this annual festival, and surrounded by this joyous assembly, he will present offerings to the *Lares* and to his own tutelary genius.

It was also the day for presents. The relatives and friends



Purification.²

mutually make gifts. A neglect of this occasion would be regarded as a want of politeness and might cause a rupture. The emperor did like other citizens: he received and gave; and since he is the father of his country, the anniversary of his birth is a public *fête* throughout the whole Empire.

In the families of the great, the newly-born child was given in charge to a nurse who, from that day, became an important

¹ See above, p. 135, Hadrian's letter to his mother.

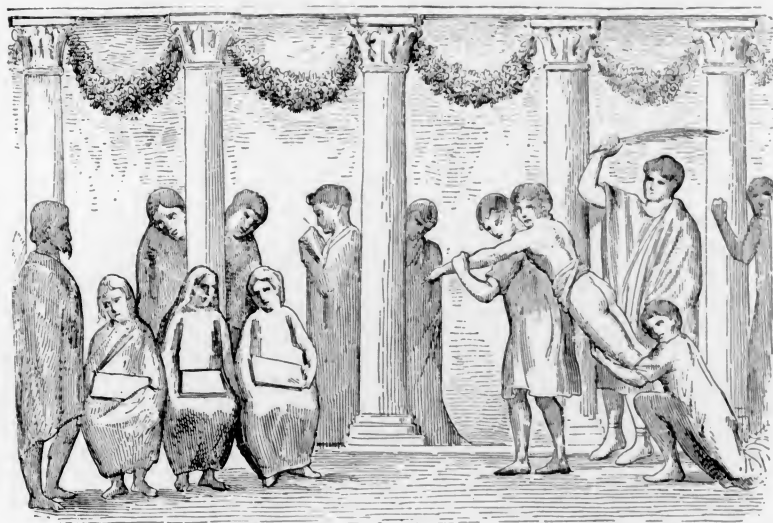
² Scene of purification by the lustral water. Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius, breaks off an olive branch to sprinkle young children, whilst a priestess draws the water from the river which will serve for purification. Enlarged copy from a coin of Marcus Aurelius.

person in the family, and preserved to her last hour the affection of him whom she had brought up. Pliny, Dasumius, bequeathed to their nurse a small house, a field, some slaves with the



A Nurse (after a Bas-relief).

flock of sheep, the necessary farm implements, and a small capital to work with; Domitian gives to his a villa on the Via Latina. On her part, the nurse, the servant in a pre-eminent degree, is faithful and devoted to death. When everything is falling to pieces, when the friends who have



Scene at School (after a Painting at Herculaneum. Cf. Rich, *Diet. des Ant. rom. et gr.*).

been watching flee from fear, she is there by the blood-stained corpse; she saves from the Gemoniæ the remains of Nero or the last Flavian, and conveys them secretly to the ancestral tomb.

Not all the married ladies give to a slave or a freedwoman the charge of nursing the child. Sixteen centuries before Rousseau, Favorinus had pleaded the obligation of the mother to be the nurse, and inscriptions prove that the ancient philosopher had,

like the modern, gained over at least some women to this important maternal duty.¹

Meanwhile the child is growing up. Good masters were given him, and the endeavour was made not to set before him too many bad examples. It is a Roman satirist, Juvenal, who wrote these words, the supreme rule in education: *Maxima debetur puero reverentia*. We must respect the child and take care that, in his daily haunts, nothing shameful be seen or heard.² We think that there is found in an infant's cradle a soft beneficial influence to bring peace into a troubled household, or to drive away bad practices, and we like to believe that this thought is of recent date: it is as old as this bitter censor and existed in the minds of many of his contemporaries: "If thou art concocting any guilty project, the sight of thy son will stop thee."³ The education was generally of a manly sort, with less of those effeminate tender-nesses which in our days so often make a domestic tyrant of the child.⁴ The discipline at home prepared for the discipline of the city, and respect for the father led to respect for the magistrate and the law.



Young Roman wearing the bulla. (Small Bronze Figure in the Musée du Louvre.)

¹ Aulus Gellius, xii. 1: Orelli, No. 2,677: . . . quæ filios suos propriis uberibus educavit. Mommsen, *Inscr. regni Neapol.*, No. 1,092.

² Sat. xiv. 47.

³ Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 49: *Peccaturo obstet tibi filius infans*.

⁴ *Longe ab adsentatione pueritia removenda est: audiat verum et timeat interim: vereatur semper: majoribus assurgat* (Sen., de Ira, ii. 21).

At about fifteen or sixteen puberty is reached;¹ the boy lays



The Game of Swinging.²

aside the *prætexta*, suspends his gold or leathern *bullæ* to the neck of the Lares, bids farewell to his boyish amusements, his games with nuts, the top, the swing, the hoop, the stick which has served him for ten years as a horse. The assumption of the *toga virilis* takes place yearly on the 16th before the Calends of March (17th February), at the time of the *Liberalia*, or feast of Bacchus, "the ever-youthful god whose name is Liber."³ To the prestige of religion is united the imposing grave occasion of a reunion of all the members of the family. To make the gods propitious, the youth has passed the last night of his infancy

Playing at Hoop (*trochus*) (after Winckelmann, *Mon. ant. ined.*, i. p. 195.)

¹ Legal puberty, fixed at seventeen in the most ancient law, was under the Empire lowered to fourteen for boys and twelve for girls. (Macrobius, *Saturn.*, vii. 17.) It was the age fixed at Genetiva (cap. xeviii.) for the end of minority; confirmed by Justinian in *Code*, v. 3.

² After Millingen, *Ant. ined. monum.*, pl. xxx. A very similar painting is seen on a vase of the Musée du Louvre.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 773 et seq.

covered, like a bride on the eve of her nuptials, with a white material and a saffron-coloured sort of net-work. Is not this a betrothal which is now to be completed: the indissoluble union of the new citizen to the city?

In the morning the whole family having met, the father or next relative delivers to the youth the toga called *pura*, because it is white and without the purple border which the *prætexta* has; free, because it withdraws him from the constraint of his early education; virile, because it makes of him a man and a citizen. This robe is assumed in the presence of the household gods, who are invoked: *Ante deos libera sumpta toga*, says Propertius.¹ Then they go up to the Capitol to offer sacrifice to the gods of Rome. Thence the newly-made citizen, beaming with happiness, returns with all his *cortège* to the public place—the Forum—as if to take possession there of his rights. "Thou hast not forgotten," writes Seneca to Lucilius, "what was thy joy, when, having laid aside the *prætexta*, thou didst take the *toga virilis*, and wert led to the Forum."² Thus the most solemn act in the life of a young Roman was not, as among us, a religious ceremony only: it was a civic festival. The gods are in the background, the city is in the foreground, for it is the latter whose figure dominates the whole solemnity. Thus we shall not be astonished by and by to find this city so strong.³

Yesterday it was boyhood and games; to-morrow it will be active and responsible life. In fact, to-morrow the child, now become a man, is to commence his new existence; if poor, he will learn a trade; if rich, he will be bound to a juriconsult, or he will be sent to a provincial governor to go through an apprenticeship to arms or civil service. If he belong to the senatorial or equestrian order, he will be able, at Rome and in its municipium, to be present at the deliberations of the curia to become initiated into civic and State affairs.

We see him then a citizen: he votes in the comitia, he holds office; he becomes prætor, consul, pontiff, but he remains a son; nothing has effaced what Livy calls "the paternal majesty." Free

¹ *Eleg.*, IV. i. 130.

² Sen., *Epist.*, 4, *initio*.

³ [On the offerings of honey now made to Bacchus, cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 761 et seq.—*Ed.*]

by public law, he is not so according to private. Whatever may be their age and their dignities, children continue under their father's power, who, their master just as he is of his slaves and his other property, can crush even their dearest affections and also the new family which they have set up. If, on marrying his daughter, the father did not emancipate her or transfer her to the authority of the husband, he can at pleasure dissolve the union to which he had previously given his consent.¹ Roman paternity was just as much a right of property as it was a domestic magistracy.

Under Augustus, a father pronounced a sentence of exile against his son,² and another condemned him to be scourged to death; a third, in Hadrian's reign, himself acted as executioner. Thus the ancient law existed even under the Antonines; but already manners were opposed to it and legislation supports them. The people felt a desire to be avenged on the first of these homicides by killing the perpetrator: it was only an outbreak; in the second case the prince intervened and condemned the father to transportation. According to a fragment of Ulpian, the father, in the third century, had then only the right to take his son before the public judge.³ If he unjustly refused or neglected to marry him, the *Lex Julia* authorized the magistrate to compel him to do so,⁴ and a rescript of Antoninus prevented him from breaking up the new family by taking from him the right of forcing his son to put away his wife.⁵ Lastly, Trajan compelled any one who ill-treated his child to emancipate him.⁶ Yet the right of correction still existed, and the child in subjection to the paternal power never could claim an action for damages against his father.

If the father had the right of killing, much more had he the right of selling him; as regards the sons, the paternal power

¹ By pleading against his son-in-law the interdict *de liberis exhibendis*. Cf. Cic., *ad Her.*, ii. 24; the *Stichus* of Plautus and the very terms of the law preserved by Julianus in his lib. i. *ad Edictum prætoris*, in the *Digest*, iii. 2, 1.

² Sen., *de Clem.*, i. 14.

³ *Digest*, xlviii. 9, 5. *Inauditum filium pater occidere non potest: sed accusare eum apud præsid. prov. debet* (Ulpian, in *Digest*, xlviii. 8, 2).

⁴ *Digest*, xxiii. 2, 19. Severus obliged the father to give a dowry. (*Ibid.*) Likewise for the daughter.

⁵ Paulus, v. 6, § 15: *Bene concordans matrimonium separari a patre divus Pius prohibuit*.

⁶ *Digest*, xxxvii. 12, 5.

was exhausted only after three successive sales; as regards the daughters, one sale sufficed. However, the father who had once consented to the marriage of his son was considered as no longer having this power over him. This right under the Empire could only be exercised in case of absolute necessity, as a means, for example, of avoiding the exposure of the child.

But this necessity often occurred. The number of slaves was always considerable, and their recruitment arose not only at the expense of the barbarians, by slave trade or by prisoners of war: the Empire supplied a large number of them. We read in authors and on monuments the names of numbers of freedmen of Greek and Asiatic origin, the greater part of whom must have been children free born carried off in their childhood by pirates and brigands, or sold by their parents into misery.¹ This traffic was not then so odious as it seems to us. Thanks to the softening of manners, many slaves had an existence which did not in the least differ from that of our domestic servants; a great many of them regained their liberty and many added fortune to it as well: the emancipated filled up every career.² The sale of a child might be therefore for the family and itself a fortunate speculation, which, not then causing too great a violation of natural instincts, must have been frequent even in Italy. The great boarding institution of the Antonines furnishes a proof of this, since its purpose was to prevent poor parents from selling their children.

As a means of gain, the child under the father's power was assimilated to the slave; he earned money for his father and could keep nothing for himself. Only when he lived separately and practised a different trade the father usually gave him a share, which the son could use as he liked without its being his own property. Also he was unable, except with the father's permission, to alienate it of his own will, and under no circumstance could he will it away.

¹ The number of children exposed or sold must have been very considerable, since in modern civilization, with the great facilities for poor families rearing their children and the severe penalties for infanticide, abandonment, or exposure, there were in Paris alone in 1879 344 sentences under this head, and the department for supporting infants in the department of the Seine had, in 1880, 26,186 boarders from one day to twenty-one years old.

² See Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, vol. iii. p. 441.

The son, however, could secure real property by means of the pay gained in the army (*peculium castrense*), which he could dispose of by will even during his own lifetime, and the father's right was only exercised, at the son's death, in default of such like dispositions. Later on the same rules were applied to the pay gained by public functions (*peculium quasi castrense*). Finally, by a grave modification of the father's absolute right over the son's property, the son could have his father's will cancelled, "for forgetfulness of his paternal affection," which opened up a claim of *intestacy* by which the son regained his rights.¹

As regards obligations, the son's debts were chargeable on himself; only the action was in fact suspended till he possessed property of his own. This rule admitted but one exception, that for a money loan. Under Claudius, a law cancelled loans made to a son while under guardianship without the father's consent. The latter was not even able to make a deed of gift to his son; still it became valid, if, at his death, he did not revoke it.

The delinquencies of a son under his father's control put him under personal obligation towards the third parties whom he had injured. The latter had the choice either to bring an action against him when he had an allowance of his own, or to bring against the father an *actio noxalis*, which forced him to deliver up the culprit. The *noxæ deditio* took place then under the form of a mancipation; but when the injured party was indemnified by the labour of the *noxæ dati*, the latter could demand his liberation from the prætor.

Roman families preserved as a sacred deposit their name, their domestic sacrifices, and their traditions; each generation transmitted this pious legacy to the following: so, from failure of children, the law authorized the head of the family to take a son by adoption.

This power was naturally derived from the *patria potestas*, which was the basis of civil legislation. In fact it would have been illogical to refuse to the father, the master of the fortune, of the liberty, of the life even of his son, the right to grant to a

¹ By the *querela inofficiosi testamenti* (*Inst.*, ii. 18, *procem.*, and *Digest*, v. 2, 2). The *Lex Falcidia*, of the year 40 B.C., only authorized legacies to the extent of three-quarters of the succession, the other fourth being reserved for the natural heirs. (*Inst.*, ii. 22; *Gaius*, *Inst.*, ii. §§ 225-7.)

stranger a place by the side of his children at the domestic hearth. But, under the influence of religious ideas, which in the first ages had great strength, ancient society clung to the purity of blood and did not approve the admixture of races: so the law had at first restrained this right within the narrow limits which Cicero discloses to us.¹ Yet even the form of adoption which he opposes, that of Clodius, a patrician and senator, adopted by a plebeian who could have been his son, proves that the ancient prescriptions were even then no longer observed, and there remains very little of them in the new right. After the *Lex Canuleia*,² religious motives, *quæ ratio generum ac dignitatis, quæ sacrorum*, had little by little given place to the simple considerations of equity and convenience.³ Ulpian recognized even that a citizen can adopt by the solemn form of adrogation several persons, when he has just motives for so acting: a very wide expression which should leave a liberty to the adopter, an example of which we see in some of the emperors.⁴

The adopted son succeeded to the name, the domestic sacrifices, and had, relatively to the patrimony, all the rights of *one's own* heir. He was not allied to the whole family, but to the head of it only and those who pertained to him by the bond of agnation: for example, the adopter's daughter becomes the sister of the new son and cannot marry him.

There were two sorts of adoption: that properly so-called and the adrogation. The former sort was employed in the case of children held under the paternal power, *alieni juris*; the latter, in the case of citizens who were their own masters, *sui juris*. In the former case, the contract, after being concluded in a friendly manner between the two fathers, the natural and adoptive, must be completed in the presence of the child, who might express a contrary desire. The father alone had the right to effect the transfer of his son, with the tacit or verbal consent of the latter, into the strange family; but the power of a guardian did not extend so far. Besides, the adoption was not irrevocable: the

¹ *Pro Domo*, 13-14.

² See above, vol. i. p. 218.

³ Cf. in *Digest*, i. 7, 17; and *Aul. Gellius*, v. 19.

⁴ See above, pp. 212 *et seq.* Even the *spado* could adopt. (*Gaius*, i. 103.)

son whose father found himself in consequence deprived of an heir could return by a fresh adoption into his own family.

When two heads of families had agreed upon the conditions of an adoption, if they were living at Rome, they went to the court of the urban prætor; if in the provinces, before the duumvirs or the governor. They sent for the *libripens*, a sort of public officer appointed to preside at the conclusion of every contract of sale: he came bringing his balance and accompanied by several scribes. The future adoptive father made known his intention and the name which he wished to give to the one adopted. The natural father declared his consent to it and his cession of his rights over his son to the contracting party. By a legal fiction the child was bought by his new father, who struck the balance and gave an as as the price of the child who had been sold to him. Immediately the son was purchased he was emancipated and came by that same act under the paternal power. The sale was repeated three times, in order that the father might lose all his rights over him. Then took place the *in jure cessio*, a legal fiction serving as a conclusion to many civil acts and which was a claiming of property. In this particular case the property transmitted was the *patria potestas*. The act, drawn up by the scribes and inscribed on the public registers, was signed by five witnesses of adult age. On the completion of these formalities the child became the member of a new family.

The ceremony of adrogation consisted in asking the consent of the people assembled *in comitiis*, under the presidency of a member of the college of pontiffs, who should inquire, among other matters, into the morality of the adoption.¹ Women, not having the right of being present at the comitia, could not be adopted in this way. As for the people, they were represented by some idle curious persons who were present at this solemnity, the announcement of which had been posted up three *nundinæ* previously, *i. e.*, during twenty-seven days at least.

The one adopted had sometimes children under his power; they and their goods passed with him into the power of the adoptive father, who became at the same time father and grandfather.

¹ Cic., *pro Domo*, 13-14; Aul. Gellius, v. 19.

It is ascertained that the person to be adopted is less than eighteen years of age at the least in order that the fiction of paternity may be possible, and the contracting parties solemnly affirm that they desire the one to assume the rights of the father, the other to accept the duties of a son. Then the pontiff asks: "Romans, do you consent to the ratification of the contract?" The people respond by the mouth of their thirty lictors, and the adoption is complete. Once more there is a family which will not die out and Penates which will not fail of sacrifices being offered up to them. Augustus adopted the two sons of Agrippa *per assem et libram*,¹ and Tiberius by a *lex curiata*.²

This last, in ancient times necessary to establish a new family, was under the Empire replaced by an imperial rescript, so that adrogation, previously impracticable for women when it was pronounced in the comitia, became possible when once a letter of the prince was sufficient. It was equally forbidden them to adopt or adrogate, because they did not possess the paternal power; but by a delicate softening of the law the emperors allowed them to adopt a child, "to console them for those they had lost."³

The adrogation caused a citizen in full possession of his rights, *sui juris*, together with his property and all persons subjected to his *potestas*, to pass into another's power; he became *alieni juris*. This change of status constituted the *minima capitis deminutio*; for it entailed the loss of the rights of agnation and of intestacy; it put an end to the right of patronage, of usufruct, and extinguished debts. Why? Doubtless because the Roman jurisconsults, with the implacable rigour of their logic, regarded the change of family as a sort of regeneration, creating a new person, a new existence. Yet in the long run, on equity asserting its influence in this as in other questions, he who had submitted to this diminution of status will recover some of the rights which ancient legislation denied him, and his creditor some securities upon which he can have a lien.⁴

¹ . . . emptos a patre (Suet., Octav., 64).

² But Galba and Nerva had already dispensed with some of these formalities, and Severus will abolish them altogether.

³ *In solatium amissorum* (Cod., viii. 48, 5).

⁴ At first the fortune of the adopted child passed entirely to the adoptive father; but to avoid despoiling the former and his agnati for the profit of the former family of the latter,

The paternal power which arises from a legal marriage and the two modes of adoption above indicated is acquired also over natural children by legitimization of concubinage.¹ It existed until the decease of the father, but was lost when the son passed into the power of a third party, when he was emancipated and the father or child ceased to be a citizen: for the paternal power, arising from a law peculiar to the Romans, *jus civile*, could not follow them under a foreign law, *jus gentium*, even when it existed in the national legislation of certain peoples, as in Gaul and among the Galatians.² Lastly, in public law and as a citizen, the son was perfectly independent of the father: he voted, served in the army, held office, even a guardianship, in full liberty, and except by testamentary disinherison he had a right to the patrimony.³

We see that the Roman family, at one and the same time, had in it a force of resistance and one of movement. By the civil authority of the father, it became a conservative force; but the political liberty of the son kept it from becoming a blind resisting force.

II.—THE HUSBAND, THE WIFE, AND RELATIONSHIP.

The condition of the son will help us now to understand that of the mother. "I bewail my poverty," sadly exclaims the miser in Plautus; "you see me with a grown girl on my hands, without dowry, whom I cannot portion off to any one."⁴ This lament was to be frequently heard at Rome: money there decided many marriages, just as it does in societies where there is most talk of sentiment. Horace gets angry about it; he complains that "Queen Money,"⁵ when she gives a spouse with an ample dowry, appeared to give with the same act beauty, nobility, friends, and conjugal fidelity." S. Jerome employs his liberty as an evangelical teacher

Antoninus decided that the adopted child who was disinherited or emancipated without reason should have a right to a quarter of the property of the adoptive father. This was the *Antonine fourth*.

¹ So for soldiers' children who had obtained the *honesta missio*.

² Cæsar, *de Bello civ.*, vi. 19; Gaius, *Inst.*, i. § 55.

³ Gaius, *ibid.*, ii. 123.

⁴ . . . *Dote cassam atque inlocabilem* (*Aulul.*, 180).

⁵ *Regina Pecunia* (*Epist.*, i. vi. 37).

to paint with more force these conventional marriages. He says, "One buys a horse, an ass, or an ox, only after a careful examination of their good qualities and vices; as for a woman, she is taken with closed eyes. Is she violent, foolish, ungracious, offensive, what does all that matter? This will be known after marriage."¹ By way of compensation, and this still belongs to our history, a girl without fortune may continue a long time in the paternal home, unless her beauty should strike some disinterested young man. That is rare, but not without example: so Venus is greatly honoured by anxious mothers.² "Look at the mothers," says Chærea, "they are fully occupied in lowering their daughters' shoulders, in drawing in the waist to make them look slender. Is there one of them who is inclined to be stout, the mother immediately exclaims: She is an athlete! And she diminishes her meals until she has rendered her, in spite of her constitutional tendencies, as thin as a spindle."³ But all are not such as this, the type of mothers as depicted in comedies. There are mothers, and they form the majority, who teach their daughter to spin wool and weave garments. She is also taught music, singing, dancing, and these accomplishments, says Statius, help to find a husband.⁴

At last a fitting man presents himself, who is neither a relation of prohibited degree nor a foreigner, two peremptory obstacles, although the former did not prevent the union of Claudius with his niece Agrippina:⁵ the *senatus-consultum* passed for this prince gained even the force of law.

Nevertheless, should the foreigner manage to obtain the rights of a Roman citizen, his case falls under the common rule: *Justæ sunt nuptiæ quas cives Romani contrahunt*.⁶ "I give up to you

¹ . . . *Quodcumque vitii est* (*ad Jovinian.*, iii. p. 429, edit. Haase).

² . . . *Anxia mater* (*Juvenal, Sat. x. 289*).

³ Terence, *Eun.*, 313.

⁴ *Silvæ*, iii. 3, 63. Cf. Ovid, *Ars amat.*, iii. 315, and Pliny, *Epist.*, V. xvi. On religious festivals there were often choirs of boys and girls. See *Hist. of Rome*, iii. p. 759, and Suet., *Octav.*, 100; Ovid, *Trist.*, ii. 23; Pliny, *Epist.*, IV. xix.

⁵ The cases prohibitory of marriage were numerous. They arose from kinship or condition: thus a senator was unable to marry a freedwoman: a guardian, his ward; a Roman, a barbarian; a governor, a woman of his province.

⁶ The capacity to contract a legitimate union was called *connubium*, and the *jus connubii* belonged to Roman citizens only, but could be conceded to foreigners by legislative power.

my dear daughter," says the father, "and may it be happy for me, for you, and for her." These words do not as yet make an irrevocable promise: the engagement becomes legal only after the ceremony of betrothal.

The time regarded as most favourable for this is the first or second hour of the day, *i. e.*, six or seven o'clock A.M. The family and friends have assembled at early dawn in the paternal home, and in their presence the future bridegroom renews his demand to the father, who gives his consent. Given in the presence of many witnesses this consent has legal force, and the future husband who might afterwards desire to unsay it could be prosecuted by the parents of the girl.¹ Nevertheless a contract is most frequently drawn up, which is signed by those present. Henceforth the union is made certain, and the titles of son-in-law and father-in-law are already employed. In fact, all the parties interested have given their consent: the girl has been asked if she places any impediment to the fulfilment of the contract, and her silence is regarded as consent.² The two are now betrothed. As a pledge of love and fidelity the young man gives the girl an iron ring without ornament or jewels, as a symbol of the austerity of the conjugal bond. The affianced places it on the last finger but one of the left hand, which is considered to have direct connection with the heart.³

The interval between the betrothal and the wedding is generally pretty long; besides, some seasons are not propitious. Thus, the month of May is fatal on account of the *Lemurales*.⁴

On the eve of the marriage they draw up the final contract;⁵ the dowry, the times of payment are stated in it. Generally, in a good family, the daughter receives 1,000,000 sesterces, a dowry which one of our French small stockbrokers would not accept. It is the amount that Augustus gives to Hortalus to enable him to

¹ The action for damages permitted to the father disappeared early, but the man was regarded as infamous, who, in spite of an existing promise, contracted a fresh engagement.

² *Digest*, xxi. 1, 11 and 12; Ulpian (*ibid.*, 12, § 1) makes a restriction which Paulus, under title 2, fr. 2, does not uphold. Cf. *Cod.*, v. 4, 12, and Accarias, i. p. 147.

³ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxxiii. 12; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 25, and *Digest*, xxxiv. 1, 36, 1.

⁴ Ovid (*Fasti*, v. 487 *et seq.*) gives a list of lucky and unlucky times for marriage.

⁵ There was no occasion, as is the case now, for the contract to precede the marriage; it might be subsequent.

take a wife, Messalina to Silius, that he may marry her. It is true that she brought with her an expectancy of Empire or death.¹

According to the law, the wife recognizes a master in her husband; she is in his power and becomes so in three ways: by *use*, *coemptio*, and *confarreatio*.

The *usage* is the prolonged possession which leads up to the acquisition of a right, *usucapio*. When a woman has passed a whole year in a man's house she falls under the power of that man; her father even cannot compel her to leave the house, which has now become that of a married couple: this is prescription. Nevertheless the prescriptive bond is broken if in the year the woman has passed three nights away from the common domicile. At the time when divorce was prohibited to the woman, whilst the right of repudiation was recognized in the man, the woman who avoided by the *trinoctium usurpatio* falling under the power of the husband, gave herself the liberty which the law exclusively assigned to the man, for she was able then to have herself claimed by her father or guardian. But *usus* disappeared early and was nothing more than a tradition in the time of Gaius,² that is to say, in the second century of our era.

All marriages were at that time contracted by *coemptio*, a fictitious sale which the couple made to each other of their person, and this sale was completed with the usual ceremonies belonging to mancipation. The woman comes to the Forum before the prætor or duumvir. She brings three asses: the first she gave to the *libripens*; the second she placed in a model of a house; the third was placed in her shoe. With the first she buys her husband; with the second, the right of entry into her new abode; with the third, the Penates and participation in the religious worship of the family of which she is going to form a part.

The following dialogue took place: "Woman, do you wish to be mother of my family?" "I do." "Man, do you wish to be father of my family?" "I do." The forms being gone through, the ceremony is ended, and the effect of it can only be annulled by the *remancipatio*.

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 37; Sen., *Cons. ad Helv.*, 12; Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 335: *Ritu decies centena*.

² Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 111.

The marriage by *confarreatio* alone required religious ceremonies, and put the wife into the absolute power of the husband, *in manu*. It was solemnized in the presence of ten witnesses, doubtless representing the ten *curie* of an ancient tribe, by the hands of the pontifex maximus or the flamen of Jupiter, with solemn forms and words: it is "Hymen according to the sacred laws."¹ A sacrifice was offered in which was presented a cake made of a sort of wheat called *far*, and if this very long ceremony was interrupted by a peal of thunder it was compulsory to begin it over again, as was the case with *comitia* of the people. Only on the condition of being born *ex confarreatis nuptiis* can a man become *flamen* of Jupiter, Mars, or Quirinus. The priests themselves must be married in this manner; so that the old patrician marriage existed as much as the old religion, but like it as feebly. In the time of Tiberius scarcely could three patricians be found fulfilling the condition required before becoming flamen of Jupiter.² The union by the *confarreatio* could only be dissolved by the sacrifice of the *diffarreatio*.

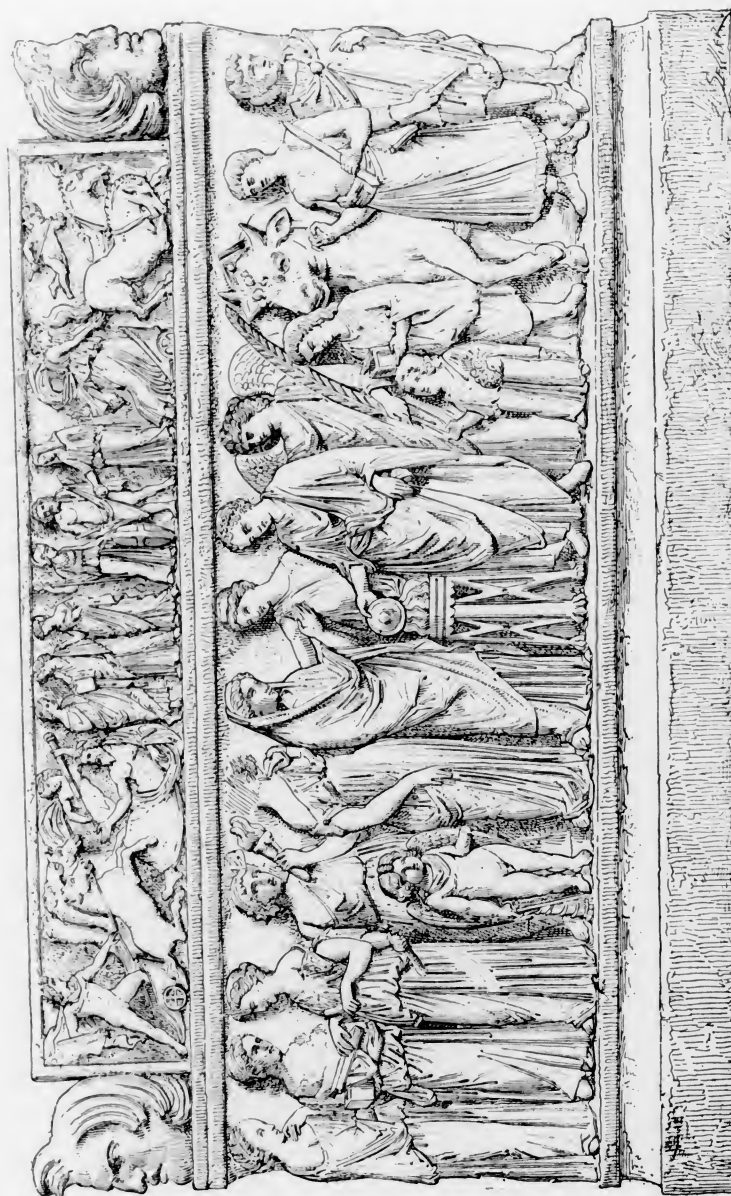
In the ceremonies everything is symbolical: thus the gall of the victim is thrown far away from the altar to indicate that there ought to be only sweetness in the conjugal union. The costume of the bride is a complete allegory. This orange-red veil, this saffron-coloured *flammeum*³ which covers her head and allows only the face to be seen, is the usual ornament of the flamen's wife, to whom divorce is prohibited; the white tunic represents virginity; the head-dress raised in the form of a tower, almost like that of the vestals, with a javelot which runs through it, indicates that the wife is in submission to her husband; the chaplet of vervain is the symbol of fecundity, and the girdle of wool which is tied round her waist bears witness to her chastity.

Thus adorned, the bride is placed on a seat covered by the skin of a sheep which was slain in sacrifice; the bridegroom is

¹ When the emperor was the pontifex maximus he was relieved of the charge of making such marriages by the appointment of a priest, *sacerdos confarreationum et diffarreationum*. (Willmans, 1,286.)

² Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 16. Gaius, in Marcus Aurelius's reign, says still: *quod jus etiam nostris temporibus in usa est* (i. 112). Cf. § 136, which shows that these marriages were very rare.

³ Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 129; Apuleius describes a wedding (*Met.*, iv. 81). See also, in Catullus (lxi. and lxii.), the *Epithalamium* of Manlius and the *Carmen Nuptiale*.



Sarcophagus representing Wedding Ceremonies. (*Atlas du Bull. arch.*, iv. pl. 9.)

seated by her side on a similar seat; both have their heads veiled. After having offered milk and honeyed-wine to the gods, the pontifex maximus gives the wedded pair the sacred cake (*far*) to eat, joins their hands, confiding the woman to her husband's good faith, who is to be her friend, guardian, and protector.

The appearance of the star Venus in the sky is the signal for departure to their new home. Before the bride leaves the home



A Young Married Woman covering her Face with the *Flammeum*. (Bas-relief in the Louvre, after an antique of the Villa Albani.)

which sheltered her infancy. the father takes the auspices, then hands her over (*traditio*) to those who will be her new family, for he alone can break the bond which attaches his daughter to the hearth of their ancestors, under the protection of the household gods. However, they pretend to snatch her from the paternal threshold, in commemoration of the rape of the Sabines. Children of patrician descent whose parents are still living escort her, two of them holding her by the hand, the third going before her and driving away the malevolent spirits with a torch of white pine.

Two others follow her carrying a distaff, a spindle, and in an osier basket all the instruments for feminine work. Four married women, bearing pine torches in their hands, form part of the procession.

When they reach the conjugal home, the bridegroom, standing at the threshold, asks her who she is, and she replies: "Where you shall be Caius, there shall I be Caia." They present to her the lustral water and a lighted torch; she sprinkles herself with



Genii conducting the Bride and Bridegroom, whose Heads are veiled.¹

some drops of this water, a sort of purifying, and she touches the torch, which they hasten to put in a safe place for fear that malicious beings should use it for malevolent purposes. Before entering she rubs the jambs of the door with a little pork fat in order to keep off baleful spells.² Her companions lift her up in their arms to prevent her touching with her foot the threshold sacred to Vesta, the virgin goddess, and the bridegroom throws some nuts to the children, by which he means that he gives up their games. The bride has already bidden adieu to her girlish

¹ Cameo from the Marlborough Collection, published by Winckelmann in his *Histoire de l'art*, and by Wieseler and Müller, *Alte Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. liv. No. 683.

² Among the Wallachians of Acarnania, just when the bride was going to pass the threshold of her new home she was presented with butter or honey with which she besmeared the door, indicating thus that her coming will bring kindness and joy to the house: *Uxor dicitur ab ungendis postibus*. (Heuzey, *le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, p. 278.)

years by devoting her dolls and playthings to the divinities who had protected her infancy.¹ Around the hearth are the ancestral images and those of the household gods. The newly-married there offer a sacrifice and break the cake of flour, *far*, to eat it together. Henceforth the wife is associated with her husband in the domestic worship; according to the beautiful expression of the Roman juriconsult, she enters into participation with him in all things divine and human. The gods and the deceased members of the husband's house become the gods and the venerated ancestors of the wife.

Seated then on a wool fleece, which is to remind her that she must be occupied with the distaff and spindle, the bride receives a key, the symbol of household management, which is to be her lot, and the bridegroom hands her on a silver platter some gold pieces.² The whole family takes part in the supper, which comes to an end by the distribution to the guests of *mustaceæ*.

On the day after the wedding the bride assumes the control of the house;³ all, after the example of the husband, now call her *domina*, mistress, and a sacrifice which she offers to the Lares consecrates this assumption of domestic authority. Henceforth she distributes the work to the slaves and looks after its execution, without herself doing any servile work, unless the family is so poor that they cannot afford a slave; later on she will direct the education of the children. After her house-keeping cares are over she takes her seat in the *atrium*, in the midst of the ancestral images, spins wool, like the royal Lucretia, or receives there her relatives or her husband's friends. If she goes out, public morals protect the young woman of yesterday who is now a Roman matron. The inner side of the pavement is given up to her; even the consul stands aside to yield place to her. Too free an utterance or gesture in her presence is an offence which the



Jointed Doll.
(After Becq de Fouquières, *les Jeux des anciens*, p. 29.)

¹ *Veneri donatæ a virgine pupæ* (Pers., *Sat.* ii. 70).

² Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 204.

³ *In domo viri dominium* (Macrob., *Saturn.*, i. 15; *Digest*, xxxii. 41, and Orelli, No. 2,663).

law punishes, and these marks of respect are so ancient that their origin used to be traced back to the time of Romulus.¹

This woman so respected is yet held by the law in a narrow state of dependence. If she has contracted the kind of marriage which gives to the husband over her the *manus*, she is considered as her husband's daughter, as the sister of his children, and all the ties to her former family are severed in order that the discipline of the new family may be better maintained. The husband has over her the most extended right of correction. In serious cases he must take the advice of relatives, unless it be a flagrant act of adultery, in which case he may take her life. If he does not possess the *manus*, he is contented with putting her away: it then falls to the lot of the father or relatives to punish her.² These family tribunals, which took cognizance even of murder committed by the wife upon her husband, were still in use under the emperors.³ We have seen that Antoninus placed conditions on the exercise by the husband of the right to punish his wife's adultery.⁴

To provide for housekeeping expenses the wife brought a dowry:⁵ a settlement of the greatest importance, for with the dowry, with monogamy, and with the need of having the consent of the young woman to the marriage, the Roman matron possessed that amount of liberty which is suitable to the wife and by which she can be raised to the degree of dignity which the titles of wife and mother convey. As to rights of succession, the wife was treated as a daughter of the family.

The right of the husband to the dowry was determined by the dissolution of the marriage, and having an eye to this eventuality, the wife could be called proprietor of her dowry; she kept

¹ Plutarch, *Rom.*, 20; Tac., *Orat.*, 28.

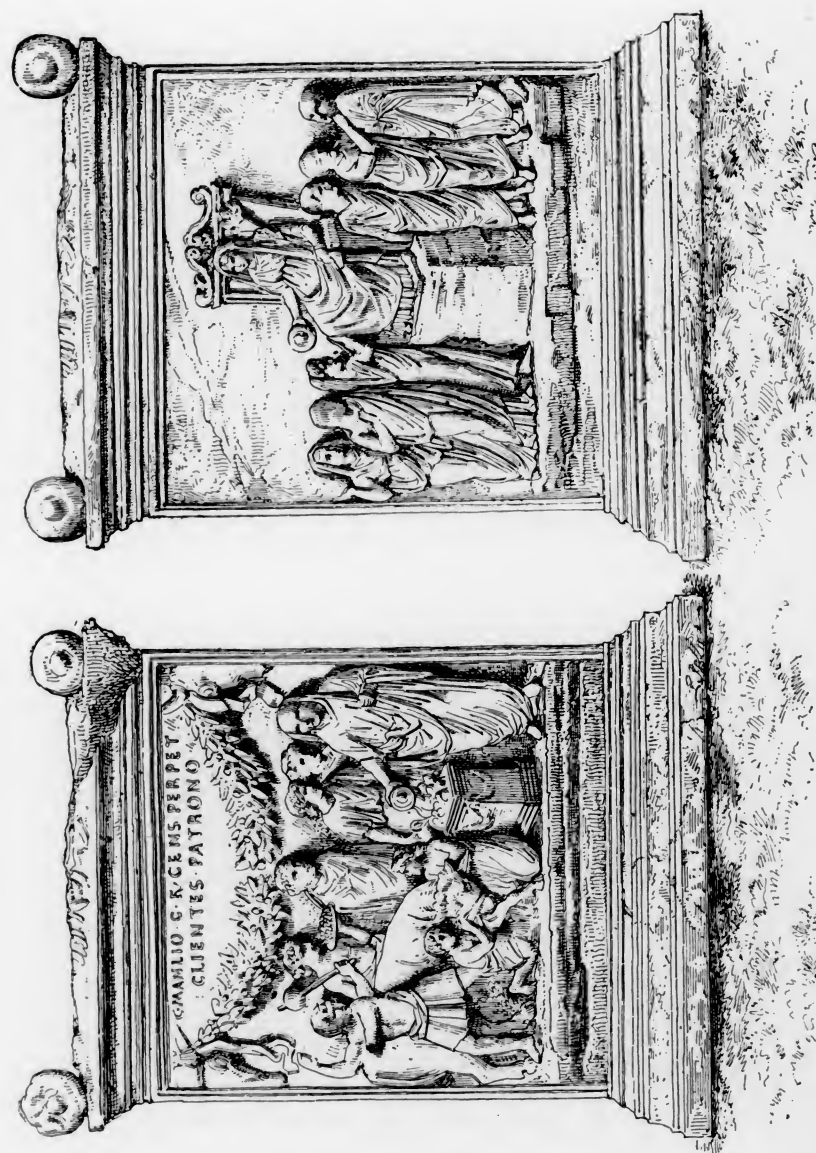
² The State sometimes handed over to this tribunal the task of punishing crimes committed by the wife. Thus, in the case of the Bacchanals, cf. *Hist. of Rome*, vol. ii. pp. 247 *et seq.*

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 32.

⁴ The wife judicially convicted of adultery was banished to an island, with the loss of half her dowry and the third of her property. (Paulus, *Sent.*, ii. 26.) After Constantine she was punished with death.

⁵ The juriconsults of the fifth century invented the *donatio propter nuptias*. It was a sum brought by the husband and united with the dowry, and which, at the dissolution of marriage, was assured to the wife and children. (*Inst.*, ii. 7, § 3.)

⁶ Garrucci, *Monumenti del Museo Lateranense*, pl. xvi.



Sacrifice to Domestic Fortune. (Bas-relief in the Musée de Latran.)⁶

besides the administration of her own property or paraphernalia not included in the marriage settlement. Thus, the wife of Apuleius, who had married him when a widow and who possessed 4,000,000 sesterces, transferred only 300,000 to the settlement. Then, as now, the non-distrainable character of this property was abused, and the husband who meditated a fraudulent bankruptcy placed in the name of his wife the capital which ought to have indemnified his creditors.¹ If, however, the latter had herself broken the marriage bonds by a divorce unreasonably demanded, the husband kept a sixth of the dowry for each child to the amount of three-sixths. If she had made the divorce necessary by a fault, she lost, according to the ancient law, her whole dowry; later on only a sixth or even only an eighth was taken from her.

A widow was prohibited from marrying again before an interval of ten months, under the penalty, if she did, of infamy for her father and her new husband, and for herself, when it applied to women. In spite of the encouragements given to second marriages by the laws *Julia* and *Papia Poppaea*, widows who did not re-marry were regarded with particular esteem.

A last trait of manners: the wife was expected to lament for her husband, *elugere virum*, and certain prohibitions were imposed upon her during this mourning; but the widower in his turn was not subjected to them.²

Concubinage existed by the side of marriage as a union legally authorized, probably from Augustus's time, but the illegitimate off-spring were unable to succeed. It usually existed between persons whom the law did not permit to contract a legal marriage: thus the concubine was usually a person of mean condition, often a freedwoman.³

The juriconsults have defined marriage as the complete and "undistinguishable" union of a man and a woman.⁴ Yet divorces, which were very rare in the earliest times, became frequent in the last days of the Republic.

¹ *Digest*, xlii. in title 8: *quæ in fraudem creditorum facta sunt*.

² *Uxores viri lugere non compelluntur* (*Digest*, iii. 2, 9).

³ The father of Pliny the Younger had taken a slave for a concubine, *contubernalis*, whom he named in his will. Vespasian, when emperor, had a concubine, and so had Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Constantius Chlorus, and Constantine.

⁴ *Digest*, xxiii. 2, 1.

If we turn from the juriconsults to the poets we find in them these customs in action, but described in that satirical spirit of writers who wish to show that ludicrous side of things. Plautus puts on the stage a young wife who complains to her father of being despised and neglected in favour of courtesans, and the father is made to reply: "Have I not exhorted you to be submissive to your husband, and not to be spying into his movements as to what he does and where he goes?" "But he is in love with a courtesan who lives near here." "He is right, and I should like for him to love her more in order to punish you."¹ In another place there are two matrons, one of whom makes her complaint, and the other consoles and exhorts her thus: "Listen to me; don't quarrel with your husband, let him love whom, and let him do what, he pleases, since nothing is wanting to you at home; keep in remembrance the terrible formula: Begone, woman!"² That is the terrible formula which obliges every poor woman to swallow her affronts and grief. She may have a child, the source of consolation and hope; perhaps the husband will refuse to accept it and cause it to be exposed. Let her husband be odious or not to her, she must go and meet him when he comes in, and should she have the strongest suspicions, she dares not question him. If she go out secretly, she will be put away: thus it was that Sempronius Sophus put away his wife, says Valerius Maximus,³ because she took part in the games of the circus without previously informing him. While the wife lives in this constrained condition, the husband robs her of her cloak to dress up his mistress with it. Are you astonished? The poet replies: "He does like the rest"⁴—like some others only, says the historian, who does not take the theatre as a faithful image of society, in which are represented only the virtues, vices, and eccentricities of a small number.

Let us look into another household; the parts are changed; here the wife rules and reigns. Haughty, imperious, she makes everything yield to her authority; extravagant and luxurious, she drives about in her chariot, fills her house with tradespeople and

¹ Plaut., *Menæchmi*, 789 *et seq.*

² Plaut., *Casina*, 178-195.

³ VI. iii. 12.

⁴ Plaut., *Asin.*, 943.

money-lenders. Let her husband pay and hold his tongue. If he speaks: "What!" says she, "isn't it I who have made you rich? Is it not right that I should have some whims?" Yet, if she give the least pretext for suspecting her fidelity, the husband will put her away and keep a part of what she brought him; but she is careful in her conduct! What is to be done? Will he go and ask for a divorce under the pretext of incompatibility of temper? Alas! he would like to do so, but the law is precise: if the divorce is sued for by the husband, the wife, although consenting, will withdraw her dowry and the children will remain under the father's care. He must therefore bear his ill with patience: he does this while seeking for consolation away from home. Thus, on the one hand, we see a woman tyrannized over, bearing patiently affronts for fear of hearing said the words: *I foras, mulier*; on the other, a wife, cross-grained, scolding, extravagant, who annoys her husband with impunity under the shelter of her fortune.¹ "The portionless wife is subject to the will of her husband; wives with dowries are as executioners for their husbands."² Now, as there are those who marry much more for the dowry than the wife, such men remain married to preserve the former while they bestow curses on the latter. Hence an unhappy individual in each of these households:³ without taking into account that the rich woman had, to look after her property, a manager, *procurator speciosus*, sometimes a good-looking fellow, who was intimate with all the domestic affairs, even those of the husband:⁴ we have already the *cicisbeo*. The poet says the truth as regards Rome, even for all times; but he takes good care not to show us well-managed households by the side of the bad, so that his statements of the truth, like those of all satirists, are also partial falsehoods.

Incompatibility of temper was the reason constantly alleged for a divorce. However, it causes no publicity: they are tired of living united, so they separate; what more simple? Each takes back his fortune and goes to live after his liking. It is said that in ancient times a small temple, dedicated to Viriplaca, the goddess

¹ *Dote fretæ, feroces* (Plaut., *Men.*, 767).

² Plaut., *Aulul.*, v. 526-7.

³ Horace, *Carm.*, III. xxiv. 19; Martial, *Epigr.*, XII. lxxv. 6; xiii. 12; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 460.

⁴ *Proc. calamistratus*, says Seneca also (*de Matrim.*). Cf. Martial, *Epigr.*, V. lxi.

conciliatrix of marriages, received married people whom a difference had separated. There they entered into explanations in the presence of the kind goddess, and very frequently became reconciled.¹ Viriplaca little by little was forgotten; her temple became deserted, whilst a good many appeared as joyous before the prætor to have the marriage bond dissolved as they had been on the day of their betrothal. Sometimes, however, just at the moment when the magistrate was about pronouncing their separation, the husband, by a return of affection, let fall from his hands the tablets of the marriage which he was going to break and confessed himself conquered: such is Ovid's young man, the new Alcibiades, who, on seeing his wife in the presence of the prætor where he had obliged her to appear, runs to her, embraces her, and exclaims: "Thy beauty carries the day!"² So also Mæcenas, who daily repudiates Terentia and then takes her back, so that it was said of him that he had been married a thousand times yet all the while had had but one wife.

The divorce was completed in the presence of seven witnesses, all adult Roman citizens, before whom were broken the tablets of the contract. Repudiation is a less solemn act; the matter takes place quietly in the family. The husband assembles his friends, opens his griefs to them, which they approve, then announces his intention to the magistrate, affirming on oath that the reasons are legitimate. Then he calls his wife before his friends, asks back from her the keys of the house, and says to her: "Farewell, take thy fortune; restore me mine." If she be absent, he serves her with the notice of repudiation. Sometimes it is the wife who puts away her husband; the form is the same: "Take back your fortune; give me mine." "Why, Proculeia, do you abandon your husband in the month of January?" wrote Martial against a miserly woman who did not want to give her husband a new cloak as a New Year's gift. "It is not a divorce for you, it is a good stroke of business." But we know where Martial was pleased to live, and what sort of people he liked to see. Besides, this evil, like a good many others which the Empire was heir to, had begun under the Republic. Cicero already speaks of women "of numerous

¹ Val. Max., II. i. 6.

² Ovid, *Rem. amor.*, 663 et seq.

marriages,"¹ and the first emperors combated this scandal by diminishing the facilities afforded to divorce. A law of Cæsar only authorized fresh marriages for married persons six months after their separation; Augustus tripled the necessary interval. But the laws relating to childless heirs, by forcing citizens into marriage on account of the profit which was drawn from fruitful unions, produced many hasty marriages which were afterwards dissolved, whether from the wife's barrenness or because life in common, so dependent on chance, became insupportable.

In order to escape the fresh penalties to which the unmarried were subjected, a man took a wife for a little while and afterwards dismissed her, and for a year was sheltered from the law's severities. But, although Juvenal considers that a good wife is rarer than a white crow,² and that, according to Pliny, celibacy leads to fortune and power,³ the resolute enemies of marriage have always been a very small number. To those women who counted their husbands by the number of the consulates we will oppose the matron *univira*, always so honoured because only once had she lighted the wedding torch.

In the East, the wife shut up in the harem is a plaything very soon despised. In Greece she rises to the dignity of wife and mother, but lives in the dark shade of the gynæconitis, which envelops and hides her.⁴ At Rome she truly becomes the companion of her husband. Roman law gives this definition of marriage: *consortium omnis vite*,⁵ a sharing in common of everything: riches and poverty, fortune and misfortune, pleasures and sorrows. The wife even shares in the official position of her husband; she is, like him, a consular, most illustrious, if he has obtained these titles, and she keeps them after the dissolution of her marriage; she assists at the festivals and at the domestic hearth celebrates the *sacra privata*. Her death, as her life, receives public homage. She receives a solemn funeral; the procession crosses the

¹ . . . *Multarum nuptiarum* (*ad Attic.*, XIII. xxix.).

² *Sat.* vii. 202.

³ *Orbitatem in auctoritate summa et potentia esse* (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xiv., in *proem.*).

⁴ Cornelius Nepos (*in præf.*) portrays the difference between the condition of woman at Athens and Rome: *Quem Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? Aut cujus non materfamilias primum locum tenet ædium atque in celebritate versatur?*

⁵ *Digest.*, xxiii 2, 1.

Forum, and from the rostra whence Cato Major had endeavoured to restrain "this unconquerable sex"¹ one of the near relatives of the departed celebrates her birth, recounts her virtues, and often recalls the famous examples of the national heroines: the devotion of the Sabines, the chastity of Lucretia, the courage of Clelia, the patriotism of Veturia, and that of the matrons whose offerings filled the treasure emptied by the war with Hannibal.

The princes gave an example of respect for those whom ancient rhetoric treated so badly in the works of the philosophers.² Cæsar had pronounced from the rostra the eulogium on his aunt Julia; the wife and sister of Augustus had been invested with tribunitian inviolability;³ Agrippina "kept her seat before the ensigns,"⁴ and Julia Domna was saluted with the name of the *Mother of the Legions*. Some soldiers erected a statue to the wife of their general; all the citizens of Lyons to the wife of their governor;⁵ and a severe censor exclaimed in a crowded senate: "They govern our houses, the tribunals, the armies."⁶

These last quoted words proceed from a morose speaker, the harshness of whose words Tacitus was, moreover, somewhat exaggerating; it continues none the less true that a Roman marriage gave the matron that dignity which it was worth his while often to propose by way of example. The children, the family, the good order of the house were gainers by it, for this association "for things divine and human"⁷ would not suffer any partition. The husband will perhaps away from home be loose in morals, the matron will rule supreme at the domestic hearth; polygamy, permitted even at Athens, is incompatible with the idea of a Roman marriage.

Under the ancient law the woman *sui juris*, whatever might be her age or condition, whether daughter, mother, widow, or without family, remained in perpetual wardship. The spirit of liberty which made breaches in the old institutions raised her little

¹ See vol. ii. p. 347.

² . . . *Animal imprudens, ferum, cupiditatum impatiens* (Sen., *de Const.*, 14).

³ Dion, xlix. 38.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 37.

⁵ L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 7. Athens erected a statue to the wife of Herodes Atticus. (*C. I. G.*, 993.)

⁶ Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 33.

⁷ *Divini humanique juris communicatio* (*Digest*, xxiii. 2).

by little. After the third century B.C. the arrangement of the law of dowry formed her first step in emancipation. Now become a responsible party for property which served for the expenditure of the family life, every husband could say as says one of the

characters of Plautus: "I have sold my authority for the dowry which I have accepted."¹ Then, she had been allowed the administration of her own property not included in the dowry (*paraphernalia*), and the guardian was obliged to accord all the authorizations for contracting, acquiring, or alienating which the ward demanded—a circumstance which had already caused Cicero to remark: *Our ancient laws had intended to put the woman under the power of a guardian, the juriconsults have put the latter under the power of the former.*² By the laws of Augustus relating to childless heirs, the mothers of three children were set free from all

guardianship;³ Claudius suppressed that of agnates; the guardianship of the father and of the patron still existed, but it is probable that in the third century the guardianship of women *sui*



A Mother and her Children. (Bas-relief in the Musée du Louvre.)

¹ *Argentum accepi, dote imperium vendidi* (*Asin.*, 74).

² *Pro Mur.*, 12. When Claudius had suppressed the guardianship of agnates, which was a strict right exercised by contingent heirs, and the woman could receive from the magistrate a guardian (*dativus tutor*), or could choose one herself (*optivus t.*), the guardianship was nothing more than an onerous charge.

³ Gaius, i. 150-154.

juris, who had fully reached mature age, that is to say, twenty-five years, had completely ceased.

Really and truly, the Roman family, in spite of the severity of the laws which constituted it, was freer than ours, even while preserving its strict organization: there was liberty for property, for the father had the absolute right of making a will, and the wife had full control over her dower and her paraphernalia; also liberty for persons, for the married couple were not tied for life to one another after very deadly injuries or insurmountable dislikes. The half liberty which they acquire with us, at the cost of a public scandal, lengthens the bond but does not break it, and mutilates, sometimes perverts, two lives. Divorce and repudiation without public scandal, as they took place at Rome, left the pair now separated the power of establishing new families; and if the union had been fruitful, the right of making a will permitted the children to share a proportional part of the tenderness which the parents had for them, and to profit by the father's security respecting his paternity.

This liberty of the married was even too considerable, and this facility of changing family had sometimes deplorable consequences. If divorce, rendered difficult, had been only the last resource in irremediable circumstances, the married would have often replaced passion by patience, restrained imprudent words, stopped short of culpable acts, to the great advantage of themselves and the children. Marriage is in itself a salutary discipline, but a limited and well-regulated practice of divorce, instead of destroying it, fortifies the institution, and is a social necessity because it is a necessity of nature. Thus Justinian, a Christian emperor, even a theologian, has inserted in his *Code* a whole section on divorce. It is only much later, and for reasons foreign to social order, that the Church repudiated the principles of Roman jurisprudence.

As a marriage between a slave and free-born woman was impossible, the child born of these unions was free like the mother, and the stain of its paternity became so completely effaced that the highest offices were open to this son of a slave.¹

¹ *Digest*, l. 2, 9: *Non interveniente connubio, (liberi) matris conditioni accedunt.* Ulpian, *Reg.*, v. § 8.

One might even assert that the Roman matron held a position superior to that of the woman of modern times. On election days she publicly recommended candidates,¹ and was permitted to aspire to certain political or sacerdotal honours. The decurions gave her the envied title of patron, with all the rights which attached to it, and the Flaminica Augustalis² offered sacrifices on the altars of the city to implore the gods for the whole people, as the Vestals implored them for the Roman world. Christianity has not gone so far as that; it has not made a woman a priest but a sister of charity.

Civil relationship (*agnatio*) was formed by descent in the male line, natural relationship (*cognatio*), by descent from a common progenitor, whatever might be the sex of this person or of the intermediate persons: now the agnates alone formed the true family, even should they be at a distance from the common head by twenty degrees; they alone had the rights of succession and guardianship, whilst the son held to the mother and to her nearest relatives no tie of civil right.

We were pointing out just now that in certain respects the matron possessed many forms of liberty; she had also some strict ones of servitude. As a daughter, she was under the power of the father; as a wife, under that of the husband; as a widow she came under the guardianship of the agnates, her necessary heirs, and she could not of her own will alienate her property. This doctrine appears to us to be strangely rigorous; it is the result of the idea which the Romans had formed of the family. They did not at all propose by this guardianship to protect the woman against her weakness, *fragilitas sexus*: they wished to secure to the guardian his contingent heritage,³ and to the family the integrity of the patrimonial domain. With the same idea, the law refused her one of the essential rights of a citizen: she was unable to make a will, unless she had been enfranchised, or, after Hadrian's reign, had obtained the authorization of her guardians.

¹ *Inscr. from Pompeii* (Orelli, No. 3,700). Seneca acknowledges that it was to his aunt, the most modest and reserved of women, that he owed the quaestorship. . . . *Non mores obstitit quo minus pro me ambitiosa fieret* (*Cons. ad Helv.*, 17).

² *Flaminica Aug.* A number of inscriptions bear this title. Cf. the *Index* of Or-Henzen, and of L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algérie*.

³ Gaius, i. 115a. The testamentary guardian, that is, the one given by the father to his daughter by his will, being permitted to be a foreigner and not an agnate, had no right over the heritage of the daughter, who could then recover the free disposition of her patrimony.

Therefore, in order to preserve the race, even when it was continued only by adoption; to maintain in the same family its name and property; to keep up in it the manners, the traditions, and the rites of its ancestors, the Romans went so far as to disown the natural affections by creating an artificial family from whence they discarded the variable element. We therefore find, in the institution of legal relationship at Rome, this idea of an active concentration of the rights of the father and of his male descent which has, in all ages, formed powerful aristocracies. On this point, however, time created a reaction of the spirit of justice against the narrow spirit of the ancient *gentes*: the praetors showed a tendency to replace in the law of succession the civil family by the natural. They succeeded at last in this, but very late: agnation was only definitely suppressed in 543 by Justinian.

III.—FUNERALS AND WILLS.

We have intermixed custom with law, the family usages with the legal prescriptions which constituted it; we have passed in review birth, the assumption of the virile toga, and marriage: now remain the funeral rites and succession. At Rome the mummies of ancestors were not, as in Egypt, brought in at feasts: yet death was a good deal thought about. Great care was taken respecting the duties to the dead: the place of one's sepulture was indicated; often, too, one's last resting-place was prepared.¹ We shall see that the members of the very numerous corporations of the Empire might have styled themselves "the fellow associates in death," since the purpose for which their colleges were founded was to assure to their members a tomb, and at death "a perpetual service," when the deceased had been rich enough to interest the survivors in celebrating every year, in his honour, a sacrifice or a funeral repast. It formed part of the creed of the Romans that the souls of those whose remains had not received the last honours wandered miserably for a thousand years on the banks of the Styx:² consequently there was no kind of death more feared than that found in the midst of the waves. The temples of Isis,

¹ Orelli, Nos. 3,990 and 4,107.

² Hor., *Carm.*, I. xxviii.

Æsculapius, and Neptune, were full of *ex-votos*, offered by the shipwrecked whom these divinities had saved. "But where then have the offerings been put of those whom they have allowed to perish?" asked an indiscreet person.

Those who had no longer the fear of the Styx wished at least that a friendly hand should close their eyes. The near relatives met round the dying person, as about a man setting out for a very long voyage; and it was a matter of pride to him that a numerous family should be present at the last hour. Such inscriptions as the following were placed on the tombs: "I have had five sons and five daughters; all of them have closed my eyes."

When the nearest relative had placed his lips on those of the moribund to receive the last sigh¹ and had closed the eyelids, they called the deceased three times with loud voice, and as he did not answer, they went to the temple of Libitina to announce the death. Close to this temple whatever was necessary for a funeral was to be obtained: like Acheron, it profited by tears; autumn especially, that treacherous season,² brought it a rich revenue: *Auctumnus . . . , Libitinæ questus acerbae*, says Horace. The libitinarii undertook, for a fixed charge, the whole ceremony. If it was a question of supplying a first-class funeral, first came the polliniores, who, after the women had washed the body in hot water, rubbed the face with pollen, a sort of flour, embalmed the body with spices, then dressed it in its ordinary dress, put on it the various decorations which the deceased had gained and laid it in state in the hall with its feet towards the door, to indicate its departure. If the family is well-off the deceased is put on an ivory bed with rich hangings and the house is hung with black. Before the door a cypress is planted, being a tree sacred to Pluto, for when once cut it does not grow again, and at this sign the priests, the faithful, going to the temple to offer sacrifice, keep at a distance from the house, where they would become "unclean" and thus unfit to approach the altars.

The lying in state lasts seven days; on the eighth a public crier calls the people to the funeral ceremonies. And if the

¹ Cic., *in Ferr.*, v. 45; Suet., *Oct.*, 99.

² Treacherous, at least, at Rome. Cf. Horace, *Sat.* II. vi. 19; Ovid, *Met.*, i. 117. *Aut. pestilentia* (Cæsar, *de Bello civ.*, iii. 87).

solemnity promises to be imposing the unoccupied attend. The bier is borne by the nearest relatives, the friends or the slaves set free by the will: the last always wear a hat in this case as a mark of their recently gained freedom.

The procession proceeds with the light of torches, although the

ceremony takes place in broad daylight: this is a souvenir of the ancient custom of conducting funerals during the night. The marshal (almost equivalent to our master of the ceremonies), followed by his lictors, arranges the followers.¹ At the head marches a flute-player, who plays a mournful air; behind him the mourners, slaves of the libitinarius, striking their breasts, uttering shrill cries, and acting as if tearing their hair. They interposed, between the cries and gestures of despair, songs and sometimes

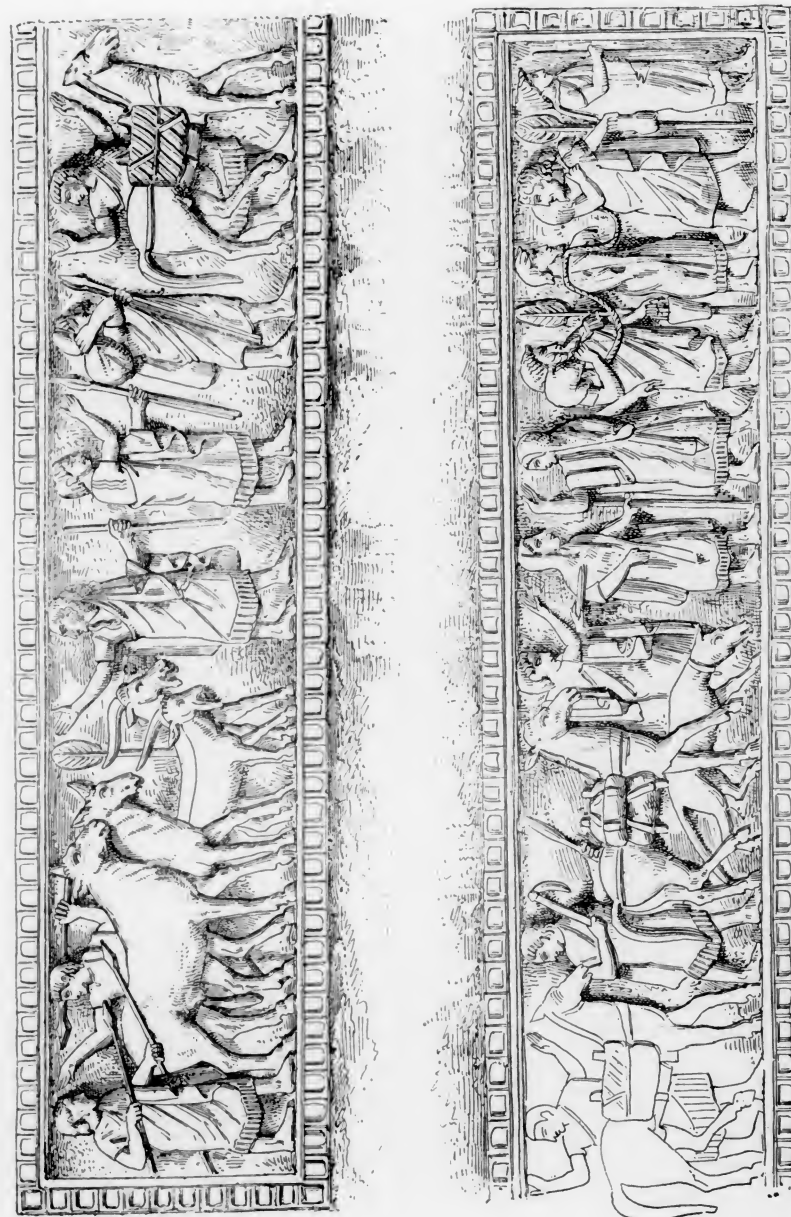


Pluto.²

verses from the celebrated poets having some reference to the occasion. The inhabitants of the South, who are fond both of the show of grief and outbursts of joy, do not shrink from the strange idea of making eulogiums of the dead for money. Besides, the funeral song does not deceive any one: "Thou recitest a *nenia*,"

¹ Hor., *Epist.*, l. vii. 6.

² Marble statue found at Pozzuoli in the ruins of the temple of Serapis, and now at Naples. (*Mus. Borb.*, vol. i. pl. 68.)



Sarcophagus representing a Funeral Procession. (*Atlas du Bull. de l'Inst. arch.*, vol. iv. pl. 32, for 1846.)

they used to say in the sense of labour thrown away. One still thinks this of the French funeral orations, but no longer says so [and of the "Irish cry" still used by the lower classes of that country.]

In the procession are carried the spoils which the deceased had taken from the enemy, the insignia of the offices held by him, the gifts which he had deserved for his courage; but all these marks of honour were reversed in sign of mourning. Yet still it was a triumph, and as in the real triumph satirical voices reminded him who was ascending to the Capitol of his human weaknesses, so behind the mourners, exalting to heaven the virtues of the deceased, the *archimime* dressed up to resemble him, played his part, imitating his style of speaking, his manners, and exaggerated his peculiarities.¹ What we say in a low tone and cautiously of the qualities and eccentricities of our departed friend, the Romans said aloud and put into action: it is the laugh by the side of the tears, in order that the funeral scene might be a complete representation of life. These grand processions were an exhibition of aristocratic ostentation and also of national pride, for their ancestors seemed to have left their tombs to form an escort to him who was going to descend thither. Their images of coloured wax were borne by persons dressed in the robes which each of them had worn in their magistracies, and the people were confirmed in their respect for the noble families of the Empire or of the city, when seeing, in every funeral procession, their glorious representatives passing before their eyes. "Private mourning," says Polybius, who had been deeply touched by the imposing scene of these grand funerals, "became also a public mourning."

Behind the dead family came the living one: the sons with covered heads, the daughters, bareheaded and hair all loose; the wife, the mother, dressed in grey; the relatives, the friends, in dark-coloured dresses; the knights without their gold rings and collars. The women smote their breasts, scratched their faces, and tore their hair. "Thou wilt follow me," says Propertius to

¹ Not even the emperors were exempted from this parody. See in Suet., *Vesp.*, 19, the funeral of Vespasian: . . . *Archimimus personam ejus ferens, imitansque, ut mos est, acta aut dicta vivi.*

Cynthia,¹ "thou wilt follow me with neck naked and bruised, and thou wilt not omit calling my name with a loud voice." These wounds, it was believed, pleased the Manes, "who are fond of milk and blood."

The processions of the great stopped at the Forum, where some near relative pronounced the funeral oration; from thence they went on to the funeral pile, a sort of altar of resinous wood decked with cypress branches, and always placed outside the city.² The body, enveloped in a shroud of mountain flax and sprinkled with perfumes, was placed upon it to the lugubrious notes of trumpets. The nearest relatives set fire to it with a torch with heads averted: *Aversi tenere facem*, says Virgil. But care had been previously taken to open the eyes of the corpse, that he might for the last time behold the light and the splendour of his funeral state; his ring had been restored to him, and his mother, wife, or son had imprinted a last kiss on his icy lips:

Osculaque in gelidis pones suprema labellis,

writes the poet to his lover.³

While the pile is burning every one throws his presents into it: some incense, some perfumes, others hair. Prayers are addressed to the winds to quicken the devouring flame. "Why," says the shade of Cynthia, to her ungrateful lover, "why didst thou not ask the winds to blow on my funeral pyre? It cost

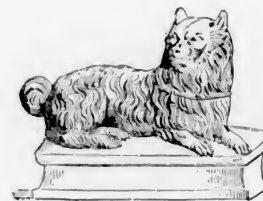
¹ *Eleg.*, II. xiii. 27-28.

² The prohibition of interment in the city is in the Twelve Tables, and is to be found in the *Lex Genetiva* (chap. lxiii), which fixes a penalty of 5,000 sesterces upon those who break it. This prohibition, which was general in the Roman Empire, was a sanitary measure, but still more a religious prohibition: *ne funestentur sacra civitatis* (Paulus, *Sent.*, i. 21, 2). If violated, a religious expiation was required.

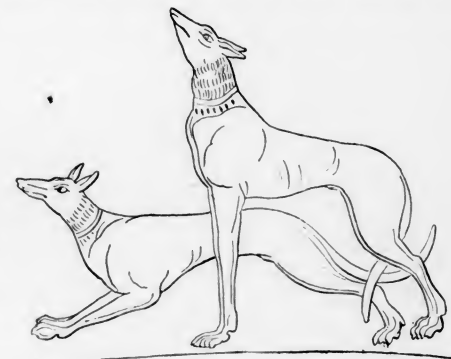
³ Propertius, *Eleg.*, II. xiii. 29.



Molossian Dog. (Cavaceppi, *Race d'antich. stat.*, pl. vi. Roma, 1767.)



Meltese Dog. (Terra-cotta in the Musée du Louvre.)



Hounds. (Painting on a Greek Vase.)

thee too much to scatter on it some hyacinths and libations of wine!"¹ There were also thrown into the flames the arms and costly clothing of the deceased, the objects and even the animals of which he had been fond. "This child," writes Pliny,² when speaking of the death of a boy, "had several riding and driving horses, dogs of all kinds, nightingales, parrots, and black-birds; his father sacrificed them all on the funeral pile." Slaves sometimes threw themselves into the flames to accompany the deceased into the other state. While the body was burning they offered libations of milk, wine, and blood. The blood which had

the highest repute for appeasing the Manes of the dead was that of immolated victims, sometimes of prisoners and slaves, or probably that of gladiators, who butchered one another before the pile. Before becoming a spectacle these combats were a religious act, an *auto-da-fé*.

The ancients were too great lovers of beauty to represent Death by the hideous skeleton which the Middle Ages so delighted to exhibit. On the sepulchral stone they often placed a beautiful statue, which recalled the popular belief in the life beyond the grave, uncertain and fluctuating like the thoughts in dreams—a Genius which sleeps and dreams was the symbol of death.

"The practice of burning corpses," says Pliny, "is not very ancient in the city: it owes its origin to the wars which we have

¹ Propertius, *Eleg.*, iv. 7.

² *Epist.*, iv. 2.

made in distant countries. As our dead were often disinterred, we adopted the practice of burning them."¹

The Romans, believing the soul to be of the nature of fire, thought that flame, by a sort of mysterious connection, would facilitate its exit from the body: so they granted the honour of cremation only to creatures which had some degree of reason or sensibility. "It is not the custom," says Pliny, "to cremate infants who have not yet cut their teeth;"² and he adds: "It



Funeral Genius, found at Florence. (Musée du Louvre.)

is an impious act which would stain a family. They are buried at night time by the light of torches."

When the corpse is consumed the flames are extinguished with wine. The nearest relative collects the still heated bones, washes them "in old wine, or milk, and dries the humid remains with a flax veil;"³ then they were deposited in an urn with roses and aromatic plants. A priest sprinkled water on the assembly three times to purify it, unless they crossed the ashes of the pile, which was another mode of purification, and then the mourners addressed a last farewell to the deceased: "Farewell for ever! We shall all follow thee in our turn as nature shall ordain."⁴ Lastly, one of

¹ *Hist. nat.*, vii. 35. From the time of Macrobius (fourth and fifth centuries), corpses were no longer cremated (*Saturn.*, vii. 7), as being a practice contrary to the Christian belief in the resurrection of the flesh.

² *Ibid.*, vii. 15.

³ Tibullus, *Eleg.*, iii. 2.

⁴ Virgil, *Æn.*, xi. 97, and Servius, *ad Æn.*, iii. 68.

the mourners, or some one else, dismisses the crowd with this form of words: *I, licet*; you may depart.

The urn was inclosed in a tomb on which an inscription was put containing the name, time of birth, public services, *cursus honorum*, of the departed, sometimes a philosophic sentence intended for the passers by: "Dumb for eternity, I shall tell neither my name, my father, nor my actions. I am a handful of ashes, nothing more, and I shall never be anything else; my lot awaits



Cinerary Urns. (Musée du Louvre.)

you;"¹ or this: "While I lived, I lived well. My performance is over; yours will end soon. Applaud;"² or again, this: "In giving you life, the gods have prepared for you this abode;" or better, if the usual sense of the words used in the inscription must be kept: "Eat, drink; but the only thing you will carry away with you is the good you shall have done."³ On it also were inscribed threats and maledictions against any who should violate the tomb: "I, Aurelius Severus, merchant, have caused this sepulchre to be made for myself, my companion Aurelia

¹ Auson., *Ep.*, 38.

² Orelli, who quotes this inscription at No. 4813, doubts its authenticity.

³ Orelli, No. 6042. Unfortunately, M. le Blant is very probably right to give the sense of *bene vivere* to the words *bene facere*. (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des insér.*, 1875, p. 114.) Yet we shall see later on that beneficence was also a heathen virtue, because it becomes, in a state of civilization, a natural virtue.

Claudia, and my very dear children; if any one dare to place here any other corpse, he shall give to the sacred treasury a pound of gold.¹

Thus the imperial treasury was interested in the protection of the tomb. In another, it is the city of Philippi which is to receive the penalty of 1,000 denarii.² A poor freedman, wishing



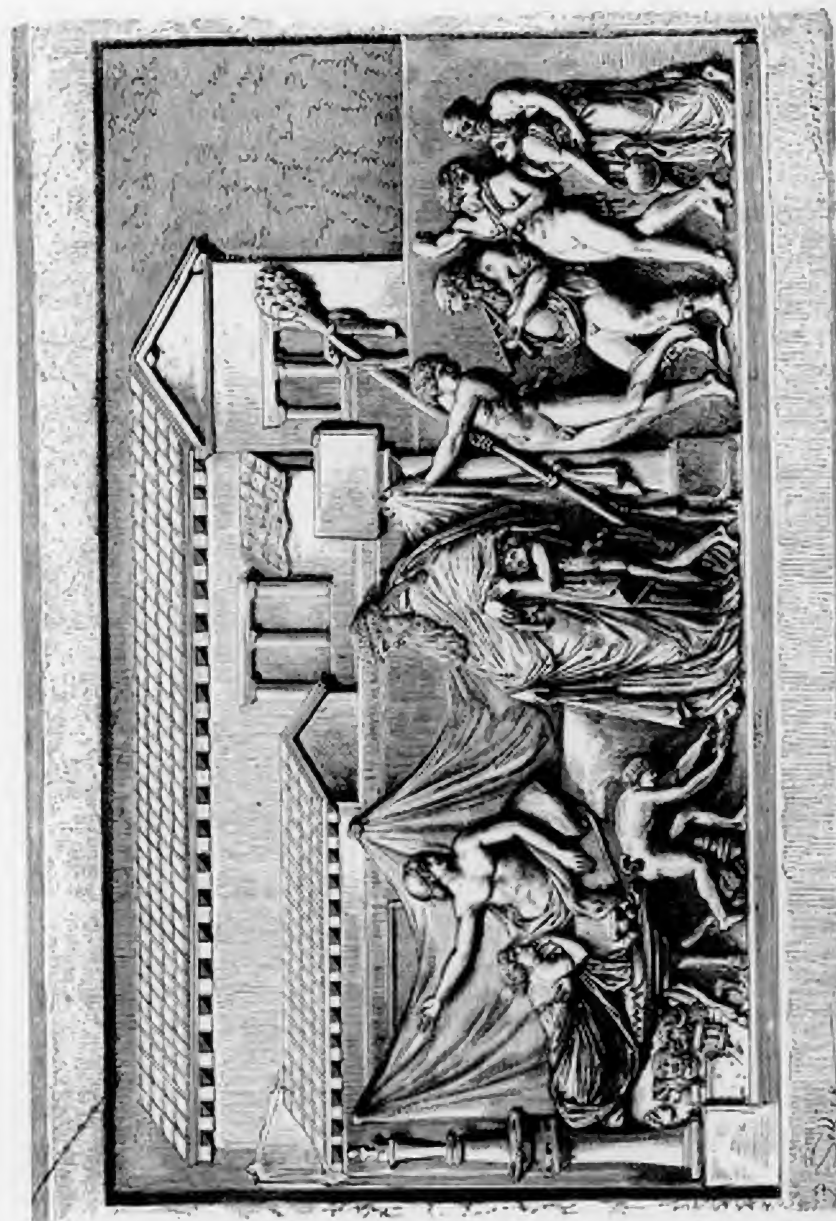
Mortuary Inscription, on a Roman Stela. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)

to protect his wife's sepulchre, said softly to the labourer in the adjoining field: "Be very careful, she is sleeping here."³ All around were planted shrubs, flowers, in order that the soul of the deceased, at the moment when it came forth from the sepulchre, might be pleased to see its last abode adorned from the affection of its kindred. At the season "of violets and roses" they cover the tomb with them, and the deceased thanked those

¹ Henzen, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 94.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38; Perrot, *Galatie*, etc., p. 7; Bourguignat, *Inscr. de l'Asie*, pp. 41 et seq.; *Bulletin de Correspond. hellén.*, viii, p. 514. There are hundreds of inscriptions of this sort.

³ Orelli, No. 7,403.



Elysian Feast. (Bas-relief often called: Bacchus at the House of Icarus. In the Musée du Louvre.)

who had placed them there: "Ah! my friends," says an inscription at Pompeii, "may the gods load you with blessings; you also, passers by, who have stopped for a moment before the tomb of Fabianus, may the gods protect you both going and returning; and may you bring me chaplets and flowers, and be able to do so for many years to come!"¹

On the day after the funeral the relatives and friends were invited to a repast called the funeral feast. When the deceased was wealthy, scenic games and a holiday to the people (*silicernium*) were given, or instead, raw meat (*visceratio*) was distributed.² On the ninth day a banquet brought the whole family again together; on the tenth the house was purified, because the presence there of death had defiled it, and it was swept with branches of vervain. During these ten days none of the relatives could be cited before a court of justice.³

The purification of the house ended the funeral ceremonies, but "the paternal Manes" had three festivals which brought together again families: in March, the three nights of the *Lemuralia*, to appease the Manes whom forgetfulness might irritate; in February, the *Parentalia*, "the day of the dear kindred," which Ovid calls also the festival of the *Caristies*,⁴ and in the summer, that of roses, *Rosalia*, which were then scattered around the tomb.⁵ On this day all the relations were united at the same table, *socias dapes*, in order that the festival might lead to forgetfulness of quarrels: "This is the time," says the poet, "when concord takes pleasure in descending among us."

¹ *Bulletin de l'Inst. arch.* for 1864, p. 154.

² Livy, viii. 22; xxxix. 46; xli. 28. In his learned paper on the *Monuments funéraires* of the Greeks, M. F. Ravaissou has expressed the opinion that, as regards the ancients, the deceased in the lower regions had also funeral repasts. According to him, in the composition given on page 283, Bacchus, who is often considered as the sovereign of the empire of the blest, comes to share the repast of two inhabitants of the eternal abodes. He is followed by his ordinary retinue, made up of Silenus, satyrs, and mænads; a young satyr unties his sandals, and the god is about taking his place at the table of the married couple.

³ *Novelle* of Justinian, 115, § 5.

⁴ Orelli, No. 2,417: . . . *dies caræ cognationis*, and Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 617 *et seq.*

⁵ These customs still exist in Thessaly and Macedonia. Cf. Heuzey, *Mission*, p. 156; A. Dumont, *le Balkan*, p. 34. The belief in a sort of materialistic life in the grave is so rooted in the Greeks of Europe and Asia that it has penetrated among the Osmanlis of Asia Minor, where they carefully arrange a hole in the grave so that the deceased might breathe and continue in communication with the world of the living. (Collignon, *Revue des Deux Mondes*,

As for the poor man, he dies without so much circumstance, just as he had lived, and his corpse expects but little. Four necrophori carry it, at night-fall, in a hired coffin and throw it, outside the city, into one of the grave-pits, *puticuli*, which served as common grave and where it would quickly rot. It was on a disused common cemetery that Horace places Priapus, the trunk of a fig tree which became a god. "There," says he, "was the burial-place of the wretched populace, of Pantolabus the buffoon, and Nomentanus the debauchee."¹ Those who had any money left for their funerals are at any rate cremated. A pyre is built up of materials which are very inflammable, and on it are placed the corpses, in the proportion of one female corpse to ten male. "It was," says Macrobius, "a common custom, as if, on account of the former being hotter by nature and easily consumed, combustion must be accelerated."²

We may be sure that at such wretched funerals there was no repast for the relatives nor holiday for the people. No one tore his breast in the procession of the poor, nor did any one make it a matter of joy.

The rich man has, of course, left a will, and when he felt death approaching he put his ring on the finger of his heir.³ *Uti pater familias legasset, ita jus esto*, said the law of the Twelve Tables. Every citizen was free to grant inheritance in favour of any other citizen, and his wish was absolutely respected if it was expressed under the form of a testament. Ancient law recognized two sorts of testaments: the one was made, like adrogation, before the *comitia curiata*, assembled for that purpose twice a year under the presidency of a pontiff; the other was made *in procinctu*, at the moment when the army was drawn up in order of battle and when the auspices were taken. This was the military testament.

Usage caused a very simple form to prevail: the testament by mancipation. The testator sold in some manner his property to the one whom he made his heir, *familie emptor*. Once more

1 Jan., 1880.) Lately, in Dauphiny, they used to drink, on the day of the funeral, "to the health of the poor departed one."

¹ *Sat.*, I. viii. 11.

² *Saturn.*, vii. 7.

³ Suetonius, *Tib.*, 73; *Cal.*, 12; Val. Maxim., VII. viii. 5, 6; VIII. v.

appears the *libripens* with his balance to weigh the cost of purchase and the five witnesses, all of full age, who represent the five effective classes of the Roman people. The testator pronounces certain formulas and accomplishes a sort of juridical pantomime with the co-operation of two citizens, in the presence of the witnesses, who then hear the reading of the testament, sign the deed, and put their seal on the linen thread which should fasten it.¹

Under the Empire matters were made simpler. The prætor only required for the transfer the presentation of the testament with the seven seals attached, as if, by their signatures, the witnesses attested that the ancient formalities had been complied with.

The written deed could even be replaced by a verbal declaration of last will and testament, which, in the Lower Empire, must be made before the magistrate or curia, with enrolment on the city registers. This is the origin of an authentic testament. The military testament was also rendered more simple. The soldier dying on the battle-field might write, even with his own blood, *litteris rutilantibus*, his last will on his buckler and the scabbard of his sword, or on the ground with the point of his sword, and this testament, even if unfinished, was valid, on the one condition that no doubt could exist as to the intentions of the testator.²

The testamentary formula was imperative, as if to preserve the character of a law emanating from the people: *Titius mihi heres esto*, "Let Titius be my heir." Then followed the clauses in favour of the second heritors and legatees. The practice of leaving by will something to one's friends, even to the prince, became general under the Empire. This souvenir of the deceased was a mark of esteem or gratitude which flattered the receiver: Cicero boasted of having in this way received 20,000,000 sesterces. Sometimes the people was the heir of great personages: Julius Cæsar bequeathed his gardens at Rome to the public and 300 sesterces to each citizen.

On the first line of the will was written in large letters the name of the testator, on the second that of the heir. "When the

¹ *Digest*, xxx. 3, 4-7.

² *Cod.*, vi. 21, 15, and *Digest*, xxix. 1, 35. The last text is from Paulus, and consequently of the beginning of the third century, but the *Institutes* cite (ii. 11, *proem.*) a rescript of Trajan on this question.

old man opens his will before you," says Tiresias in Horace to Ulysses, "decline reading it, but yet look sharp and catch sight of the second line of the first page."

The principal heir had the charge of continuing the worship of the dead, of honouring his domestic gods, and of making the same sacrifices: *hereditas cum sacris*. This was often a heavy and costly burden. Fortunate the man to whom an heritage falls without the duty of sacrifices: he will have only to shed some tears, to praise the deceased before the Rostra and to erect a sepulchre. Hence the inscriptions: *ex testamento posuit*, or *de suo posuit*, which is so often met with on many tombs.

Those incapable of making a will were persons under the power of another, those under age, lunatics, spendthrifts incapable of managing their own affairs, Latini Juniani, the civilly dead, and the banished. The will of a Roman who died a prisoner to the enemy was valid, the testator being regarded as no longer existing when he had begun his captivity. Finally Hadrian decided that public slaves could will away the half of their stock of money, and women the whole of their fortune, when they had obtained the authorization of their guardian; we have seen how little this condition was a restraint on them. Prætorian law, reducing this formality still more, declared valid the will of a woman who had no authorization: all the heirs by the civil law were put aside with the exception of the patron.

The fragments which we still possess of the will of Dasumius, a consular of Trajan's time, will help us to understand this last piece of procedure in the life of the Romans.

Dasumius appoints first as the inheritor of one-twelfth and on condition that he will take his name, one of his friends, *amicus rarissimus*. This friend will be obliged, in the hundred days allowed, to accept or reject the inheritance, which, in default, will pass to the testator's aunt, a woman *pientissima*, and in case of her default to the young daughter of Servianus. This Servianus was one of the greatest personages of the Empire; Dasumius gives him the reversion of the succession, and in case he should not accept it, substitutes concurrently for him several persons, among whom are four women, one of whom is his kinswoman and the other his nurse. The heirs being appointed, Dasumius charges



Cinerary Urn of an Imperial Slave. (Piranesi, *Vasi*, ii. p. 90.)

them to remit a pound weight of gold to some of his friends, who are all in the front rank of Roman society, among others to Pliny, to Tacitus; the emperor himself is put down for a legacy. Lastly, he gives a large sum to a commission of architects and juriseconsults for the execution, at Cordova, his native place, of monuments which shall bear his name.

After gifts to his family, friends, for political or social considerations, and his native city, Dasumius thinks of his slaves and nurse. He has already named the last his heir, but only in default of heirs named before her, and whose acceptance will probably render her nomination invalid; so to make sure that she shall not be in want in her old age, he leaves her a small farm half-way up the hill, with the household furniture, the slaves to cultivate the earth, and two others who can fish in the river or the neighbouring lake.

Then follows a list of slaves who will be emancipated with their children, on condition of their rendering their accounts, *rationibus redditis*, as a proof that they had a certain management of funds. In order that, on quitting servitude, they may not fall into penury, the testator bequeaths to each 1,000 denarii, and puts a charge on the succession of paying, in the first instance, the rights of enfranchisement, that is to say, the impost of the twentieth, then to form a fund, the interest of which will provide clothes to his freedmen as long as they live.¹

Dasumius possessed near Rome an estate worth 6,000,000 sesterces. He determined that his tomb should be erected there and that the rental of this property should be applied to the support of his freedmen and their posterity. He had previously given them clothing, now he offers them and their children board also. He even opens his tomb to them: all whom he emancipated will as they die repose near him, one only excepted, who had shown ingratitude and was excluded from all share of the estate.² This provident solicitude for the nurse, those set free, and the slaves, of which we shall have other proofs, shows how needful it is to guard against statements in verse and prose about

¹ Trimalchio also bequeaths to one of his slaves some landed property, with liberty for his *contubernalis*, to another a block of houses, *insula*, and a furnished bed. (Petron., *Satyr.*, 71.)

² Wilmanns, 314.

this Roman society, in which the slave really formed part of the family, and where the client was the expected guest of the patron.

The ability of disposing property, absolute at its origin, but restrained later on, when there were natural heirs, to three-quarters of the estate,¹ was very great: the ability to receive was not so. The restrictions imposed by the laws *Julia* and *Papia Poppæa*, and the practice of appointing heirs in default, favoured, for those who fulfilled the conditions required by the laws relating to childless heirs, an industry which has justly exercised the warm imaginations of the satirists.

No one was indeed more surrounded with care, more nursed up, than a gouty or consumptive bachelor. There are even those whom one pensions, expecting that one day they will return it all, interest and capital, at twenty per cent., with a good legacy to boot. Martial speaks of one of these fortunate bachelors who possessed a rental of 6,000 sesterces.² But cunning outwits cunning: some who have property to leave know also how to impose upon their heirs in expectancy.³ They frequently changed their wills, every time receiving new presents;⁴ they feigned infirmities, dangerous illnesses. Nero was taken in by one of these devices against impatient heirs. He desired the fortune of Vindex, and without further ceremony he would have taken it along with the head of the future avenger of Rome, had not Vindex turned the tables by the aid of drugs by which he made himself pale. The terrible fortune-hunter did not believe that this time there was occasion to hasten death which seemed coming of itself.⁵

This pursuit of testaments and these tricks to put the pursuers off the scent would have served simply for comedies, had not celibacy, that social egotism, owing to the court paid to it, been arrayed in seductive colours. "What need have I of children?" says an old fellow in Plautus. "I live well, happily, peacefully, doing just as I please. I shall divide my fortune among my

¹ See above, p. 246, note.

² Martial, *Epigr.*, ix. 10.

³ Pliny, *Epist.*, viii. 18.

⁴ Martial, *ibid.*, v. 39.

⁵ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xx. 57.

friends: they show all sorts of little attentions to me, come to see what I do, what I desire."¹

Yet, considered in itself and in its usual results, this right which gives the father the means of reserving his fortune for the most deserving of his children, his friends, or fellow citizens, would seem to be the necessary sanction of the paternal authority, if only the latter be protected from undue influence. The abuses have naturally been made the most of, and we see them only, so that they conceal from us the good done by this testamentary legislation, which kept up discipline in families and permitted the testator to keep in mind that he was not a father only but also a citizen. We shall see in the following chapter how many donations were made to cities or to men who had done honour to their country. The French law of equal division amongst the children has polluted the source of noble and patriotic acts of liberality. We have intended in this way to make the family strong and have only weakened it. By the opposite system, Rome had powerfully supported it.

When no will existed, the succession was divided according to an order of heredity established by law. In ancient law there came first the man's own heirs (*sui heredes*), that is to say, the legitimate or adopted children of the deceased, the wife *in manu*, and the descendants of children pre-deceased; in default of such, the nearest agnate, that is to say, the brother and the sister; failing them, the *gens*.

Thus, on the one hand, the law excluded from the paternal succession emancipated sons, and those who, having obtained the freedom of the city at the same time as their father, were not under his power; on the other, it did not grant to the mother and children any right to reciprocal succession. By the side of this rigorous system of civil law, prætorian law created a new one, which Trajan stated in precise terms.² First came the children, even if emancipated; then persons named by the law; in the third place, the *cognati*, or natural relatives, as far as the sixth degree, and, in certain cases, to the seventh. Each degree

¹ *Miles glor.*, 707 *et seq.*

² Pliny, *Pan.*, 37-39.

came in its turn, in default of those preceding, and all the *cognati* of the same degree shared per head. After the *cognati* the prætor summoned the surviving husband or wife. Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius ameliorated still further this legislation in the direction of natural heredity: the right of the mother was only surpassed by that of the proper heirs; she took her place with the sisters by the father's side, and the children were called to the succession of their mother.¹

When neither testamentary nor legal heir was found, the succession was declared vacant and fell to the public treasury. The people were still the heir, by the title of "common father,"² to successions which the laws relating to childless heirs took away from celibates and the *orbi*, that is to say, those who did not at all possess the status of father.

IV.—THE MASTER AND THE SLAVE; THE PATRONUS AND THE FREEDMAN.

Homer exhibits, in the palace of Ulysses, twelve women employed night and day in grinding the corn for the house, *i.e.*, for two hundred persons perhaps. There now exist flour mills in which twenty-four workmen can grind every day by machinery as much corn as will furnish bread for 100,000 men. In ancient societies an enormous amount of manual labour was required to supply the simplest wants of life: so that slavery was then a necessity, as, for other reasons, it seemed to be so long a time in our inter-tropical colonies.

In the Roman Empire one was born or became a slave; slavery was kept up by birth, commerce, and war. Anciently the creditor sold the insolvent debtor; magistrates, the citizen who refused military service, and the father, his own son. The sources of slavery became less abundant as manners became milder, but without entirely disappearing: we must come as low down as the time of Caracalla and Diocletian to find rescripts which protect the child and the insolvent debtor against servitude imposed by the father

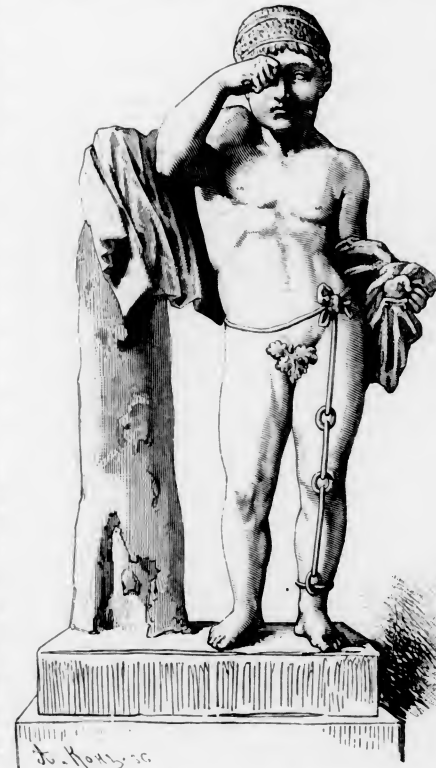
¹ The *decem persone*, *i.e.*, the father, mother, son, daughter, grandfather, grandmother, grandson, grand-daughter, brother and sister, were at that time exempt from the tax of the twentieth. (*Collat. leg. Mos. et Rom.*, XX. ix.)

² Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 28.

and the creditor.¹ The emperors tried to dry up another source, *viz.*, piracy, by an efficient police. Hadrian closed the *ergastula*, in which a number of freemen were kept as slaves, and Trajan acknowledged a perpetual right in children exposed or stolen of claiming their original condition of free birth. Lastly, by an interpretation favourable to liberty, Hadrian and the juriconsults admit that if the slave-mother had been free for any period during her pregnancy her son should be born free.

According to the rigour of primitive law, the slave belonged to his master as a chattel; he had no will of his own; he was not a person, and consequently the protection of civil law did not extend to him. He did not contract marriage; his union was a mere physical fact, *contubernium*, and his infants "were an increase" to the master's benefit. However, at the Saturnalia, he enjoyed a short space of liberty; at the Compitalia, he offered sacrifices the same as the free-born; Minerva shielded his labour, and religion protected his tomb.

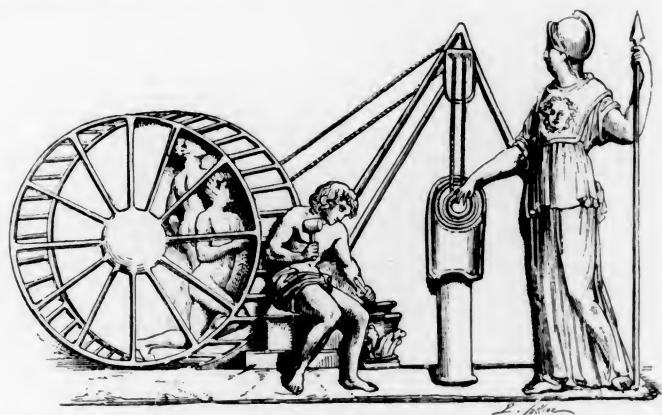
But absolute logic yielded little by little to humanity, and the emperors, without even touching the principle of slavery, which was one of the bases of ancient society, progressively softened its rigour. "In civil law," said Ulpian, "the slave is nothing; in



Slave Child (Villa Borghese.)

¹ Code, vii. 16, 1, and iv. 10, 12 (anno 294).

natural law, all men are equal."¹ It was impossible but that this philosophic teaching, professed by the juriconsults, should penetrate here and there into the laws, when equity entered into every part of it and the well-understood interest of the master counselled him to show kindness towards his slaves.² Cato has no great renown for mildness, yet he allowed his wife to give the breast to the children of their slaves, in order that with her milk they might receive some of her affection for her own son.³



Minerva overlooking Slaves at Work.⁴

The Petronian law, which perhaps dates from Augustus, several *senatus-consulta*, and a rescript of Hadrian, prohibited the master from delivering up his slaves or selling them to fight in the arena, without some legitimate cause verified by public authority, and Marcus Aurelius nullified clauses in wills which contained this proviso: *ut cum bestiis pugnarent*.⁵

The incurable slave was thrown into the streets. Claudius decided that if a master abandoned a slave suffering from serious

¹ *Digest*, l. 17, 32.

² See the care that Columella took of his, even of those whom it was needful to chain up. In his house every slave woman who had had three children was set free from labour, and she who had more was emancipated. (*De Re rust.*, i. 7-8.)

³ Plutarch, *Cato*, 20.

⁴ Bas-relief found at Capua, bearing an inscription commemorative of the construction or restoration of the theatre of that city. Cf. Guhl und Koner, *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer*, p. 685.

⁵ *Digest*, XVIII. i. 42.

infirmities, the latter should be free; that if the master killed him he should be indicted for murder. Antoninus, plainly defining the punishment, punished him as though he had slain another's slave.¹ Now this penalty was, for the *honestiores*, banishment; for the *humiliores*, death.² He even decided that if slaves who had fled to temples or to the statue of an emperor shall appear to the magistrates to have been cruelly treated, the master should be compelled to sell them.³ Hadrian had already taken away, in the most serious cases, the right of the master to cause his slave's death; domestic justice subordinated to public justice could only carry out a capital sentence after a magistrate's decision.⁴

We see then how that under the Empire, and chiefly by the Antonines, the slave was protected against extreme violence; so was he also against bad treatment and even as regards his honour. He was allowed to lodge a complaint against his master for cruelty, deprivation of food, attempts on modesty.⁵ Hadrian condemned to five years' banishment a matron who, for very slight reasons, misused her slaves. In fact, they came to be regarded as almost a family: the right of contracting a legitimate marriage was not granted, but the natural parentage which resulted from the union was taken into consideration, after the emancipation, to constitute a new *civil* obligation to marriage. Some regard was paid to their feelings and affections. At sales separation was interdicted of the father from the son, the husband from his wife, the brother from his brother, and the reason that Ulpian gives for this is implied in the word, *pietas*, which contains the idea of religious justice and humanity.⁶ Later on a constitution ordered that the slave attached to farm labour and inscribed on the registers of the land tax could not be separated from the estate.⁷ The law intervened

¹ *Inst.*, i. 8, § 2. See vol. iv. p. 405.

² *Digest*, xlviii. 8, 5, § 5. Constantine, more indulgent in the master's favour, required for the pronouncement of the sentence that the slave should have been killed at a stroke, which allowed him in many instances to escape Antoninus's penalty. (*Code*, ix. 14.)

³ Gaius, i. 53.

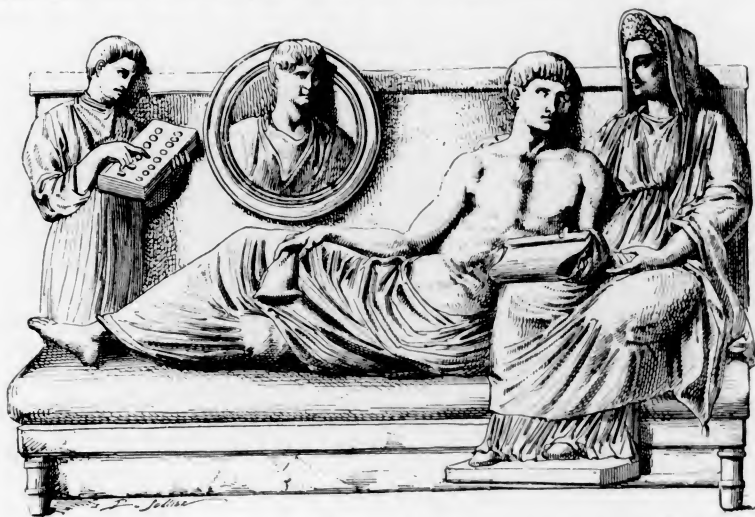
⁴ See above, p. 109.

⁵ Rescripts of Antoninus (in the *Digest*, i. 6, 2) and of Septimius Severus: . . . *Præfectori Urbi datum est ut mancipia tueatur ne prostituantur* (*ibid.*, 12, 8).

⁶ *Digest*, xxi. 1, 35, and xxxiii. 7, 12, § 7: . . . *Neque duram separationem injunxisse credendus est*. Cf. Paulus, *ibid.*, xxi. 1, 39; Scævola, *ibid.*, xxxii. 41, § 2: *pietatis intuitu*.

⁷ Valentinian and Valens, in the *Code*, xi. 47, 7. [He was in fact made a serf, as the Russian peasant was till lately.—*Ed.*]

even between him and his master to prevent the latter from compelling the slave to do work which was degrading to him; for example, to make a handcraftsman of a literary man, or a porter of a musician. Cato would have felt indignant at this intermeddling of the magistrate with domestic discipline, and the intractable conservative would have been right, for it was nothing less than a revolution which was beginning to take place. Humanity was then making one of its great social starting points. In fact these laws had not been adopted from the influence of the fortunate wise



An Educated Slave calculating before his Master. (Sarcophagus in the Capitol, Musée Capit., iv. pl. xx.)

guesses of philosophers who were in advance of their time; they were imposed by manners, and these new manners were the result of new modes of thought, feeling, and living which had laid hold on men in that immense Empire. Juvenal, who is so stern towards the noble and the rich and full of mildness towards the slave, "whose body is made of the same clay as ours," was filled with rage against the master "who is delighted to hear the crackling sound of the thong: a music sweeter to him than the song of the Sirens."¹

Consequently the slave ceased to be a chattel; he became a

¹ Sat. iv., initio.

person. By those evangelical announcements of equality before God, Christianity, which is drawing near, will introduce more mildness still into the relations of masters and slaves; for the legal condition of the latter it will not affect more than the Antonines did.

The Empire was rewarded for this solicitude: there was not a single servile war, and Republican Rome had four.¹

As regards third parties, the slave remained his master's tool. All harm done to him was damage done the master, and the latter sought reparation by special actions. Thus the Aquilian law gave the master whose slave had been slain the right of demanding from the perpetrator of the murder the highest value that the victim had had during the last year; an indemnity was also granted in the case of simple wounding. "The prætor," says Ulpian, "ought to punish an injury done to a slave." Doubtless, it was the property of the master which the law protected in the slave, yet, without effacing from him the marks of servitude, it obliged the master and the rest of free men to recognize in him by degrees the nature of a man.

He was unable to hold property of his own, all that he gained was for his master's profit: that was the rule. But this rule was by degrees in practice modified. As a great part of the industrial population was in servitude, the masters deemed it useful to interest the slave in the profits of the business by leaving him the free disposition of a stock of money, which then became the capital intended to sustain his work. In right, this also belonged to the master; but, in fact, he rarely took it. He even found his advantage in promising the slave his liberty at the time when the latter should bring a certain sum, the sum total of his savings, and the law gave the decision that in the absence of any expressed condition the gift of liberty should carry with it the gift of the private savings. Thus was brought about a situation which would have seemed passing strange to an old Roman: the master kept a regular account with his own slaves, and while the *natural* obligations created by this condition of affairs were not protected by *actions*, a civil security could be attached to it.

In order to employ a *peculium*, there was need to contract

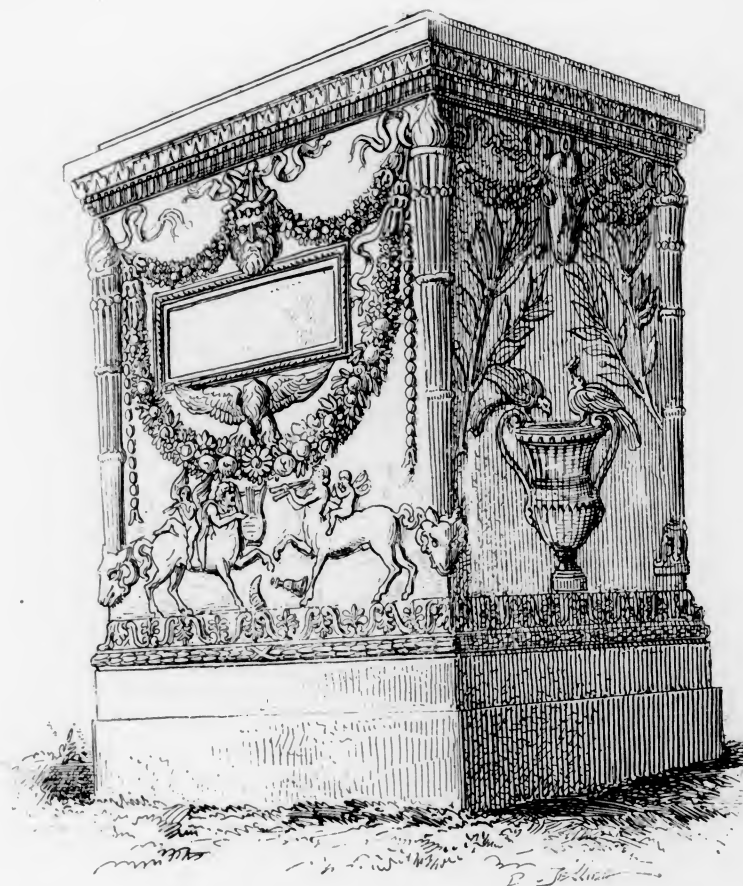
¹ See in vol. ii. the two servile wars in Sicily, that of the gladiators in Italy, and the piratical war.

active or passive *obligations*, and the slave had neither the right of binding himself personally nor of binding his master. The prætor secured the new condition of the slave by creating the action *de peculio*, by the aid of which third parties might procure payment from the master to the amount of the *peculium*. In this case the slave seemed to be acting in his name; but when he was the mandatory of his master, the latter was *obliged*. The slave put in charge of a business or a maritime expedition *bound* his master for all the acts which he performed in the exercise of his functions. Lastly, if the master had not authorized the negotiation or the industrial undertaking of his slave, he could at least be sued to the amount of what had turned to his profit. The State recognized in public slaves, who were very numerous and in a very easy condition, the right of willing away the half of their *peculium*, and the Younger Pliny allowed him to dispose of the whole in favour of a slave companion. No doubt many masters had done as he did and even better, by not requiring that the *peculium* should remain in the *family*, where the master could always legally appropriate it.

A rescript of Caracalla runs thus: "The slave who has been presented with freedom must render an account of his management." If it was needful to make a general law on this subject, it was because many slaves were intrusted by their masters with the conduct of industrial or commercial affairs.¹ History shows, in fact, a number of persons, of servile condition, confidential advisers of their masters in rich families, *employés* of governors in the offices of the provincial administration, even of the emperor in the innumerable *officia* of the palace,² and some enjoying large credit or making a display enough to cause envy even in the noblest of the patricians. Thus a slave belonging to Tiberius, treasurer at Lyons to the imperial treasury, made the journey from Rome

¹ *Nisi prius administrationum rationes reddiderit quas, quum in servitute esset, gessisset* (*Digest*, xl. 12, 34).

² The *Digest* (xlix. 14, 30 and 46, 7) frequently mentions *actores*, slave administrators of properties lapsed to the treasury, and prohibits procurators from alienating them by sale or manumission without the consent of the prince, because the treasury has need of slaves who are well acquainted with the management of estates. The researches made recently in an ancient cemetery in Carthage have proved that the offices of the proconsulate were filled with slaves and freedmen who lived and died there.



Sepulchral Cippus of a Freedman. (See p. 303, n. 2.)

with the escort of a prince, a physician, three secretaries, an agent, a treasurer, a *valet de chambre*, two cooks, two book-keepers, and two lackeys. At Pompeii, another acts as a banker, and on the receipts given in the name of the duumvirs he puts his seal by the side of that of the city magistrates.¹

All this did not however secure the slave the right to his own person and property, but it was the beginning of it; and if, even under the Antonines, he kept his character as a mere instrument of labour, he was no longer treated as a thing which may be thrown away or broken at will; he was acknowledged to be a human personality. Marcus Aurelius gave him also the right of prosecuting his master, if the latter refused to grant a freedom of which he had received the price, which he ought to have promised at the time of purchase, or which a testator had put under his charge.²

As a brilliant symbol of the protection accorded by the Empire to the most wretched, the emperor's statue was an inviolable asylum for the suppliant slave who came and embraced its knees.

The more recent legislation showed itself still milder for the slave; it protected him against violence and allowed him to increase his *peculium*; it acknowledged his right to appeal against injustice, and it had dried up some of the sources of servitude; but it did not open up a broader road to liberty. Of the two laws which till Justinian's time regulated the affranchisements, one of them, the *lex Junia Norbana*, had created a sort of half-servitude which facilitated an escape from slavery, though making the complete acquisition of liberty more rare;³ the other, the *lex Ælia Sentia*, limited the number of those affranchised by will. The imposition of the twentieth on affranchisements stayed the good will of a master, who saw himself forced to make a double sacrifice, since he had to make a payment into the treasury and at the same time to give liberty to his slaves. Finally, a council

¹ Tablets found in 1875. (*Le Tavolete cerate di Pompei*, by de Petra.)

² On the whole question of slavery see M. Wallon's book. The print given at p. 301 represents a monument erected to Amemptus, a freedman of the empress Livia: *divæ Aug(ustæ) libertus*. We give one of the sides and the reverse of the monument as well as the bas-relief which decorates the principal face, a scene in which the ancients saw a picture of future happiness. (Musée du Louvre, Fröhner, *op. cit.*, No. 373, pp. 342 *et seq.*)

³ See vol. iii. p. 734, n. 2 and 3; p. 758, n. 2 and 3; and vol. iv. p. 237.

manners, were expressed in a certain number of legal obligations. First of them all was respect and deference towards the patron, who, in order to secure these from his freedmen, was armed with a right of correction which the emperors softened by requiring the intervention of the magistrate, but which they did not suppress entirely. Patrons could strike them, as is shown in the case of the freedman whom the Younger Pliny protected from his master's blows; could have them exiled beyond the twentieth mile,¹ later on to the quarries, or subjected to a penalty which the prefect of the city or the governor of the province fixed. Claudius had decided that a freedman who provoked a process putting in question the status of his patron ought to lose his liberty. Commodus generalized the principle by deciding that ingratitude on the part of the freedman would cause his relapse into servitude.² Even in the case of actually proved adultery between the patron and the freedman's wife, the latter was not allowed to kill his former master. "For," says Papinian, "if he is bound to spare his reputation, he is in greater reason bound to spare his life."³ This obligation of respect was imposed on the freedman and his children towards the children also of the patron. Pliny, when soliciting from Trajan the freedom of the city for several Junian freedmen, took care to tell the prince that he had previously made himself certain of their patrons' assent.⁴

By an application of this principle the freedman needed the praetor's permission in order to bring to justice the patron and his parents or descendants. He was forbidden bringing against them a damaging action except for very grave reasons, and never one involving capital punishment. He owed them help in times of need, and could never refuse the administration of their property nor the guardianship of their children: Virgil puts in the infernal regions⁵ the freedman who has betrayed his patron. Lastly, the

¹ According to the law *Ælia Sentia* passed under Augustus.

² Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 26 and 27; *Digest*, xxxvii. 14 and 15. Cf. Accarias, *Précis de droit romain*, i. p. 74.

³ *Digest*, xlviii. 5, 38, 69.

⁴ *Epist.*, x. 6.

⁵ The print on p. 305 represents in the lower part some of the legends about the infernal regions: Sisyphus, who pushes the rock and whose efforts are quickened by a Fury using her whip; Mercury, the messenger of the dead; Hercules chaining up Cerberus, and whom a Fury tries to repulse with torches; the king of Phrygia, Tantalus, in Asiatic

patron and his descendants were by right guardians of the freedman, even his heirs were, if he did not leave children or when the succession to a freedman's property was in question. Marcus Aurelius removed this difference, and since the passing of the Orphitian senatus-consultum the children of a *libertina* inherited from their mother.

Emancipation often took place under onerous conditions. For example, the freedman often engaged under oath, or in the form of a written stipulation, to make presents in certain circumstances and to render services either of respect (*officiales*), which ceased at the patron's death, unless they had been expressly stipulated for the children, or useful (*fabriles*), which passed to the heirs of the patron along with the succession. A special interdict, *de liberto homine exhibendo*, served as sanction to this obligation. The freedman's services then had a real value for the patron; but they were not considered as commercial transactions, and the law *Ælia Sentia* forbade setting on them a value in money.

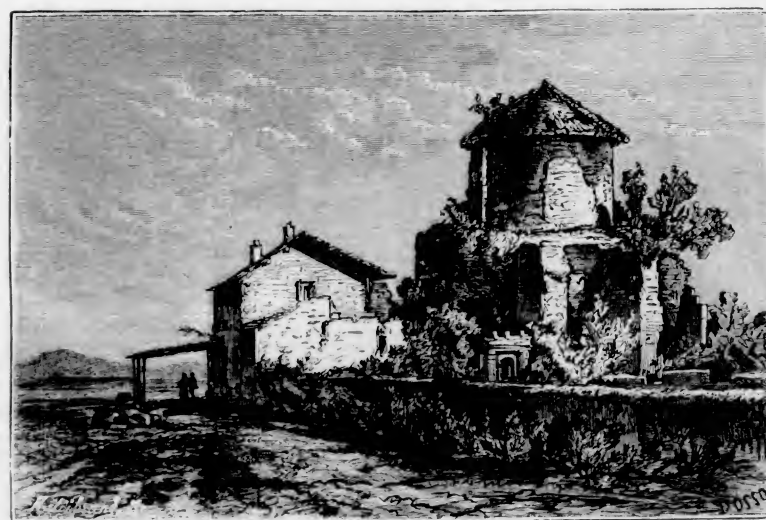
When enfranchisement was not entirely free and spontaneous the rights of patronage were considerably diminished. Thus the inheritor who set a slave free to escape from a trust could not accuse him of ingratitude, or demand board of him, or impose on him the obligation of services. He even lost his right of patronage if he had set the slave free when compelled as an act of justice. The refusal of nourishment¹ or the abuse of authority on the part of the patron brought the loss of the right of patronage. But these relations were habitually marked with respect on the one part, with affection on the other. At the time of the triumphal proscriptions the fidelity of slaves was remarked; under the Empire, freedmen were the habitual confidants of their

costume, trying to seize fruits which always escape his hand. In the upper part, in a magnificent temple, Dionysus Chthonios, the infernal Bacchus, to whom Ceres has come to ask back Proserpina, whom she has been looking for throughout all the world with a lighted torch. On the right the three judges in Hades, and above them, perhaps Theseus and his friend Pirithous, delivered from their captivity in the infernal regions and protected by Minerva (?). To the left Orpheus playing on the lyre, and two groups difficult to explain. Are the two young persons with a star above their heads the Dioscuri near their mother Leda, herself also become a divinity? And is the lower group, by opposition to the condemned of the lower part, a happy family making for the Elysian Fields across the kingdom of Hades? See Millin, *les Tombeaux de Canosa*, pp. 5-23, folio.

¹ *Digest*, xxxvii. 14, 5, § 1.

patrons, and several, in time of need, devoted themselves even to death and dishonour. A senator slays a woman who refused to marry him, and is accused of murder; his freedman assumes the crime as his own, and is exposed to a frightful punishment, while declaring that it was he who struck the blow to avenge his master.¹

So they really formed a part of the family: the patron often chose them to be his heirs.² At Nicomedia, and in a hundred



Sepulchral Remains, on the Appian Way.

other places, masters raise tombs to their "very faithful and very loving slave."³ In an epitaph on the Appian Way a freedman of Cotta Messalinus relates that his patron gave him, at different times, to the amount of 400,000 sesterces, *i. e.*, sufficient to rise to the rank of knight; that the patron undertook the education of his children; that he gave dowries to his daughters like a father, and helped his son to the rank of military tribune; and that, finally, he, at his own expense provided this funeral monument.⁴ Many did even more, they received their freedmen

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 14.

² *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 328.

³ *Inscr. de Lyon*, Nos. 113, 376, 505; Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 41.

⁴ Henzen, *Annales de l'Institut*, 1865, p. 6.

by their side in their own tomb which they had erected, so that even in death the *paterfamilias* lay surrounded by all his house. This custom, which was general, shows the strong constitution of the Roman family. Cotta was a friend of Tiberius; a century after, the Younger Pliny inserted in his will a legacy of nearly 2,000,000 sesterces, the interest of which was to be employed in the support of his hundred enfranchised slaves.¹ Thus the provident solicitude of the master for those who had served him was indeed one of the moral obligations imposed by this society. Do we sacrifice as much for them?

We have seen that the emperor's freedmen were very important personages; in due proportion it was also often the same in families and cities; we have given the reason of this already.² Many slaves gained their liberty by their vices, but many also by their talents and some by their virtues. We know what Cicero thought of Tiro, his *libertinus*, or rather his friend. One of them on whom had rested the burden of two servitudes, since he was the freedman of Augustus's freedman, had this inscribed on his tomb: "Religious and of pure morals, I have lived as much as in me lies without law-suits, quarrels, or debts. I was faithful to my friends, poor in goods, but rich in heart."³

The relations between patron and freedman formed a clearly defined legal condition. It was by no means the same as regards the relations between clients and him whom they styled their lord and king, *dominum regemque*: this is why we shall speak of them only in the chapter about the *City*.

¹ The legacy amounted to 1,866,666 sesterces, the annual interest of which at 6 per cent would come to 111,999 sesterces, or for each freedman 1,119 sesterces, or a maintenance of about 250 francs. After the decease of the pensioners this revenue was to be used in defraying the cost of an annual banquet for the citizens of Como. (Orelli, No. 1,172.) See above, p. 288, a still more important foundation of Dasumius, and in the *Herodes Atticus* of Vidal Lablache (p. 52) the funeral inscriptions, which witness so vividly to the affection of Herodes and his wife for their freedman Polydeucion.

² Vol. iv. p. 490.

³ Wilmanns, 2,704. See, in Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, vol. iii. pp. 62-75, all the ameliorations introduced by jurisprudence into legislation relative to enfranchisements.

V.—PERSONS IN MANCIPIO AND THE COLONI.

The father invested with the *potestas* could sell his child to a third party. This sale, which took place by mancipation, gave the purchaser a right called *mancipium*, which was nearly equivalent to the right of property. The person *in mancipio* was considered as a slave. Moreover, while the *patria potestas* and the *manus* ceased at the death of the father or husband, the *mancipium* or right of property passed to the heirs of the purchaser. The person *in mancipio* had no longer any political rights, but preserved his condition of birth and could bring an action for damages against his master. His previous marriage remained good and his children preserved their liberty. Like the slave, the person *in mancipio* made profit for his master, and the obligations contracted by him in that condition could only become legally payable from the property which he would have possessed had he not fallen into that condition. Besides, the usage of *mancipium*, like that of *manus*, became more and more rare and restricted to the case in which the son having caused an injury the father gave him *in mancipio* to the injured person, by way of indemnity.

The insolvent debtor adjudged to his creditor, *addictus*, and working on behalf of the latter until he is indemnified; the *auctoratus* who was sold as a gladiator; the Roman, a prisoner of war who was ransomed by another Roman, were all in this condition.

We find some similar conditions of dependence in the colonial system, which did not await Constantine before making a beginning, but was developed early as a social necessity, in proportion as the class of small cultivators grew less and large estates were formed.¹ To bring the *latifundia* into culture, from the failure of free labour the proprietor established there a plantation of slaves, whose interest he made it to draw the largest produce possible from the lands, and of free labourers, who were either farmers paying a money rent or husbandmen dividing the produce with the landed proprietor. We have nothing to say of this leasehold farmer except that the leases varied considerably in length, so as

¹ See what Columella, i. 3, and Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 7, say of the *latifundia*.

to become gradually changed into a perpetual rent-charge or long-term leaseholders. "The cities," says Gaius, "never resume occupation of the land so long as the farmer or his heirs pay the rent,"¹ and the colleges, corporations, etc., do as the cities. As for the slaves charged with the permanent cultivation of the estate, while still being a piece of property of which the master may dispose, they were in the interests of the domain left on the soil and customarily transferred with it. In order to determine, at a census, the value of a landed estate, the slaves "who stocked it" were reckoned in. The usage became established of considering them as attached to the soil: Marcus Aurelius has already confirmed the usage,² and the emperors of the fourth century will prohibit a sale of the slaves without the land, or of the land without the slaves:³ here we see the appearance of the serfs of the soil.

The metayer tenure commences a new rural condition which the Middle Ages will inherit. "One ought to reckon in," says a rescript of the Theodosian Code,⁴ "in the survey of the estate, the slaves and the domiciled peasants or *coloni*." Cato, Varro, and Tacitus were acquainted with these labourers; Columella gave to the proprietor of several estates this rule for good management, that he should cultivate the land on which he resides by means of his slaves, but the rest of his land ought to be by free *coloni*. He desired that the *coloni* should be hereditary: "The most prosperous domain," he says, "is that which the labourers till who are born on it."⁵ This wish was fulfilled: there are inscriptions speaking of labourers who have been on the same land twenty, thirty, fifty years,⁶ and Tacitus was already aware of the fact that these cultivators owed to the owner a fixed quantity of corn, cattle, and clothing.⁷

Private individuals had *coloni*; the State and the emperor, represented by the two administrations of the treasury and the *res privata*, had many more. In the time of the Antonines the law

¹ *Comm.*, iii. 145.

² *Digest*, xxx. 112.

³ Constantine and Valentinian I., in the *Code*, xi. 47, 2 and 7.

⁴ ix. 42, 7.

⁵ *Felicissimus fundus qui colonos indigenas habet* (i. 7).

⁶ Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, Nos. 2,572, 2,901, 5,504; Orelli, No. 4,644.

⁷ *Frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris, aut vestis, ut colono, injungit* (*Germ.*, 25. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, iii. 19).

was already concerned in the *coloni Caesaris*, and Hadrian made on their behalf a general rule, which leads us to suppose that this rural class was very ancient.

There were several sorts of farm labourers. Some, the holders of a long term, or even hereditary, paid to the farmer a fixed rent or a part of the produce,¹ and owed the State the poll-tax and military service. Others, settled on a vast imperial domain, *saltus*, the greatest part of which was farmed out to one or more *conductores*, paid the usual rent in cash or in kind, but in addition furnished obligatory labour to secure a return from the land of the treasury. In a document recently discovered, the farm labourers (*coloni*) of the *saltus Burunitanus* complain to Commodus that, contrary to Hadrian's law, the domain farmer, *conductor*, upheld by the procurator, exacted of them more than the regular obligations or labour-dues, which are, annually, two for digging, two for weeding, and two for harvesting. The response to their protestations is, say they, by imprisonment and blows of such severity that some died under the rod, in spite of their being Roman citizens. An imperial letter recalls the agents of the treasury to the observation of the ancient customs.² This condition of Roman farm labourers was still, some years ago, that of the Wallachian peasantry in relation to the Boyards, and there would be nothing astonishing if this kind of tenure were traceable back to Trajan's time.

To the free labourers who chose this life were added numerous barbarians made prisoners. Instead of selling them, the emperors distributed them amongst the large land proprietors. Thus did Marcus Aurelius, Claudius II., Aurelian, Probus, and certainly many others. Augustus had shown them the example of transporting entire peoples into places where men were put into the condition of being [serfs] sold along with the land, *venalis cum agris suis populus*.³ There can be read in a constitution of the year 409,

¹ *Colonus . . . qui ad pecuniam numeratam conduit . . . partiarius colonus [qui] quasi societatis jure et damnum et lucrum cum domino fundi partitur* (Gaius, in *Digest*, xix. 2, 25, § 6).

² See, in the *Journal des Savants*, of November, 1880, the text of this inscription, found by M. Tissot in Tunis, and an interesting study by M. Esmein, who convincingly combats Mommsen's opinion on certain points. We were already acquainted with a similar, but less important, inscription for the imperial domain of Sæpinum in Samnium. (Wilmanns, 2,841.)

³ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, iii. 20. It was the lot, under Augustus, of the *triumphalini*. It will be a question in another place about the *dediticii*, *federati* and *leti*.

in the Theodosian Code, that, after the conquest of the country of the Scyri, the prefect of the prætorium was authorized to deliver those barbarians to such persons as might ask them of him, to cultivate the fields, not as slaves, but under the name of *coloni*.

The obligations imposed on the *coloni* of the domain of Burunitanus were very mild; but the rents and obligatory services must have greatly varied, and were in many places very onerous. We have a proof of this in a constitution of Constantine prohibiting the exaction of extraordinary labours, in seed time and harvest, in order that the labourer should not be prevented sowing his own land and reaping his corn at the fitting time.¹

After the payments to the masters, came those which were due to the State: poll-tax, military service, the dues to be paid for the transport and sale of his produce at the neighbouring market—taxes which were light in early times, but crushing later on, especially when the master, legally responsible for the debts of his labourers, came to add to the demands of the treasury those of a proprietor made the more greedy as he shall become more involved in debt.

These labourers were free and their marriages were good in law; they were able to acquire substance, and some of them reached such easy circumstances as, in spite of their condition, made them to be called upon by the curia to aid the *possessores* in bearing the weight of the *munera*.² The law dispensed them from this, in order to reserve all their resources for the improvement of their farming, from which the treasury benefited, *ut idoneiores prædiis fiscalibus habeantur*.³ In fine, they were indebted only in their rents and established labour-dues; if the farmer or conductor, on the imperial domain, asked more, the judge or the emperor interfered.

¹ Code, xi. 47, 1: *Nunquam sationibus vel colligendis frugibus insistentes agricole ad extraordinaria onera detrahantur*. These texts do not belong to the history of the Higher Empire, but they illustrate it. Huschke (*Ueber den Census*, pp. 156 *et seq.*) believes that the colonial system was established by Augustus; this is to go very far back and to attribute to one man the accomplishment of one of those slow social revolutions which manners prepare and which afterwards the law consecrates. Yet the mention of a regulation made by Hadrian proves that the colonial system was very old, since this intervention of the sovereign had been necessary to correct abuses which had already time to arise.

² For the *Munera*, see the *cap. seq.*

³ *Digest*, l. 6, § ii., confirmed by three laws of Constantine, in the *Code*, xi. 67, 1-3.

There is one condition, which will in time become more general, to set off against these advantages, and that is, the colonus was attached to the soil; he was transferred with it to the purchaser of the property,¹ and the proprietor will have over him, if he has not already, a right of correction: the labourer who abandons the land is treated as a fugitive slave. And then, for the colonus as for the slave, we must allow for arbitrary conduct. If the colonus has rights, the judge is a long way off, complaints are dangerous and difficult; and when the recruiting officer requires of the proprietor his contingent of soldiers, the latter will select from his labourers those whom he pleases, and those with whom he is dissatisfied are sent "to bend the back under the centurion's vine rod."² Salvianus compares them to the victims of Circe, the terrible magician who changed men into beasts: he says, "The master receives them as voluntary residents and guards them like serfs of his land."³

VI.—RÉSUMÉ.

All the rights which have just been explained, except the *dominica potestas*, an institution common both to the *jus civile* and *jus gentium*, were rights purely Roman. But local acts of legislation became unceasingly more assimilated to the laws of the metropolis, and we may conclude that⁴ the Roman people already formed three-quarters of the population of the Empire, of which it will

¹ A rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (*Digest*, xxx. 112) says: *si quis inquilinos sine prædiis quibus adherent legaverit, inutile est legatum*. It may be that the *inquilinus* of this text is a *servus*, but the day on which the slave might be fixed to the soil must have been very near that on which the colonus was attached to it. Ulpian, at the beginning of the third century, confounds them in this respect: *si quis inquilinum vel colonum non fuerit professus* . . . (*Digest*, l. 15, 4, § 9); and if the *coloni* of the *saltus Burunitanus*, some of whom died under the rod, had not all fled away, it was only because they were unable. A law of Theodosius says (*Code*, xi. 51, 1): *Coloni . . . originario jure teneantur et licet conditione videantur ingenui, servi tamen terræ ipsius, cui nati sunt, existimentur*.

² Eumenius, *Pan. Vet.*, iv. 9.

³ *De Gubern. Dei*, v. 8, 9.

⁴ The *Mon. Ancy.* gives the number of citizens at 5,000,000 nearly. Tacitus raises it (*Ann.*, xi. 25) to nearly 7,000,000 in 47 A.D. At this time (cf. vol. iv. p. 417) the population came to 30,000,000, with an increase yearly of a quarter of a million. At this rate the 133 years to the death of Marcus Aurelius would give 15,000,000 of citizens and a total population of 65,000,000. If so, the great majority of the provincials must then have attained the rights of citizenship.

soon form the whole; so that, while seemingly engaged only with Romans, we have in reality exhibited the domestic organization of the greater part of the provincials. It will be therefore quite legitimate to draw a general conclusion from this special study.

And in the first place we have been able to establish a continuous progress in equity and natural law. The strong organization of the Roman family exists; the father maintains in its midst unity of worship, inheritance, and custom; he is still priest, administrator, and judge, as a master obeyed by his son, his wife, his slaves, his coloni, those whom he holds in *mancipio*, and as a patron respected by his enfranchised.¹ Yet he has lost a part of his ancient rights, and the condition of all those who live around him has become milder, even that of the slave. But in causing more justice and a little liberty to enter into the family, the emperors have not destroyed its primitive character, and this discreet liberty which has taken its place at the domestic hearth continues there deferential and respectful towards paternal authority. The manners shown by Apuleius, Juvenal, and Petronius, will be brought as objections: we will reply to these later on; meanwhile, it must be fully admitted that with such laws the paternal home would, in a great number of families, preserve a severe rule which left its mark on their minds, and it will be concluded that parents so disciplined could not make turbulent citizens.

The family explains beforehand the city, as the fortune of the city, in the first centuries of the Empire, will help us to understand that of the State at the same period.

Another point of resemblance: public authority has already penetrated the family under the name of equity, just as it will penetrate the city by the name of better justice. As the descendant of the Republican censors, the prince or the senate, his instrument, diminishes the rights of father and husband; represses unjust exheredation and himself punishes the adulterer;² he tries to check divorcees³ and assures rewards to the conjugal virtues. In

¹ Tacitus proves that there existed in the family much of the ancient paternal authority, and Gaius (i. 112-3) still speaks of the *manus* in the marriages by *confarreatio* and *coemptio*.

² *Lex fuit . . . ut adulterum cum adultera deprehensum marito liceret occidere. Hæc lex abolita est lege Julia quæ jussit adulterii cognitionem ad judices referri.* (Schol. ad Horatii, Sat., II. vii. 63.)

³ *Divortii modum imposuit* (Suet., Octav., 34).

a word, the public judge is becoming substituted for the domestic, so that in the city the prince's agent will little by little take the place of the municipal magistrates. These invasions by public power, however profitable they may be for the time to those interested, announce the approach of the time when neither liberty nor right will stand in the presence of the sovereign master, the State.

The family is not the only thing modified: economic order is also changing, and the world of labour is being transformed. We have not yet reached the time when industrial corporations will become hereditary; but into the social hierarchy many of free birth enter, many slaves ascend, and they will meet half-way between servitude and liberty: a come-down for the former, but progress for the latter. And as the future exists in the germ in the present time, even a distant future, so it is in the bosom of the great Roman society, in which the slave had too much misery and the citizen had shown too much pride, that is being prepared the formation of that innumerable class of serfs of the Middle Ages, whose condition will be less unfortunate than that of the victims of ancient servitude.



PIETAS, as represented by Livia. (Large Bronze.)

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

THE CITY.

I. — EXTENT OF THE MUNICIPAL LIBERTIES.

HUMANITY needs, in the course of its historic development, only three or four social principles to realize the most diverse forms, while separating, by a slow process of elaboration, from the chaos of brute force, the notion of justice, the theory of the duties and of the rights pertaining to the *individual*, the *family*, the *city*, and the *State*. As regards the two extremes of this progression, the Romans fell short, since they preserved slavery, and also in the midst of peoples accustomed to liberty they finished by setting up a despotism; but they ameliorated the constitution of the family and have transmitted to moderns the municipal system with the civil laws which flowed from it. By this one achievement have they placed themselves almost on a level with the Greeks in the general work of civilization.

Bossuet has said respecting the early times of the Republic: "The Roman State was then of that temperament which must have been fruitful in heroes." The municipal system, in its best days, during the Empire, had very different and yet analogous effects, for it produced the period of the Antonines, which was illustrious from its pacific greatness, its laws, and its monuments, only because it was rich in men who had been moulded by the free administration of the cities. This phenomenon is not only an important fact in the history of Rome; everywhere where this is abundantly the case do we find the same results, whether it be in ancient Greece, or in Italy of the Middle Ages, in the Flemish communes and the Hanseatic cities, or in the English boroughs. Under the Empire it had, for three centuries, the virtue of neutralizing the effect of bad political laws.

Rome, which had subdued the world by her arms, assured herself the peaceable possession of it by her municipal institutions. She carried them into all places where they did not as yet exist, and where they were existing already she brought them closer to the ideal which she had conceived of them. In the Greek and Punic-speaking countries, in Egypt, in Carthaginian Africa, the work had already for a long time been accomplished: only slight reforms were needed; but in Numidia, Mauretania, Spain, and Gaul, in the valleys of the Alps, the Danube, and the Rhine, almost everything needed doing, and the Romans did it. They carefully suppressed the ancient divisions into peoples, tribes, or nations, and in their place substituted the division of the country into urban districts. They compelled the sparse populations to obtain a centre, where their civil and religious interests would be under the guardianship of magistrates elected by themselves, where, moreover, their common life would be under the eye and hand of the governor of the province. In this way the



Roman Tomb at Haydra (Roman Africa).

savage inhabitants of the Alpine valleys were attached to cities built at the foot of their mountains, at Luna, Ivrea, Cremona, Brescia, Trent, Verona, Trieste. There they caused the inhabitants' names to be registered, thither the State tribute was brought and paid, recruits for the army were drilled there, there judges were to be found to settle their disputes. Rome compelled even the Lusitanians, in the Iberian peninsula, to leave the high districts in order to build cities in the plains.¹ We have counted in Dacia

¹ Strabo, iii. 3, 5.

alone 122 Roman colonies, and this province was under Roman sway only during 170 years.¹

Augustus spent much time in organizing according to his own ideas the Gauls and peoples established on the left bank of the Rhine and in the upper basin of the Danube. The Elder Pliny found still in his own days, in Tarraconensis, 150 tribes living in scattered dwellings against 179 who had one capital; under the



Ruins of a Roman Aqueduct at Chemtou (Simittu Colonia).

Antonines, Ptolemæus reckoned up there 248 cities and only twenty-seven scattered tribes. The process of cantonnement had therefore been so rapid that in less than a century the number of urban agglomerations had increased by sixty-nine and that of the tribes had diminished by eighty-seven. In all directions the same change had been produced: in the north, the two Germanies, Rætia, Vindelicia, the region of Noricum, Pannonia, and Mæsia; in the south, Mauretania and Numidia had been covered with towns.

¹ Neigebauer, *Dacien*, p. 5.

At every step in Algeria, to the very borders of the desert, the French soldiers come across Roman ruins, and these remains have often helped their generals to discover hidden springs or subterranean reservoirs which saved their regiments from thirst.¹

The dominant idea of Roman municipal life is that of civic duty. The citizen of a provincial town is called *municipes*, i.e., one who takes his share of public duties.² This duty he cannot escape, for no one has the right of deliberately renouncing his origin;³ and he is bound to fulfil it in a spirit of concord and fraternity, which seemed from the first to be the necessary rule for the intercourse between the inhabitants of the same city. This expression, "fraternity," is thoroughly Roman. Cicero asks, "What is a city if not an association founded on justice?" and Ulpian still certainly regarded the city as the enlarged family, the same who styled even the bonds of commerce "a sort of fraternal tie."⁴ The patrons of colleges often assumed the title of father or mother, the members that of brothers, and of this they have left on their tombs some touching evidence. Even as low down as the fourth century we find expressions of love and pious affection as expressing a citizen's feelings for his city.⁵

But how was this conception realized? He who by birth or adoption⁶ belonged to a municipal family; who, within the walls or in the territory of the city had his domestic hearth, his Penates,

¹ Marshal Randon has often said to me: "Whenever, in an expedition, my regiments suffer from thirst, I make inquiry of the inhabitants if there are any Roman ruins anywhere about, and when I have come upon any, I immediately order the ground to be bored: we always found water."

² *Municipes*, from *munus capessere* (Aulus Gellius, xvi. 13).

³ *Origine propria neminem posse voluntate sua eximi manifestum est* (Code, x. 38, 4).

⁴ *Juris societas* (Cic., *de Rep.*, i. 32). *Societas jus quodammodo fraternitatis in se habet* (Digest, xvii. 2, 63).

⁵ *Amor et religio erga cives universos . . . amor civicus* (Orelli, No. 4,360). The inscription is of the year 386, but pagan.

⁶ The town was able to create, by the concession of the freedom of the city, *allectio*, new families. *Cives origo, manumissio, allectio vel adoptio facit* (Code, x. 7, 39). We find even in Apuleius (*Met.*, iv.): *Adolescens . . . quem filium publicum omnis sibi civitas cooptavit*; and in Greek inscriptions, the words, *son of the senate, of the city, of the people*, etc., doubtless given as titles of honour in order to recompense or evoke liberal acts, are very frequent. (*C. I. G.*, No. 3,570; Waddington, *Foy. arch.*, part. v. 4,018, 4,019, 4,026, 4,030, and No. 53, 1,602a). Similarly Venice adopted Bianca Capella, "the daughter of the Republic." The freedom of the city was granted to women, *civis recepta* (*C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 813). An imperial rescript could also confer it. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 22, 23. Dion Chrysostom, *Orat.* xli. *ad Apam.*, ii. 181 (edit. Reiske).

the sepulchre of his fathers, and who performed the sacred rites, at the public altars, in honour of the guardian deities of the community: he, and at the beginning he only, was *municipes*; he voted at the forum and could be elected to deliberate in the senate, to exercise authority in the public offices and judge in the tribunals. The stranger, *peregrinus*, the citizen of another town of the province, even when he had set up a dwelling in the city, *incola*,¹ the freedman, who established a family only in the second generation, the slave who was not taken at all into consideration, continued outside the municipium. This then was formed out of families connected with each other by religious bonds, community of recollections, the obligation of the same duties, the joint responsibility of interests. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that this municipal life, so well united, finally obtained from Rome the character of a moral being, a living and legal personality.²

Old institutions, effaced at Rome by revolutions, continued in vigour in the provinces as a result of that conservative force natural to localities into which political agitations do not penetrate, and because the *formule* given to the provincials at the time of conquest had been drawn up by men still favourable to municipal liberty. The *savants* of the Palatine library would have again in a crowd of municipalities found the *populus*, or the dominant nobility, the *plebs*, or the disinherited multitude, the *curia*³ and the *curio* of the royal period; the magistracies of republican times:⁴

¹ Cicero well shows the spirit of ancient law in this respect: *Peregrini et incolæ officium est nihil præter suum negotium agere . . . minimeque esse in aliena republica curiosum* (*de Officiis*, i. 34). Later on the *incola* shared with the *civis* the onerous offices, *munera*, as the allies received as Roman citizens were obliged to accept its obligations. Ulpian (in the *Digest*, l. 1, § 1) says: *Municipes appellati recepti in civitatem ut munera nobiscum facerent*, while adding: *Nunc abusive municipes dicimus sue cujusque civitatis cives*. The *incola* could not at first obtain posts of dignity, *honores* (*Code*, x. 39, 5 and 6); yet in the end he succeeded in obtaining them. (Orelli, No. 2,725, and Agen. Urbicus, in *Gromat.*, p. 84.) Already the *lex Malac.* recognized his right of voting in the assembly if he had the *jus civitatis* or the *jus Latii*. On the *munera*, see *infra*, p. 362.

² *Personæ vice fungitur municipium et decuria* (Florent., in *Digest*, xlv. 22).

³ For the division of the people into *curiæ*, cf. Orelli, Nos. 3,727, 3,740, 3,771, and Henzen, Nos. 6,963, note 2, 7,420f, 7,430fa; L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 220, and *Inscr. d'Algérie*, Nos. 91, 185, 1,525, 2,871; *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 1,346.

⁴ There were still found in Hadrian's time prætors in Etruria, dictators in Latium (Spart., *Hadr.*, 19; cf. Borghesi, i. 490; vi. 315), and the duumvirate recalled, by its prerogatives, the ancient consulate of Rome, before the creation of the censorship and prætorship.

tribunes of the people,¹ ediles, quaestors, censors, and public assemblies divided into tribes² and centuries,³ with a forum, rostra, elections, and all the bustle of the comitia. Aulus Gellius, in the time of the Antonines, still calls the colonies "the diminished image, but the true likeness, of the Roman people;"⁴ a century later, Modestinus said: "The law against canvassing has no longer any validity at Rome, because the nomination to office there depends on the prince and not on popular favour;" and he considered it as still in full force in the municipalities;⁵ in Africa, in the time of Constantine, the people used still to have elections.⁶ The cause of this is that municipal life had been extinguished in Rome, because there it would have been political life, while it still prevailed in the provinces, because there it could raise no distrust. It is a common fact that the conqueror, from self-interest, respects for a long while the social customs of the conquered. Do we not act in the same way in our colony of Algeria, in spite of our love of excessive centralization and extreme uniformity?

Occupied on the banks of the Tiber in consolidating their power and defending their life against conspiracies of the great, the first emperors did not trouble themselves about those obscure forms of liberty which the half savage natives of the West had as much liked as the inhabitants of the brilliant cities of the Hellenic East. Far from weakening these liberties, they favoured their extension; and thanks to the order, the sound justice which all of them, except the madmen, set themselves to establish amongst their subjects, the municipal system, in place of disappearing with the Republic, prospered for nearly two centuries. These old customs of Italy, found by the conquerors or transferred by them⁷ to provincial soil, were so tenacious of life that they

¹ There were tribunes of the people at Teanum, Venusia, and Pisa. (Or.-Henzen, Nos. 3,145, 5,985, 6,218, 7,143.)

² As at Genetiva Colonia, cap. ci.

³ *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 1,064. The division into centuries, which was fundamental in the army, had also been adopted by some industrial guilds. Cf. Orelli, Nos. 4,060, 4,071, 4,137, etc.

⁴ *Noct. Att.*, xvi. 13: *Populi Romani . . . colonia quasi effigies parva simulacraque*.

⁵ *Hæc lex in urbe hodie cesset. . . . Quod si in municipio contra hanc legem, magistratum aut sacerdotium quis petierit . . .* (*Digest*, xlviii. 14, 1).

⁶ *Col. Theod.*, xii. 5, 1.

⁷ What we know of the formularies of the provinces and of the municipal laws: of regulations made for the Sicilians; of the formula of Bithynia drawn up by Pompey; of the Table of Heraclea and *lex Rubria* for Italy; of the laws of Salpensa, Malaga, and Osuna for Spain; of

for a long while existed there as *witnesses* of the past. Much of this evidence has disappeared; what remains of it is enough to prove the existence, in the Early Empire, of a municipal organization utterly different from that exhibited in the Theodosian Code. This latter *régime* has often had its disastrous consequences described: one ought also to be acquainted with the former and its happy results.

There was not for the cities, as has been thought, a general law which we might have lost,¹ but all the questions relative to municipal organization had been long since resolved. The great law of Caesar, or Table of Heraclea, for the Italian peninsula (45 B.C.), the *lex Rubria*, for Cisalpine Gaul (49), a host of others with whose existence we are acquainted, could serve as models and constituted a common source whence materials could be derived by the ancient cities which desired to put in writing or reform their custom, as well as the new cities for whom a law was required. In Domitian's time they were still being committed to writing,² and a learned man of the second century defined a

the explanatory inscription of the organization of the census in the provinces, etc., recalls institutions or customs of Rome, "the common native land," as say Modestinus (*Digest*, l. 1, 33) and Cicero (*de Leg.*, ii. 2, 5). For example, there are found the prerogatives of the president of the comitia, the distinction between the senators inscribed in the white book and those who are so by virtue of their office, the rank assigned to each in the curia, the magistrates designate, the interval of several months between the election and entrance into office, the places of the magistrates and senators in the theatre, the regulations against faction, the right of intercession and delegation, the oath in the five days succeeding the election, the duality of the offices, the adjudication of public works and the farming of the revenues, the obligation on elected magistrates to provide games, etc., etc. In drawing up a new statute, old statutes formed the basis; sometimes even they were copied: chapter civ. of the bronzes of Osuna is evidently borrowed from the *lex Manilia*, and how many others have been taken from the Julian laws!

¹ This is nevertheless the opinion of Mommsen (*C. I. L.*, vol. i. pp. 123 *et seq.*) and of Rudorff (*Röm. Rechtsg.*, i. 34). Marquardt (vol. iv. p. 66) says even of the *lex Julia municipalis*: *Eine vollständige und allgemeine, sowohl für die Hauptstadt selbst als für die italischen und ausseritalischen Municipien geltende Communalordnung, welche in der Kaiserzeit fortlebte*. Were the cities able to modify their laws? The cities in alliance could, without any doubt, but the colonies and municipia which received these charters from Rome could only modify them in concert with the sovereign power. Thus Arpinum changed the mode of voting in the comitia (Cic., *de Leg.*, iii. 16). We can see in the Verrine orations, on the subject of the laws made for the Sicilians, how Rome gave attention to consult the customs and desires of the people to whom she gave laws.

² Those of Salpensa and Malaga were drawn up between 81 and 84, that of Osuna from Caesar's time, but was published and perhaps corrected about the same time. After having received from Vespasian the *jus Latii*, Spain must have had to draw up with more or less changes its municipal legislative measures.

municipium to be a city which has its own system of law and its own special statutes.¹ Trajan forbade that it should be detracted from.² Under Hadrian and Antoninus, the great juriseconsult Julianus, seeking how one ought in certain cases to supply the silence of the written law, replied: "Let them follow custom; that failing, what comes closest to it; lastly, if nothing can guide the judge let him have recourse to Roman law."³ Later on still Ulpian puts this question: "What is to be done if the municipal law permits what a rescript of the prince interdicts?"⁴ Even in the fourth century Diocletian recognizes the authority of the municipal laws and does not permit the governor to break them.⁵ These Romans were not any more than are the English of our own days subject to the tyranny of uniformity,⁶ or possessed with the need of putting all their local institutions into perfect agreement. They allowed those laws to live on which pleased their subjects, or to fall into disuse, without formal abolishing those which ceased to suit them, and they never pretended, as the French do, to break up the State every ten years in order to cast the fragments again in a new mould.

¹ Aul. Gell., xvi. 13. A single city sometimes had two different constitutions, whether it had received two colonies, *cives novi et veteres*, or the ancient inhabitants, *municipes*, had kept their charter and the new comers, *coloni*, had brought another with them (Henzen, No. 6,962). Cf. *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. p. 501: *duplicem ordinem, duplicemque omnino rem publicam fuisse scimus compluribus oppidis, ut Pompeiis, Arretio, Valentie*.

² Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 114.

³ *Digest*, i. 3, 32.

⁴ *Digest*, xlvii. 12, 8, § 5. These special laws were still in force in the third century, even later. Yet, before the end of the second century, Aulus Gellius said already: *Obscura, oblitterataque sunt municipiorum jura quibus uti jam per innotitiam non queunt*. These words, *jam non queunt*, indicate that the movement which was about causing municipal laws to fall into disuse was only commencing.

⁵ *Si lex municipii potestatem duumviris dedit ut . . . nihil contra hujus legis tenorem rector provincie fieri patietur* (Code, viii. 49, 1, and xi. 29, 4). A law book drawn up in the fifth century shows that below Roman law there still existed local customs, not only for weights and measures, the calendar, etc., but also for juridical matters. (Bruns, *Syrisches Rechtsbuch*, *passim*, and Esmein, in the *Journal des Savants* for May, 1880.)

⁶ The whole correspondence between Pliny and Trajan proves that, even at that period, the government did not yet like to adopt general measures of administration. For example, Pliny requests Trajan to draw up an ordinance for Pontus and Bithynia, the emperor replies: . . . *In universum a me non potest statui . . . sequendam cujusque civitatis legem puto* (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 114). Respecting the Christians, he had replied to the same import: . . . *Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat constitui potest* (*ibid.*, x. 95). Nero, when asked by the senate to publish a regulation concerning the status of the freedmen, had refused and replied: "Each case must be examined as it presents itself." (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 27.)

In the Early Empire the laws differed therefore, as in ancient France, in one city and another, since each had its own. The communes also differed from one another in their political condition. Viewed from without and in its relation to the sovereign power, the city must be placed in one of those classes whose different modes of existence we have examined in the history of the Republic. In the second century of the Empire we see, as in the preceding age, *tributary* cities, subject to the absolute power of the Roman governor, while yet preserving their own laws, their *curia*, their elective magistracies with a certain jurisdiction; and *privileged* cities: colonies, municipia of Roman citizens; Latin cities, or allied, free or with the *jus Italicum*. The former were the more numerous; but the number of the others would be very high if documents enabled us to count them in all parts, since they formed a third of the communities of Hither Spain; after Vespasian's time they covered the whole peninsula,¹ Narbonensis had no other cities,² and entire provinces, as Sicily, the Maritime Alps, the Cottian Alps, had obtained the *jus Latii*.

But were these expressions, allied peoples, free cities, autonomous cities, Roman colonies, which inscriptions, medals, texts everywhere point out to us, empty formulas, beneath which was hidden the real nothingness of urban liberties?

One might believe it from certain passages in a writer of that time, viz., Plutarch, who, after having comprehended on the banks of the Tiber what was Rome's part, "that key-stone of the universe," became again in his small Boeotian town, as it were, a cotemporary of Philopoemen. He did not see that "the Roman peace," with which he was so delighted, was able to exist only on the condition that the municipal liberties should not mean independence. The archon of Chersonesa, the high priest of Apollo, regrets on behalf of his municipality the loss of sovereign rights. I should regret them, too, if things could have been different, if even it had not been well that they should be as they were. "The time exists

¹ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, iii. 5.

² Herzog (*Gallie Narb. prov. Rom. Historia*) reckons seven Roman colonies there, thirty-six Latin towns, and Marseilles, *civitas fœderata, libera et immunis*. On the *jus Latii*, see vol. ii. pp. 186 sq. The *jus Italicum*, which is supposed to have been created by Augustus or Cæsar, changed the provincial soil into Italic soil, which gave the inhabitants the quiritarian domain and exemption from tribute.

no longer," said he to an ambitious young man, "for entering on wars, concluding alliances, forming great enterprises. You are now permitted at your entrance into public life to examine before the tribunals some civil question,¹ to prosecute abuses, to defend the weak. You can still watch over the adjudication of the imposts, the care of harbours and markets, or fill some office of municipal police. The occasion will perhaps offer itself of carrying on a negotiation with a neighbouring town or with a prince; in fact, with the maturity of age, you may aspire to a mission to the emperor and to the supreme magistracy of your country. But to whatever rank you are raised, do not forget it, it is no longer the place to tell yourself, as Pericles did when putting on his chlamys: 'Think of this, Pericles, it is free men whom you command, it is Greeks, it is Athenians.' On the contrary, you can say truly: 'You command, but you are commanded; the city which you govern is a subject city, a city under the emperor's lieutenants.' You must therefore wear a simpler chlamys; you must from the step on which you are seated have an eye to the tribunal of the proconsul, and not lose sight of the sandals which are above your crown."² And in another place: "What authority is there other than that which, on a word from the Roman governor, can be nullified or transferred to another?"³ All this is true, but only of a part of the Empire. Plutarch even uses expressions, which coming from this passionate admirer of the old independence, become singularly significant. After having remarked that among the most enviable blessings for a State are peace and liberty, he adds: "As regards peace there is no need to occupy ourselves, for all war has ceased; as to liberty, we have that which the government leaves us, and perhaps it would not be good that we should possess more."⁴ That means, or nearly so, that the different peoples were then in possession of all needful liberties.

Under the Republic, each city had, like Rome, a popular assembly which was sovereign for law-making purposes and

¹ The text says more: *δικαι δημοσία* (*Præc. polit.*, 10).

² In this passage, which I borrow from M. Gréard, *Morale de Plutarque*, pp. 224-5, various passages from his *Political Precepts* are summarized.

³ Plutarch, *Præc. polit.*, 32.

⁴ *καὶ τὸ πλέον ἴσως οὐκ ἄμεινον* (*ibid.*, 32).

"creating" magistrates: fourteen years only before Actium, Caesar's municipal law exhibits, in the whole of Italy, the popular assembly in full possession of its rights, *populus jubet*.¹ Till lately, moreover, it was believed that Tiberius, having in Rome remitted the elections to the senate, had produced a similar revolution immediately in the provinces. It is true that the popular assembly, without being formally suppressed, was by small degrees dispossessed to the gain of the senate-house, and that municipal organization, from being democratic, became aristocratic, as the result of a movement of concentration which from day to day grew more definite in the imperial administration, after having been the politics of the Republican senate.² But this revolution, scarcely completed in the third century, was by no means so in the first or even in the second, when public assemblies in the cities could still be seen. If, at Rome, a shadow of comitia and popular elections was preserved even to Trajan's time,³ with greater reason ought one to think that the reality in many cities took the place of these empty forms, especially in those which were legally subjected, for their internal administration, to the action of the Roman magistrate, whether by treaties of alliance concluded at the time of conquest, which were habitually respected, or by concessions secured later on. Pergamean Asia, Bithynia, Macedonia,⁴ Africa, still made use, under the Antonines, of the laws which had been given them shortly after their conquest. Respect for the conditions imposed by the Republic on peoples and cities continued in the early Empire the rule of government; the contrary was the exception. The inscriptions do not admit any doubt of it, and it is only one of the least services which they have rendered by

¹ Cap. xii. Cf. Or.-Henzen, Nos. 2,531, 3,701, 6,966, 7,227.

² Cf. Appian, *Mithrid.*, 39; Pausanias, vii. 16, 6. Cicero has neatly formulated this policy: . . . *ut civitates optimatum consiliis administrarentur* (*ad Quint. frat.*, I. i. 8, 25); but there was this difference between the Republic and the Middle Empire, that the former was satisfied with showing itself favourable to the influence of the great in the cities, which was a particular form of municipal life, and that the other was led little by little to suppress all life in them.

³ Dion, lvi. 20, and Pliny, *Panegr.*, 63, 64, 79. Cf. Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 7, where he shows the soldiers and people, *milites et Quirites*, ratifying the election made by the senate; later on still the election of Gordian III. was made by the people and imposed by it on the senate.

⁴ In the second century of our era, Justin (xxxiii. 2) says of Macedonia: . . . *leges, quibus adhuc utitur, a Paulo accepit*; Appian, of the inhabitants of Brindisium, that Sylla gave them *ἀρισταίαν, ἢν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν* (*Bell. civ.*, i. 79).

aiding us to recover at least two centuries of active, ardent municipal life in an Empire described as an inexplicable solitude full of despotism and servility.

Before the third century of our era the ancient Græco-Latin order of things was not really acquainted with the official—that new order which produces, in modern monarchies, the centralization of powers and which is for them equally a cause of strength and weakness. Offices were annual or temporary, even in the State, and much more so in the cities. At Rome, office was gained, in appearance, by the choice of the senate, but in reality by the designation of the prince; in the provinces by popular election. The acts of liberality shown to the people by those who wished to secure the magistracies, and which are referred to in a great number of inscriptions, form a presumption that the candidates had need of the people to obtain them. But we have direct proofs. Thus comitia of election are found in active operation at Bovillæ, at the gates of Rome, in the year 157;¹ at Perugia, under Marcus Aurelius;² at Amisus, during Pliny's administration;³ at Tralles, under Hadrian;⁴ at Smyrna, about 211;⁵ in Cæsarian Mauretania, about Caracalla's time;⁶ in the whole province of Africa as far as the year 326;⁷ and in every variety of circumstance the assent of the people is mentioned together with the decree of execution returned by the decurions.⁸ One of the streets of Pola leading to

¹ Orelli, No. 3,701.

² *Id.*, No. 2,531.

³ *Epist.*, x. 110: . . . *bule et ecclesia consentiente*.

⁴ . . . *τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου* (*C. I. G.*, No. 2,927). Likewise at Tarsus, and in many other places are found *ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 3,161.

⁶ At least this is what one may conclude from an inscription of Caracalla's time, recovered by M. L. Renier at Jomnium (*Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 4,070) in which a duumvir mentions his election by the *Ordo*, which would not have been done if it had been the custom. At Tergeste, under Antoninus, entrance to the senate house was *per ædilitatis gradum* (Or.-Henzen, No. 7,168). The usage of the public assemblies was still so well preserved in the middle of the second century that Plutarch, in the advices which he gives for being successful, recommends presenting to the multitude only premeditated speech. (*Præc. polit.*, 6.)

⁷ *Cod. Theod.*, xii. 5, 1: . . . *nominatio candidatorum populi suffragiis*.

⁸ Cf. Orelli-Henzen, No. 5,171: *ordo et universus populus*; No. 5,185: *dec. aug. et plebs*; No. 7,170: *consensu plebis*; No. 1,770: *dec. et liberis eorum, sev. aug., plebei universæ*; at Gaïta, under Hadrian, . . . *rogatus ab ordine, pariter et populo* . . . (No. 3,817). Cf. Nos. 3,882, 4,020, etc., etc. For Ancyra and Pessinus, see Perrot, *de Galatia*, pp. 147 *et seq.*; for Palmyra: *βουλή καὶ δῆμος*; cf. Letronne, *Recherches sur l'admin. égyptienne*, p. 268, and de Vogüé, *Inscr. sémit.*, p. 18.

the forum of that ancient flourishing colony still bears the name of Comitia Street.

We know that Pompeii, at the very moment when it was overwhelmed, was engaged in popular elections. Wall posters have been found containing the political creed of the candidates, the placards of supporters, as also those of opponents, even the recommendations of the government, that is, of the senate, in favour of an official candidate.¹ These notices were posted everywhere, even on the sepulchres which, in Roman cities, were by the sides of the roads leading to the city; and, in certain inscriptions, the deceased defend their last resting-place against candidates by imprecations with which in advance they threaten those who might affix electoral placards on their tomb . . . *repulsam ferat*.² The law of Malaga, drawn up under Domitian, decrees with minuteness the necessary formalities for the regular holding of the comitia,³ and condemns to a penalty of 10,000 sesterces any one who hinders or disturbs

¹ Subjoined are two electoral announcements in red letters on the walls of Pompeii. (House of Vesonius Primus.) E. Pressuhn, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

C·CAVIVM RVFVM II^{II} VIR

VTILEM·R·P·VESONIVS·PRIMVS·ROGAT

C(aïum) GAVIVM RVFVM II^{II}VIR. O. V. F. (oro vos facite) VTILEM R(ei) P(ublicæ) VESONIVS PRIMVS ROGAT.

Vesonius Primus recommends to your votes Caius Gavius Rufus, a man useful to your city, and I beseech you to elect him to the office of duumvir.

CN·HELIVIVM AED·D·R·P
VESONIVS.
PRIMVS·ROG

CN. HELVIVM AED(ilem) D(ignum) R(ei) P(ublicæ) VESONIVS PRIMVS ROG(at).
Vesonius Primus recommends you to choose as edile Cneius Helvius, a worthy man of our city.

² Orelli-Henzen, Nos. 3,700, 6,966, 6,977, 7,227, 7,276, and all those to which Henzen refers in his *Index*, p. 169. When the news of Cæsar's death (4 B.C.) reached Pisa, the colony, then in the full crisis of the elections, had no magistrates, *propter contentiones candidatorum*. The details of the public mourning were stopped *per consensum omnium ordinum*. (Wilmanns, 883, and Lupi, *i Decreti della colonia Pisana*.)

³ *Lex Malacitana*, art. 51-59.

the assembly. In the time of Alexander Severus, Paulus moreover makes comments on the Julian law respecting bribing: he says, "The citizen who solicits a magistrateship or sacerdotal office in a province and who, by giving bribes, stirs up the crowd to obtain votes, is guilty of public violence and condemned to transportation."¹

If Rome left to so many cities their electoral and legislative assemblies, she must have left their magistrates a considerable share of jurisdiction. But within what limits? On this question we have only the *Digest*, which exhibits the administrative law of the third and not that of the first century.² Now, if, at the two periods, the civil law was nearly the same, the administrative law was not so. Moreover the great juriconsults of the Republic and Early Empire, anterior to Salvius Julianus, have altogether furnished to the *Pandects* only a number of fragments equal to an eighth of the citations from Ulpian and Paulus. What is the meaning of this inequality? That, though admitted to make a figure in the Justinian collection to confirm with their authority the civil law of the posterior age, as a continuation of that which they had constituted, the old jurists had had very little material to furnish for administrative law, because it no longer existed except as fundamentally modified.³ We still possess the *Table of Heraclea* and the *Lex Rubria*, drawn up for Italy, and not for the provinces, and the Spanish laws, which would remove every difficulty if they were complete. But the light shed by these last laws on many points does not lighten up the whole of the municipal system; and as they reveal very little respecting the civil jurisdiction of the magistrates, and nothing respecting their laws on criminal matters, we have been led to reduce the judicial authority of the duumvirs to the proportions that it had in the Middle Empire, when the competence of the magistrate in civil suits was stopped, like that of our *juges de paix*, at a certain amount,⁴ and in criminal causes extended only to punishing the freeman in a fine and the

¹ . . . *si turbam suffragiorum causa conducerit* . . . [*Sent.*, v. 30 (A)].

² The number of fragments of the older jurists inserted in the *Digest* is only 586; Ulpian furnished 2,462; Paulus, 2,084. Cf. Puchta, *Cursus der Institutionem*, vol. i. pp. 431-477.

³ Another example of the silence of the *Corpus Juris* respecting an ancient institution: it does not name the *Augustales* once, which the inscriptions prove to have occupied a considerable place in the society of the Early Empire, but which had disappeared two centuries before Justinian.

⁴ Paulus, *Sent.*, v. 5a, 1.

slave to some strokes of the rod.¹ Yet, since the emperors had not yet covered the provinces with their functionaries, social life would have been as if suspended in those immense territories, if, from the Thames to the Euphrates, from the mouths of the Rhine to the cataracts of Syene, there had been need to await the arrival of the thirty governors to open the assizes in order that the cases might be heard and all the guilty punished.² Reason says that it was needful to be otherwise, and history adds that what exists most largely in the present is always an inheritance of the past; now of this past Rome was not at all disposed to make a *tabula rasa*. The laws recently discovered and innumerable inscriptions prove this as regards political institutions; certain facts indicate that it must have been the same for judicial institutions.

The condition of certain cities in the middle of the first century is very succinctly portrayed by Strabo and the juriscult Proculus: "Marseilles," says the former, "is not in subjection, either as regards itself or its subjects, to the governors of the province."³ The latter says: "Free is the people which is not subjected to the power of any other; federated is the one which has concluded with another a treaty on equal conditions, or which, in the treaty of alliance, has promised to respect the majesty of another people. That does not mean that the former is not free, but means that the second is superior; thus our clients remain free

¹ *Digest*, ii. 1, 12.

² In Spain, in the time of Pliny, 513 cities were reckoned and there were only fourteen *conventus iudicij*, one in thirty-seven, where the governor held his assizes every year for some days. In France, where the tribunals are permanent, we have a *juge de paix* for each canton, a tribunal of first instance to every *arrondissement*, tribunals of commerce, and one half more appeal courts (26) than Spain had of *conventus*.

³ *lib.*, iv. p. 181: . . . ὥστε μὴ ὑπακούειν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἰσχυρίαν πεμπομένων στρατηγῶν. Marseilles had with Rome a treaty of alliance, *fœdus æquo jure percussum* (Justin, xliii. 5). The *socii populi Rom.* were not dispensed from certain payments in kind stipulated in the treaty: soldiers, ships, sailors, etc., entertainment of Roman magistrates passing through their cities, etc. Strabo (viii. 365) says of the Lacedæmonians: *ἔμειναν ἐλεύθεροι, πλὴν τῶν φιλικῶν λειτουργιῶν ἄλλο συντελοῦντες οὐδέν*. The *senatus-consultum* in favour of the Chiotas (*C. I. G.*, No. 2,222), the plebiscitum of the year of Rome 682 for Termessus major are equally explicit. Cicero had said (*Verr.*, ii. 66, 160): *Taurominitani . . . qui maxime ab injuriis nostrorum magistratum remoti consueverant esse presidio fœderis*. Cf., *Id.*, *de Prov. cons.*, 3, 6: . . . *omitto jurisdictionem in libera civitate contra leges senatusque consulta*; *Id.*, in *Pison*, 16: *lege Caesaris justissima atque optima [multis sen. cons. in the pro Domo, 9] populi liberi plane et vere liberi*. In the *pro Balbo* (16, 35-36) à propos of Gades, which was *fœdere inferior*, he celebrates that policy which had known how to combine the rights of the suzerain people with the autonomy of the vassal people.

men, whilst as regards authority and dignity they are inferior to us. Yet inhabitants of federated towns can be accused before us, and if they are condemned we punish them."¹ He says again: "I do not doubt that free and federated peoples are outside our Empire."² Cicero before him, and Tacitus a little later, said the same thing,³ and the senate of Tiberius had sanctioned this teaching by a solemn decision.⁴ Every federated or free city preserves then the proprietorship of its own soil, its whole jurisdiction, and its own tolls; only its inhabitants reserved the right of having recourse to the tribunal of the governor of the province, as did the Italians, according to the *lex Julia*, and could accept the decision of the municipal judge or take their cause to Rome. There is no possession of the Empire in which this kind of cities is not found, and they were in great number, since all the famous cities of Greece and Asia had obtained this title, and there were as many as thirty in the single province of Africa.⁵ Thus it is allowable to say that municipal life in its plenitude had been in many points respected by the first emperors. In the second century Trajan moreover wrote to Pliny: "I cannot prevent what the people of Amisus wish to do, since they use a right which the treaty of alliance has recognized as theirs."⁶

Municipal life was equally active and free in the cities possessing the *jus Latii*, for a writer of the time of Augustus and Tiberius declares these sorts of cities removed from the jurisdiction of the

¹ *At fiunt apud nos rei ex civitatibus fœderatis et in eos damnatos animadvertimus* (*Digest*, xlix. 15, 7, § 1). Cf. Cicero, in *Pison*, 16, 37.

² *Quin nobis externi sint* (*Digest*, *ibid.*). Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 23) and Tacitus (*Ann.*, xv. 45) speak similarly. Festus is still more explicit (p. 218): *cum populis liberis et cum fœderatis et cum regibus postliminium nobis est ita, uti cum hostibus*. So an exile could be received into a federated city. Cf. *Polyb.*, vi. 14, 8; *Tac.*, *Ann.*, iv. 43. Nevertheless, this independence only could extend to the internal administration. If the allied peoples did not form part of the province, they did of the Empire, and from a political point of view they were in subjection to the prince or his representatives. Kuhn (*Die städt. und bürgerl. Verfass. des Röm. Reichs*, vol. ii. pp. 26 and 290) compares the free and federated cities of the Empire to the Swiss cantons and the States of the Rhine Confederation, the inhabitants of which Napoleon called his subjects.

³ Cic., *pro Balbo*, 17, and *Tac.*, *Ann.*, iii. 55.

⁴ *Tac.*, *Ann.*, iv. 33, in the affair of Volcatius Moschus.

⁵ *Roma quæ Achaïis, Rhodiis et plerisque urbibus claris jus integrum libertatemque cum immunitate reddiderat* (Seneca, *de Ben.*, v. 16). Cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, v. 29. It is known that there were eighteen free cities in the province of Asia, and these were not all.

⁶ Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 93.

provincial governor.¹ With greater reason was it the case in the municipalities possessing the *jus civile*, which preserved down to the second century their particular legislation and their tribunals;² even in the colonies where all was Roman, and whose condition, though more dependent, was considered as more honourable.³

These cities, in fact, must have participated in the condition of the Italian cities. In our ancient law, the custom of Paris has considerably modified many provincial customs. The municipal law established by Cæsar for Italy exercised a still greater influence, for when the Romans organized colonies and municipalities in the provinces, they certainly borrowed considerably from that law which, in their eyes, summed up ancient wisdom and the experience of centuries in municipal questions.⁴ The *lex Julia* became even for the juriconsults of the third century municipal law *par excellence*. If therefore we knew the powers which these laws left to the Italian duumvirs, we should be near knowing those possessed by the magistrates of the Roman colonies and the provincial municipalities—two sorts of cities whose condition was so allied that in Hadrian's time the difference between them was no longer distinguishable. Now the *lex Julia* attributed to the former, in civil matters, the decision of litigation and the means of forced execution.⁵ They exercised these rights without limit over the whole extent of their territory by themselves or their delegates, unless the parties should prefer taking their suits to Rome for settlement.⁶

¹ Nîmes was a Latin city, and because of that, *διὰ τοῦτο*, was not subject *τοῖς προστάγμασι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης στρατηγῶν* (Strabo, iv. 1, 12). Cicero says also: *Gaditani, id est federati* (*pro Balbo*, 24). Still the governor was required, as did the prætor in Italy, to exercise in the Latin cities the superior rights of the *imperium* for reserved cases, of which more later on.

² According to the classic passage in Aulus Gellius, xvi. 13: *Municipes sunt cives Romani ex municipiis, legibus suis et suo jure utentes, muneris tantum cum populo Romano honorari participes . . . nullis aliis necessitatibus, neque ulla populi Romani lege astricti*.

³ *Magis obnoxia, minus libera* (Aul. Gell., *ibid.*).

⁴ Aulus Gellius says of the colonies: . . . *jura, institutaque omnia populi Romani non sui arbitrii, habent* (xvi. 13).

⁵ *Lex Julia*, lin. 117–118, ap. *C. I. L.*, vol. i. p. 120. Ulpian said even in the third century: *Jus dicentis officium latissimum est. Nam et bonorum possessionem dare potest, et in possessionem mittere, pupillis non habentibus tutores constituere, judices litigantibus dare* (*Digest*, ii. 1, 1. Cf. *ibid.*, ii. 1, 3).

⁶ *Die Gerichtbarkeit der Duumvirn erstreckt sich auf alle Civilsachen ohne Einschränkung* (Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civilprozess*, vol. ii. p. 23). It is also the opinion of Puchta (*Cursus der Institutionen*, § 90, p. 395; *Unbeschränkte Rechtspflege*, by Keller, edit. Capmas, pp. 6, 7, etc.).

The *lex Rubria* recognized equally in the municipal judge, in Gallia Cisalpina, the right of adjusting civil causes whatever might be their importance, *de omni pecunia*; but in certain cases as, e.g., in money loans, it confined its competence to disputes which had reference to at least 15,000 sesterces.¹ When this total was exceeded, the litigants had to take their suit before the Roman prætor.

This arrangement, which limited municipal jurisdiction in Cisalpina, had perhaps been introduced in the interests of the citizens² and of public order. Did it form a part of the *lex Julia*? Some profess that it did.³ It at last became part of the common law since it is found in the third century applied to the whole Empire: "The municipal magistrates," says Paulus, "could judge only up to a determinate sum."⁴ But then all the provincials had become citizens. Paulus does not speak of the clause *de omni pecunia*; and it is conceivable that at that period it had disappeared. Whatever may be the interpretation, different texts

¹ *Lex Rubr.*, cap. xxii., *quæ res non pluris IIS XV millia erit*. Savigny (*Hist. du droit rom. au moyen âge*, vol. i. p. 51 of the Fr. transl.) says: "In certain matters, the jurisdiction of the duumvir was unlimited, and the execution on property could be carried out." This is also Mommsen's opinion (*C. I. L.*, vol. i. *ad leg. Rubr.*, p. 118). Our civil tribunals judge in the last resort only to the amount of 1,500 francs in matters personal and relating to movables and up to 60 francs of leasehold value in real estate. When the object of the process is of a higher value they judge only in the first instance. Art. 69 of the *lex Mal.* seems to have also fixed a limit for the *judicium pecunie communis*. Unfortunately the text fails at the most important point.

² Some political idea which escapes us is doubtless hidden under this disposition. Might it not be that debts having been one of the great cares of republican Rome, the senate had wished to prevent, in the cities united to its fortune, the agitations with which the capital had been troubled through a regulation which allowed the magistrates of the cities comprised in *agro Romano* only the decision in questions of credit of processes of small importance? When Italy became Roman territory this arrangement will have been applied to it with the religious respect of the Romans for ancient prescriptions; so would it for the same reason to the Roman colonies beyond the sea, then to the whole Empire at the period when this latter had the Roman freedom. This limitation, in place of being an attack on the authority of the municipal officers, would then be a privilege of Roman citizens: that of not being judged in respect of considerable debts except by the prætor of Rome or by his representative in the provinces, as in cases of criminal accusation they were only amenable to the governor with the right of appeal to the prince. This interpretation seems authorized by the *lex Sempronia*, which, in order to lessen the evils of usury, prescribed *ut cum sociis ac nomine Latino pecunie credite jus idem quod cum civibus* (Livy, xxxv. 7, to the year 561 B.C.).

³ So Marquardt, *Handbuch*, vol. iv. p. 67.

⁴ *Sent.*, v. 5a, 1. According to a fragment of municipal law (67 B.C.?) found in the environs of Este in 1880, the duumvir was able, in *actiones famose*, to deliver a formulary and appoint a judge or umpire when the interest at stake did not exceed 10,000 sesterces and the defendant agreed to it. Esmein, in the *Journal des Savants*, 1881, p. 123.

of the first century authorize the statement that the privileged cities of the provinces were, in respect of civil jurisdiction, in the condition brought about in the cities of Italy by what we know of the *lex Julia*. On the *Bronzes of Osuna* the powers of the duumvir are summed up by the juridical words which express the power of the Roman magistrate—*potestas* and *imperium*. The law of Malaga¹ declares, "Let the magistrate state the law and assign the judges." To the power which was recognized in him of preparing the sentence, a jurisconsult adds that of causing its execution;² in short we know that at Genetiva urban justice could punish with a fine of 100,000 sesterces the infraction of a municipal regulation.³

What legally remained to the governor in civil matters as regards privileged cities? The causes that parties brought by appeal to him, the processes relative to debts and municipal credits going beyond a certain total,⁴ and, lastly, the disputes which arose between two cities. Thus Trajan sent a legate extraordinary to Greece to fix the limits of the sacred territory of Delphi;⁵ another time he wrote to the proconsul of Achaia to examine into the difference between Lamia and Hypate and himself give a decision. For like cases the intervention of the sovereign power is still needful now-a-days.

These are then the various classes of boroughs which were

¹ Art. 65: . . . *jus dicito, judiciumque dato*. See p. 334, n. 5, the commentary of Ulpian on the powers of the *jus dicentis*. On the division of the process into two parts: the procedure *in jure* before the magistrate invested with jurisdiction, who fixed the subject of the pleading and indicated the line to be followed, and the procedure *in judicio* before judges whom he charged to hear the cause and pronounce the decision, see Keller, *De la procédure civile chez les Romains*, § 1, trans. Capmas.

² *Regiones dicimus intra quarum fines singularum coloniarum aut municipiorum magistratibus jus dicendi coercendique libera potestas* (Siculus Flaccus, *Gromat. Vet.*, ed. Lachmann, i. p. 135). Cf. the curious passage in Strabo on the election of the Lycian body of magistrates and judges (xiv. 3, 3).

³ In the third century Paulus still said in a general manner: *Apud magistratus munic., si habeant legis actionem, emancipari et manumitti potest* (*Sent.*, ii. 25, 4).

⁴ *Lex Mal.*, 69.

⁵ See *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 823. Vespasian charges his procurator in Corsica to fix the boundaries of the two communes and to send him for that purpose a surveyor, *mensorem* (Orelli, No. 4,031); Trajan does the same thing in Macedonia (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. 591), Hadrian in Thessaly (*ibid.*, 586), in Thrace (*ibid.*, 749); Claudius in the Tyrol (cf. the curious *Table de Cles*, found in 1869, edit. Dubois). The Republic had done the same. Cf. Or.-Henzen, Nos. 5,114 and 5,115.

pretty nearly autonomous in their internal administration,¹ and history, which exhibits the emperors' solicitude for the provinces, furnishes proof that in the time of the Early Empire these forms of freedom were generally respected.

As regards the criminal side, the texts of the third century inclose also in limits singularly confined the municipal jurisdiction. The duumvir or the edile had the right of pronouncing only a fine against the freeman, against the slave only a moderate chastisement.² These last words carry their date with them; they could have been written only after the Antonines: in fact, it is Ulpian who gives them. Quite different was the right in the Early Empire, and the difference of municipal liberties at the beginning and end of the period we are studying can be measured by placing in comparison the slave of which Cicero speaks, who was crucified after having had his tongue slit by order of the magistrates of an Apulian town,³ and the one of the third century on whom these same magistrates could inflict but a *modica castigatio*. The people of Minturnæ considered they had laid hold of a robber: they judge him, condemn him to death and to torture previously.⁴ Here see we the ancient jurisdiction; the new pronounces a fine.

In Italy the right of urban courts was in abeyance for crimes which the *questiones perpetue* punished. So in virtue of the Cornelian law *de sicariis*, Cluentius, of Larinum, in Apulia, could not be judged there where the crime had been perpetrated; the matter was brought to Rome before the "permanent commission."⁵

In the provinces the governor had criminal jurisdiction;⁶ but

¹ Bethmann-Hollweg (vol. i. § 18, p. 41) says of the Latin and federated cities: . . . *genossen sie übrigens vollkommene Autonomie, also eigne Gesetzgebung und Gerichte*. Cf. *Id.*, vol. ii. pp. 21 *et seq.* It is also the opinion of Kuhn. The *stipendiary* cities, which were least numerous, remained, it is needless to say, while they had their own laws and a certain jurisdiction, subject to the oversight and orders, *προστάσεις*, of the governors. The edict of Cicero for his government of Cilicia (*ad Attic.*, vi. 11, 15) shows to how many matters the proconsular authority applied in these cities.

² *Modica castigatio* (*Digest*, ii. 1, 12). On the subject of penalties, see later on.

³ *Pro Cluentio*, 64-66. Another example at Catana. Cf. Cicero, *Verr.* iv. 45.

⁴ Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 28. Cf. Livy, vii. 17, where two colonies wanted to put to death those of their citizens who had taken part in a war against Rome. I do not cite the example of Marius, who, being proscribed, could be killed anywhere.

⁵ Cic., *pro Cluentio*, 6. Polybius (vi. 13) proves the senate of his time to have been already capable of trying these crimes in whatever part of Italy they may have been committed.

⁶ *Mistum et merum imperium . . . Merum est imperium habere gladii potestatem in facinorosos homines*. Cf. Ulpian, in the *Digest*, ii. 1, 3.

he did not exercise it everywhere nor always to the same extent. In the first place, the city police was necessarily organized by the urban magistrates, for, all the military forces of the Empire being at the frontiers, the security of the interior still rested, as under the Republic, upon the vigilance of the local authorities.¹ Each city had its prison guarded by public slaves;² and in case of outbreak, misdemeanour, or of crime, the duumvirs shut up the accused in



Peristyle of the Questor's House at Pompeii.

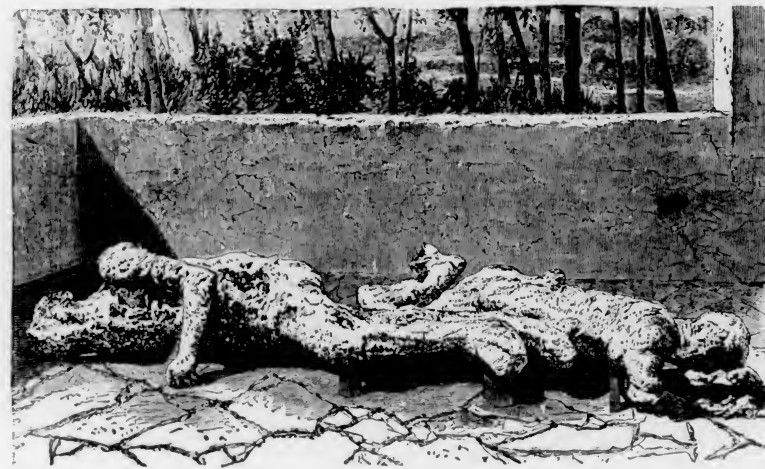
it; in that of Pompeii were found the remains of four unfortunates who were in fetters there at the time of the catastrophe. At Philippi, a Greek city and Roman colony, a disorder being created as a result of the preaching of Paul and Silas, the magistrate ordered them to be seized, beaten, and thrown into prison.³ Things happened in much the same way at Lyons respecting the trial of the Christians. But how far could the duumvirs conduct the matter? At Lyons, the residence of the governor, they made the

¹ Appian shows (*Bell. civ.*, iv. 28) the inhabitants of Minturnæ going in pursuit of the bandits on their territory, *ἐπὶ ζήτησει ληστῆριον . . . περιθόντων*.

² Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 40. These public slaves were in a peculiar condition: they could hold property and even make a will: *Servus publicus populi Romani partis dimidiæ testamenti faciendi jus habet* (Ulpian, *Reg.*, xx. 16).

³ *Acts*, xvi. 22-23.

preliminary inquiry, put the accused under preliminary detention, and awaited the chief of the province, for the question was a crime of high treason. At Jerusalem the proceedings go further, because the affair did not at first concern the Romans. The chief priests and elders had Jesus arrested, examined him, and condemned him to death, then they led him to Pilate that he might order the execution. The governor, who did not find in Jesus any breach of common law, replied to them: "Take this man and judge him



Corpses buried under the Ashes at Pompeii, and restored by means of liquid plaster poured into the vacuum caused by the destruction of the bodies.

according to your law." He recognized then their right to inflict a correctional punishment; but it was the death of Jesus which they were bent upon: "We have not the power," said they, "to put any man to death."¹ Then Pilate, to ascertain whether the sentence of the Sanhedrim was just, questions Jesus and asks: "Art thou the King of the Jews?" "Thou sayest that I am," he replies, adding that his kingdom was not of this world. The Roman did not understand the distinction, and this expression, "King of the Jews," constituting in his eyes a crime which was amenable to the law of high treason, he ratifies the condemnation.

The *Acts of the Apostles* confirm this procedure. On two

¹ Only S. John's Gospel contains this reservation, but the other narratives imply it.

occasions the priests ordered Peter and John to be imprisoned, then they met to pronounce judgment. The first time the fear of the people stopped them; the second, they were about condemning them to death when Gamaliel persuaded them to let the matter drop. Yet they released the prisoners only after having ordered them to be beaten with rods. Some months later Stephen was stoned without any mention in the *Acts* of the intervention of the procurator. Paul himself reminded the Jews of the part he took in the trial and execution: before his conversion he caused to be beaten in the synagogues those who believed in Jesus; he led them to prison and gave his vote against them when it was a question of punishing them with death. He adds: "I received authority from the chief priests." The latter even commissioned him to go to Damascus to seize the Jewish converts.¹ This mandate to bring to trial, delivered by the chiefs of the nation at Jerusalem, and to be executed a long distance from Judæa, proves, if it be authentic, that the emperors recognized in the Sanhedrim, over those of their own nation, rights of justice and repression remarkably extensive.

After the outbreak which took place in Jerusalem when the report had been spread that Paul had introduced Gentiles into the Temple, we see again appearing the right of the grand national council to institute a criminal process. The priests wanted to arrest the apostle and judge him; the Roman garrison interferes in the interests of public order, and Paul, snatched from the hands of the crowd, is sent to Cæsarea. The high priest Ananias and some elders follow him thither; they said to the procurator: "This man is a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition, who hath gone about to profane our temple. We took him to judge him according to our law."² Now the Jewish law punished with death profanators of the holy place; and in order that no one should be ignorant of it, the prohibition to strangers under penalty of death of entering the sacred precincts was written up in Greek and Hebrew on the peribolus which separated the court of the Jews from that of the Gentiles.

¹ "Saul is here," said a Christian of Damascus, "with authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on the name of Jesus" (*Acts*, ix. 1, 2 and 14).

² *Acts*, xxiii. and xxiv.

Paul possessed the freedom of the Roman city, which made the affair the more delicate; it dragged along for two years, the Jews continually demanding that the prisoner should be sent back to Jerusalem, as amenable to the tribunal of his nation and not to that of Rome. The procurator, whom this complicated case embarrassed, at last gave his consent;¹ Paul gained security by an appeal to Cæsar. If he had not possessed this right, all would have turned out as in the case of Jesus.

Thus, according to the *Gospels* and the *Acts*, the chiefs of the people at Jerusalem, when the person concerned was a Roman citizen, order arrests, cast into prison, beat with rods, and condemn to death, but handing over the condemned to the Roman officer, who verifies the reasons of the sentence, and if he finds it just proceeds to execution: it is the definitive judgment, for it has a sanction which the other had not—the punishment. The former was not less a real judgment, since, without the sentence of the national judges, Pilate would not have consented to the execution of Jesus.



Coin of Thermæ, the ancient Himera.²

The Areopagus of Athens had more liberty than the Jewish Sanhedrim: a man was accused on a false charge, it condemned him; a proconsul passing through the city, one of the proudest patricians of Rome, asked pardon for the condemned, but it was refused him.³ At Marseilles the judge sentenced to exile, which is a capital sentence.⁴ In Sicily the prætor himself wished to

¹ Cicero says, in *de Legibus*, iii. 3: *Quum magistratus judicasset, inrogassetque, per populum mulctæ, pænæ certatio esto.* Is it according to this principle that the procurator of Judæa, the emperor's representative, i. e., of the Roman people, fixes the penalty and orders the execution?

² Woman standing and sacrificing; to the right a satyr receiving the water which flows from a fountain; in the field a grain of barley. Tetradrachm of Himera or Thermæ Himærenses.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 55. The *crimen de falso* was one of the indictments which in Italy belonged to the jurisdiction of one of the *questiones perpetuæ*. Cicero recalls a sentence of exile pronounced at Athens (*Tusc.*, v. 37, 108); Demonax was there accused of impiety (Lucian, *Dem.*, 11). Dion, in his seventh oration, mentions, in a town of Eubœa, an assembly before which an inhabitant of the island was accused. According to the famous decree of Hadrian respecting the exportation of Attic oils, small infractions were adjudged by the *senate*, great ones by the *people*. (*C. I. G.*, No. 375.) If the process of the Athenians against Herodes Atticus was taken before the emperor (Philostratus, *Herodes*), it was because the former was a Roman senator.

⁴ Asconius, in *Milon.*, p. 54.

decide in a trial, for forgery of a public document, of a citizen of Thermæ: the accused refused. "The senate and Roman people," said he, "have restored their city to the Thermitans, as also their territory and their laws;" and he claimed to be judged by the magistrates according to his country's law.¹ Cheronæa does not seem to have been even reckoned amongst the privileged cities, yet its senate pronounced a capital sentence against one of its noblest citizens,² and when an Italian duumvir is seen, in order to increase the attraction of a festival which he gave the people, to cause four men to be thrown to the wild beasts,³ it would seem as if the one who had ordered the punishment had also pronounced the sentence. Appian has exhibited the magistrates of Minturnæ as condemning to torture and death. At Alexandria a revolt broke out against the prefect of Egypt, the most powerful and feared of the governors. It is not he who interferes: the municipal officers caused the offenders to be arrested, question them in the midst of the instruments of torture, discover the instigator of the disorder and hand him over to the public assembly. Some demand against him a decree of infamy; others, exile; the majority, death. He escaped it only by a precipitate flight.⁴

Only one fact more. In the *Tripolitana Regio* a quarrel arose between Leptis and Oea (70). Both sides armed and fought furiously as if two independent states. The people of Oea, beaten in a pitched battle,⁵ appealed for help, not to the Romans, who were far away, but to the Garamantes, who prowled around the frontiers. These nomads threw themselves into the territory of the conquerors, ravaged it, and the cohorts arrived from the province of Africa only to drive away these enemies of the Empire. Can one believe that the magistrates of these warlike towns sent across the desert, as far as Carthage, to the proconsul, the slave, the *humilior*, or the captive, whom they desired to have executed? After these facts and this evidence we shall not be astonished to read in Apuleius that a slave was crucified, a gardener executed,

¹ Cic., in *Verr.*, ii. 37.

² Plutarch, *Cimon*, 1 and 2.

³ . . . ob honorem quinq. spectaculum glad. triduo dedit et noxeos quattuor (Mömmesen, *Inscr. Neapol.*, No. 6,036).

⁴ Philo, in *Flacc.*

⁵ *Discordie quæ . . . jam per arma atque acies exercebantur* (Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 50).

a matron banished for perpetuity, by judgments of municipal officers, and that he himself, in the *ridiculous process*, believed himself on the point of being put to the torture and sent for punishment.¹ If this book by Apuleius is only a romance, yet we can hardly imagine that this advocate, the son of a duumvir, should have invented imaginary laws.

That these laws should have existed amongst privileged peoples, under one title or another, we cannot doubt. But, seeing that certain cities of France in the sixteenth century and certain English counties in the seventeenth were then in possession of the right of life and death,² we are the less astonished to come across the same right in the agglomeration of cities under diverse conditions which composed the Roman Empire.

The historians of this period took no notice either of punishments or of those who underwent them, when only unimportant persons were concerned. Yet a frightful total remains in Tacitus. When Claudius wished to give a *fête* on Lake Fucinus he brought from the provinces 19,000 convicts condemned to death. These were strong young men, since they were to contest as soldiers or oarsmen in a naval battle; it is therefore credible that they had left behind them in the prisons many like themselves, who had not been regarded as fit for the voyage or the *fête*. Had the governors made unaided the examinations in this large number of processes? Did they not need to be aided by the municipal magistrates to be equal to the task of causing order, security, and law to prevail, without a single soldier, in the midst of 100,000,000 men? Many peoples of whom Rome had asked only the surrender of their external sovereignty, all those cities which one regards as placed outside the Empire, must have for a long time preserved the activity of their tribunals. In the time of Marcus Aurelius a juriconsult said: "For certain crimes the punishment differs with

¹ *Met.*, lib. ix. *sub fine*, and x. *initio*. Plutarch (*Præc. pol.*, 19) speaks of a certain Petreus being burned alive by the Thessalians, but without saying whether it was the result of a judgment or a riot.

² The ordinance of Moulins, made out by l'Hôpital, recognized it as still theirs, and Loyseau is astonished at it (*Traité des seigneuries*, cap. xvi. § 80). In the reign of Charles II., in order to put an end to the Scotch marauders, the magistrates of Northumberland and Cumberland were authorized to raise companies of armed men, and the expenses were met by means of local rates. (Macaulay, *Hist. of Eng.*, cap. iii.) A similar evil necessitated, in the first century of the Empire, the same remedy.

the provinces."¹ These differences arose from local customs which the conqueror had respected. What wonder that he should have also respected some of the ancient powers which were derived from them! The principal function of the duumvirs, indicated by the very name of their office, *de jure dicundo*, was to administer justice and see their sentence carried out. In observing an obscure town, such as Genetiva, possessing the right of arming its inhabitants and investing the duumvir who commanded them with the powers possessed by the military tribune in the Roman army, that is to say, in certain circumstances, with the right of life and death over his soldiers and captives,² one cannot help believing that these magistrates had exercised all authority with the exception of the crimes the cognizance of which was reserved in Italy for the prætor of Rome, or in the provinces for the governors.³

Did the magistrates of the privileged cities act by virtue of a power of their own? Assuredly so in the free cities, since Athens, Alexandria, Haliartus, Thermæ, passed condemnation and had the sentence carried out for crimes provided for by the Cornelian laws. Similarly in the colonies, since by one of those changes so frequent at Rome, the judicial powers of the public assembly had been transferred by Augustus to the municipal senate.⁴ We

¹ Saturninus, in the *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 16, § 9.

² Art. 103. I am quite aware that Polybius (vi. 37, 8) confines himself to saying of the tribune: *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰστέροις καὶ ζήμιων ὁ χεῖρας καὶ ἐνέχυράων καὶ μαρτυρῶν*; but these are the rights of a time of peace. In war, in face of the enemy, a tribune at the head of an isolated detachment might be forced by circumstances to use the *jus gladii*, as in a similar case a colonel or even a captain would do so among us. Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 38) relates that M. Ennius, a simple præfect of the camp, caused two vexillarii to be killed to prevent a sedition, and declared that he would treat as deserters those who would not follow him, *bono magis exemplo quam concessio jure*, he says. The præfect of the camp was often only a *primipilus*. (Orelli, Nos. 3,449, 3,509, etc.)

³ Bethmann-Hollweg (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 24) ascribes to the Italian duumvirs, according to the *lex Julia*, the entire criminal jurisdiction, except for crimes punished by the Cornelian laws and of which before these the senate took cognizance. The *questiones perpetue* (*Hist. of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 318) first of all succeeded to this jurisdiction, which passed under the Empire to the præfects of the city and of the prætorium, and to the consulars of the different regions. We read in the *Digest*, i. 18, 10-11: *Omnia provincialis desideria que Romæ varios judices habent ad officium præsidium pertinent*. According to Gaius (*Comm.*, i. 6) the governor has in his own province the same jurisdiction as the two prætors in the city.

⁴ The celebrated inscription on the altar of Augustus at Narbonne (Orelli, No. 2,489) records that this prince *judicia plebis decurionibus conjunxit*; the fact could not be an isolated one. According to another interpretation Augustus might simply have added to the decurions, for trials, a certain number of plebeians, as he had done at Rome by creating the *decuria* of the *ducenarii*.

have seen that at Genetiva the duumvirs had the *imperium* and the *poteestas*,¹ doubtless with the obligation, as at Jerusalem, of referring to the governor for execution and with the right of appeal.² Lastly, the Roman magistrate often delegated his right to judge;³ an article of the *Bronzes of Osuna*⁴ declares that this delegation will be made to those only who have in the colony the right to administer justice, *i.e.*, to the duumvir or edile.

In the matter of jurisdiction it is therefore necessary to conceive the Roman province as divided into two different domains, the frontiers of which, though often confounded by the Republican proconsuls, were habitually respected by the imperial lieutenants: on the one hand, the provincial soil, the actual property of the Roman people, in which the full powers of the governor were exercised;⁵ on the other, the lands of the privileged cities, where its absolute authority was limited by treaties and the immunities recognized as belonging to these peoples. On the former of these domains the governor decided all affairs of importance;⁶ on the second, in criminal matters, we think that he had, in the colonies,

¹ *Bronzes of Osuna*, cap. cxxv. The *imperium*, which was conferred at Rome by a *lex curiata*, had been given to the magistrates of the colony *jussu C. Cesaris dicti*. As regards the persons designated in cap. cxxvii, I believe it refers to Roman magistrates temporarily at Genetiva or who had come to that colony to try reserved cases; the hypothesis offered on this point by Mommsen seems, therefore, useless.

² Plutarch, blaming a tendency which already showed itself in his time of having recourse to governors even for small matters, adds that this is to remove all authority from the senate, the people, the tribunals, *ἐκαστήρια*, and the magistracies. (*Præc. polit.*, 19.) Nevertheless, he recommends his politician to have recourse to the Roman magistrate for scandalous suits, *ἐκαὶ ἀρεπνῆς*, which might disturb the city, in order to remove from the authors of the proposition the desire of persevering in it. (*Ibid.*, 25.)

³ *Mandata jurisdictione*. It is discussed at length in the *Digest*, i. 21, 1, and ii. 1, 16-17. The jurisdiction originating from a law, a senatus-consultum, or an imperial constitution, could not be delegated unless from absence, *si abesse cæperit*; *quæ vero jure magistratus competant, mandari possunt*. "I have often heard it remarked by our prince," writes Julianus, "that the governor himself is not compelled to judge. It is for him to decide whether he will conduct the trial or appoint a judge." (*Digest*, i. 18, 8-9.) See in vol. iii. p. 735, the judicial organization at Rome. Outside Italy the judges selected by the governor were taken from the members of the *conventus* and the notables of the province, *i.e.*, the decurions and the duumvirs, in *albo decurionum*, says Keller (edit. Capmas, p. 41). This form of procedure, *judicium privatum*, lasted a long time, but judgment *extra ordinem* will finally become the rule; in Diocletian's time, the revolution will be accomplished.

⁴ Chap. xciv.

⁵ *Amplissimum jus* (Gaius, *Comm.*, i. 6).

⁶ Both for civil and criminal. See the enumeration made by Cicero (*ad Attic.*, vi. 1, 15). Claudius had even given to the governors the special jurisdiction of trusts. (Cf. Suet., *Claud.*, 23; Gaius, ii. 278.) The title *de officio præsidis* in the *Digest* (i. 18) is applicable for the first two centuries only to the stipendiary cities.

the municipia, and the Latin cities, only the cases reserved by the Cornelian laws, the examination of capital sentences passed by the duumvirs, the appeal from all others, and recourse to his court by the cities or private persons.

The writings of the juriconsults of the Early Empire which might have enabled us to know its administrative system being lost, a good deal of difficulty remains on this question, and we must be satisfied with but a glimpse of certain matters. Yet let two political treatises of Plutarch,¹ a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius, be read, and there will be found in them, in the midst of melancholy regrets for a lost independence, the proofs of a very active municipal life. The discourses of Dion Chrysostom show the interior life of cities under the same aspect.

The municipal town had its special religion as well as its system of justice, its administration, and its finances. Its priests, pontiffs, flamens, augurs, were as freely chosen as its magistrates,² but were not annual as they were; and if the local divinities had consented to share their altars with the gods of Rome, they kept the affections of the inhabitants, who were obstinately attached to the national worship, the ancient festivals, to all, in fact, of earth or of heaven, which recalled the remembrance of their ancestors and their old independence. The city consequently formed a complete whole, having all the necessary organs for its multifold functions and in which the first principle of life was liberty.

These cities were not, like ours, kept carefully isolated. The provincial assembly brought together their deputies³ every year; some had besides close relations with their neighbours. They mutually contracted bonds of public hospitality, which constituted reciprocal rights, or they were associated for some common

¹ The *Præcepta politica* and *an seni gerendasit*, etc.

² In the colony of Apulum (Carlsburg) the sacerdotal body was composed of a pontiff, an augur, a flamen, an aruspex, and some augustals (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. p. 183). At Genetiva (cap. xci.) the pontiffs and augustals were chosen like the decurions. At Vienne the flamen was nominated by the curiæ (Henzen, No. 5,996, and Herzog, Nos. 504, 518). The priestly office in the municipalities and colonies was perpetual, and it seems, according to certain inscriptions, that the dignity of pontiff exceeded in dignity that of flamen and augur. In the inscription of Orelli, No. 2,298, the office of aruspex is held by a freedman already *sevir Aug.*: it was therefore of an inferior order. That of flamen was also bestowed on women: *Flaminica Aug., Hera*, etc.

³ See several examples of these associations in Herzog, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

work,¹ or for games or festivals. Eleven Lusitanian cities built the bridge of Alcantara, which is still standing,² and a number of inscriptions show cities bearing the expense of making roads useful to all. The three colonies of Cirta³ formed with their metropolis an actual State, in which the municipal ædile was invested with the powers granted to the Roman quaestor in the proconsular provinces.⁴ The twenty-three towns of the Lycian confederacy were a sort of federal republic and we know, besides the confederation of the three great cities of the region of the Syrtes, a *tripolis* in the isle of Lesbos,⁵ a *tetrapolis* in Phrygia, a *pentapolis* in Thrace,⁶ etc.

Now we know enough, and that alone concerns political history, to have the right of regarding the Early Empire not as a State in the modern sense of the word, with officials everywhere present, acting always and everywhere in the same manner, but as an aggregation of republican communities which, subjected to one central power as regards political sovereignty and imposts, were not as yet subjected to a meddling administration; and which, in the habitual course of things, managed according to their understanding their internal affairs: the boroughs and colonies with greater liberty, the stipendiary cities with less, the free and federated cities with a real independence. Doubtless in this society, where public law was ill-defined, the princes had preserved over the whole Empire that lofty guardianship which the senate had formerly reserved over Italy, and which, at certain moments, must have singularly restrained the liberty of the cities.⁷ Without

¹ Orelli, No. 156. One of these inscriptions of Trajan's time (*C. I. L.*, v. 875) runs: . . . *ut incolæ muneribus nobiscum fungantur.*

² *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. 759. We have given this bridge, vol. iv. p. 801.

³ L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, Nos. 2,296, and 2,529-30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. 2,172-3, 2,325, etc. Cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vol. i. pp. 65 *et seq.*

⁵ Perrot, *Mém. d'archéol.*, p. 174.

⁶ This *pentapolis* became a *hexapolis* after Hadrian by the addition of a sixth city. (*Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 192 and 447.)

⁷ According to Polybius (vi. 13, 4) the jurisdiction of the senate over Italy was exercised in clearly determined cases: treason, conspiracy, murder, poisoning, and in others, which, on the contrary, were very vague . . . *εἰ τις ιδιώτης ἢ πόλις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, διαλύσεως, ἢ ἐπιτιμίας, ἢ βοηθείας, ἢ φυλακῆς προσεῖται, τούτων πάντων ἐπιμέλεις ἴσθι τῇ συγκλήτῃ.* The imperial administration had certainly preserved these habitudes of republican administration. These were the *royal cases* of our ancient monarchy. So, by virtue of a domainal right or of high police, the senate in its provinces, the emperor in his, conceded to particular persons the privilege of opening public markets, which were held twice a month. (Frontinus, in the *Gromatici* of Lachmann, p. 53; Pliny, *Epist.*, v. 4; Suet., *Claud.*, 12; *Digest*, l. ii. fr. 1, and *Code*, iv. 60. Cf. L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 4,111, and Wilmanns, *Ephem. epigr.*, vol. ii.

doubt, also, two things sometimes came into conflict, as may be the case in all periods—right and fact. At wide intervals a bad governor trod upon the liberties of the citizens and a good prince would appear to forget them, by appointing a commissioner extraordinary to correct the abuses of a province.¹ We have especially brought to mind these violations or this momentary forgetfulness of right; it is the right itself which we have sought to establish, and this examination shows that the Roman people had known how to solve, at least in the first organization of its Empire, the difficult problem of harmonizing a monarchical government with local liberties, and very strong central power with a number of cities habitually very free.

Later on we shall deduce the consequences of this fact as regards the general history of the Empire; but let us enter one of these cities—Salpensa, Malaga, or Genetiva Julia, since a stroke of fortune has helped us to recover a part of what one might call the charter of these three cities. Except some differences of detail arising from local usages, these laws would reproduce, if we possessed them in their entirety, the general principles of municipal legislation at the end of the first century of the Empire.

II.—INTERIOR OF A ROMAN CITY: THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY, THE CURIA, THE MAGISTRATES.

The organs of municipal life which the Græco-Latin antiquity had everywhere established, viz.: the general assembly of the people or the sovereign, the senate or the deliberative body, and the magistracy or executive power, existed in our three cities. There were found also in them the two fundamental principles of the political organization of ancient Rome—the duality of powers

p. 274.) By virtue of the same right, the senate had fixed the interest of money at 4 per cent. per month in Cilicia, and Cicero, ignorant of this senatus-consultum, had made it 1 per cent. (*Ad Attic.*, v. 21.)

¹ As Pliny was sent into Bithynia and Maximus to Achaia, *ad ordinandum statum liberarum civitatum* (*Epist.*, viii. 24). (Cf. L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 1,812.) Wescher (*Delphes*, pp. 22-3), and Orelli-Henzen, cite other examples (Nos. 2,273, 6,450, 6,483-4, 6,506). These *missi dominici* were, however, sent to correct abuses, not to suppress ancient liberties. Trajan says this expressly to Pliny: . . . *sciant hoc, quod inspecturus es, ex mea voluntate, salvis quæ habent privilegiis, esse facturum* (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 57), and Pliny repeats this to Maximus (viii. 24).

and the right of *intercession*, i.e., of appeal to an equal or superior magistrate.

The assembly was divided into tribes and curiae,¹ one of which, drawn by lot, included the *incolæ* who had the freedom of Rome or the *jus Latii*.² This one made the elections, voted on the propositions presented by the magistrates, and ratified the decrees prepared by the decurions. Was it a question of renewing the administration of the city: the eldest of the duumvirs presided. He received the declaration of the candidates and to each of them addressed the questions which seem taken from the Julian law³ as regards age, character, and antecedents.

The president made certain also that the candidate had the requisite amount of property required for entrance to the senate and a sufficient fortune for covering the liabilities in the exercise of his functions. At Malaga, the duumvirs and quaestors must furnish guarantees (*prædes*) that they have property. The *Bronzes of Osuna* require this property to be in the city or its environs.⁴ If the candidates are fewer in number than the places to be provided for, the president of his own accord proposes them, but the citizens liable to bear this costly honour⁵ have the right of naming

¹ At Beyrouth the curia was subdivided into thirty. (L. Renier, *Bibl. de l'École des hautes études*, vol. xxxv. p. 302.) Certain cities even had the division into *seniores* and *juniores*: at Lambessa, for instance. (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, Nos. 1,525, 3,096, etc.) It is probable that there were also classes determined by a property qualification (cf. Cicero, *in Verr.*, ii. 55), and one of the questions put to the candidate proves that precautions had been taken, as in republican Rome, to annul the vote of the poor man.

² This arrangement no longer leaves any doubt on the authenticity of the passage so much disputed in Livy, xxv. 3: . . . *ubi Latini suffragium ferrent*.

³ In cap. viii., in which are mentioned the cases of disqualification for the decurionate, with a penalty of 50,000 sesterces to the people's profit, pronounced against those who offered themselves for election when they belonged to those disqualified.

⁴ *Lex Malac.*, 57 and 60, and *Bronzes d'Osuna*, cap. xci. The *prædes* were subjected to all the rigour of execution without trial, which constituted a very easy and sure form of obligation for the municipium, but very hard on the debtor. (P. Dareste, *des Contrats d'État en droit rom.*, p. 56.)

⁵ We see that at Malaga, just as in Bithynia, there were persons who *inviti fiunt decuriones*. (*Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 810.) Ulpian indirectly repeats the same thing in the *Digest*, l. 2, § 8, and Papirius Justus cites on this matter a rescript of Marcus Aurelius (*ibid.*, l. 1, § 8, 6). This does not mean that in the first and second centuries persons were already escaping municipal functions. Some did so, as is the case often among us, from a desire for quiet and contempt for popularity; others, not to risk their fortune. Thus, under Tiberius, an Alexandrian complains, on account of the insufficiency of his property, that the management of the gymnasium was imposed on him. (Philo, *in Flacc.*, trad. Delaunay, p. 247.) But the participation of the rich in civic administration was a necessity by reason of the onerous obligations which the magistracies imposed, and the law must have foreseen the abstention of

others fulfilling the required conditions; after which all the names are posted up in a place where the people can read them.¹ The Julian law required in addition three years' service in the legionary cavalry or six in the infantry. The limitation must have disappeared after the establishment of the standing army, but all the others were kept and no fresh regulations were introduced to restrict the choice.

The candidature once made public, the candidate had need to watch over his conduct. He was interdicted, under a penalty of 5,000 sesterces, from giving, or allowing to be given, any public festivities during the year preceding the election,² or even of inviting to his house more than nine persons at one time, and he must have invited them only the evening before.³

At length the day of election arrives, and the president calls the citizens to vote. Each curia has a special inclosure where the voters deposit their voting paper, *tabella*, in a basket held by three citizens of a different curia who have sworn to receive the votes and count them faithfully. First they vote for the nomination of the duumvirs, then the aediles, last the quaestors; and the president calls out the names of those who have secured the majority of votes. Five days after, the elected in the presence of the assembly take the oath of obedience to the laws and of watching over all the interests of the city: "I swear by Jupiter and the divine Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus, by the Genius of Domitian Augustus and by the Penates to carry out exactly whatever this law and the interests of the city require, nor knowingly to do anything by deceit or fraud which may be contrary to it; to prevent as much as in me lies others from doing so, and to give no counsel or opinion except in conformity to this law and

those who did not wish to perform civic duties, *munus capere*. Yet the great severities belong to a time when Christianity made a void in the curia, because it was not possible to be a Christian and also a magistrate assisting at pagan rites. We have remarked that in the Early Empire the conditions of fitness for the decurionate were numerous; the causes of excuse rare; the exemptions but little desired. (Houdoy, *de la Condition des villes chez les Romains*, p. 247.)

¹ *ut de plano recte legi possint* (*Lex Malac.*, 51). This right of the president to nominate candidates for municipal offices was indeed an old Roman custom, and it paved the way for this, that later on the curiae will have to make the nominations themselves, the people having nothing else to do than confirm the election by acclamation.

² *Bronzes d'Osuna*, cap. cxxxii.

³ According to the law *Tullia*, carried at Rome by Cicero, these prohibitions lasted two years, as long as the *petitio*.

the interest of the city." The one who did not take this oath was condemned in a penalty of 10,000 sesterces to the profit of the citizens.¹

If any troubles prevented the regular holding of the comitia, a law Petronia, otherwise unknown, authorized the decurions to name prefects in lieu of duumvirs.²

These honours were by no means gratuitous;³ the newly-elected had to pay into the treasury "the honorary sum," often doubled by those who wished to do the thing grandly.⁴ This sum, which the flamens, pontiffs, and augurs also paid, did not cease to be important; there are instances that sometimes it reached thirty, forty, or even fifty-five thousand sesterces, without speaking of games and works of utility or embellishment for the city on which these new state officers spent a good deal. A lady of Calama, in Numidia, elected priestess for life, gave 400,000 sesterces for the erection of a theatre,⁵ and Dion Chrysostom reminds his fellow-citizens that his grandfather, his father, and himself had, in their turn, compromised their fortunes in the offices which they had held. But then what honour and respect surrounded them!

As electoral power the public assembly was moreover the living representation of municipal sovereignty, and, under this title, was consulted regarding all the measures which arose from customary order. A number of Greek and Latin inscriptions mention the consent of the people, *ἐῆμος*, even of the plebs,⁶ to

¹ *Lex Malac.*, 59.

² Orelli, No. 3,679, and *lex Salp.*, cap. xxiv.

³ Unless the curia should have decided that it should be so, *duumviratus gratuitus datus a decurionibus* (Mommson, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 2,096, and many others); but this exemption was the recompense for great services or previous acts of liberality which gave promise of others in the future. On the *honorarium*, see L. Renier, *Archives des Missions*, vol. iii. p. 319.

⁴ A large number of inscriptions mention this usage. M. L. Renier has collected a good many of them in Numidia and the two Mauretanas. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 113, 114, and Fronto, *ad Amic.*, ii. 6, who, while speaking of the sums spent by Volumnius to obtain the decurionate, show that this office was still, in Marcus Aurelius's time, much sought after, since it was bought dearly and caused much distress when lost. See in the *Digest*, the title *de Sollicitationibus*, where the free gifts of the magistrates are treated of.

⁵ Henzen, No. 6,001. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 48. At Diana the dignity of flamen cost 10,000 sesterces; at Lambessa, 4,000; at Verecunda, 2,000 (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, *sub. voc.*); 10,000 sesterces were paid at Ciria for each of the three magistracies—aedile, triumvir, and quinquennial. (L. Renier, 1832, 1835-6).

⁶ *Consensus plebis*, at Tuficum (Or.-Henzen, No. 7,170); at Narbonne (No. 2,489). The *cenotaphia Pisana* show the people of Pisa passing a decree in favour of the grandsons of Augustus.

propositions made by the curia: the choice of a patron for the city, honours to be given to a citizen, a statue to be erected to some benefactor of the city,¹ etc. In certain cities, as Athens, Alexandria, the public assembly preserved even the judicial power.² At Rome the words *Senatus populusque Romanus* were nothing more than a polite formula having regard to defunct powers; in the municipalities the motto *Ordo et populus* was still a reality.

But what was a municipal senate, the curia, or, as it was already styled, the *splendilissimus ordo*?³

In the colonies founded by the Roman people or in its name, the persons to whom the law, and later on the prince, gave the duty of dividing the lands among the colonists, themselves nominated the decurions, augurs, and pontiffs of the new city.⁴ This senate was afterwards filled up from the magistrates retired from office,⁵ from those whose names the quinquennals inscribed in the *album* drawn up every five years. For the last a simple condition had to be fulfilled: they must have the senatorial property qualification, which at Como was 100,000 sesterces.⁶ Besides, custom required of them liberality towards their colleagues, *sportula*.

The council, customarily made up of a hundred members,⁷ but more in number in the large cities, especially in the East, and of fewer in the small,⁸ was called the curia, whence the name of the councillors, the decurions, who assumed also, like the senators of

¹ Cf. Orelli, at Histonium (No. 2,603); at Arretium (No. 2,182); at Sassina (No. 2,220); at Beneventum (No. 3,763), etc., etc. The *Bronzes d'Osuna* (cap. cxxxiv.) interdict magistrates in office from asking these marks of honour from the curia.

² See above, p. 342; similarly at Bantia, *Tab. Bantina*, § 3, but this law is ancient, being probably of the time of the Gracchi.

³ Orelli, No. 139, and *passim*.

⁴ So at Capua, according to the agrarian law of Rullus (Cic., *de Lege agr.*, ii. 35). According to an opinion given by Pomponius, the decurions had been, at the beginning, the tenth part of the colonists who had founded the colony. (*Digest*, l. 16, 239, § 5.)

⁵ Decree of the decurions of Tergeste, about the year 159 according to J. C. Wilmanus, No. 693: . . . *prout qui meruissent vita atque censu per edilitalis gradum in curiam nostram admitterent*.

⁶ Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 19; and, perhaps, Catullus, xxiii.

⁷ Cic., *de Lege agr.*, ii. 35; Orelli, Nos. 108, 3,448, etc.; de Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*. The number of decurions must have increased when the popular assembly disappeared. The *lex Julia mun.* kept the number of senators always the same, by authorizing new nominations only to replace those deceased or those who had been expelled after condemnation.

⁸ Kuhn, *die Städt. Verfass.*, i. 247, and Or.-Henzen, Nos. 4,034, 6,999. The *Tabula Heracleens.* (cap. v.) prohibits exceeding the prescribed number.

Rome, the title of conscript fathers¹ and kept it, as they also did, during their life, unless the *quinquennalis* or censor excluded them from the council by omitting their name from the *album*.

The senate of Rome admitted the children of senators and of knights of the highest rank; the sons of the decurions and some rich young men, *prætextati*, were admitted also to the municipal curia.² This was to give them opportunity and leisure for hearing the debates previous to taking part in them, and studying state business before transacting it: they had no deliberative voice till twenty-five years of age. But in the case of rich young men of whom liberal gifts were expected, honours were often granted in advance of their years. At Ascoli a *prætextatus* of nineteen was augur and patron of the colony—a useful act of flattery which levied a tax on vanity and was otherwise harmless, for in its discussions with men the city had other patrons;⁴ and in its affairs with the gods it felt no concern to see them in the hands of a minor.



Decurions' Coin.³

The decurions wore distinctive marks which entitled them to public consideration;⁵ and at the theatre, the festivals, the games, they sat apart from the common people.⁶ Some of those also who did not fulfil the conditions required for the decurionate, rich freedmen, for example, sought to obtain by services done to the city these *ornamenta*, a sort of civic decoration. Emulation among the citizens was thus aroused and municipal life had more vigour.

Like our municipal councils, the curia deliberated on all questions concerning the city or its territory. It passed decrees, and Hadrian had ordered obedience to them.⁷ It settled the

¹ *Lex Malac.*, *passim*. The inscription in Orelli, No. 3,796, runs thus: *vir patribus et plebi gratus*; and Orelli adds: *Decuriones . . . patres videntur se interdum vocasse*. Cf. Cic., in *Verr.*, ii. 49, the *Tabula Heracl.* (lin. 85–86), and the *Index* of Or.-Henzen.

² See the *Album* of Canusium (*Inscr. Neap.*, No. 635).

³ EX CONSENSU D. (ex consensu decurionum) C. C. I. B. (*Colonia Campestris Julia Babba*). Babba, according to Pliny, was a Roman colony founded by Augustus in Mauretania, 40 miles from Lixus, with the surname Julia Campestris. Bronze with the figure of Æsculapius.

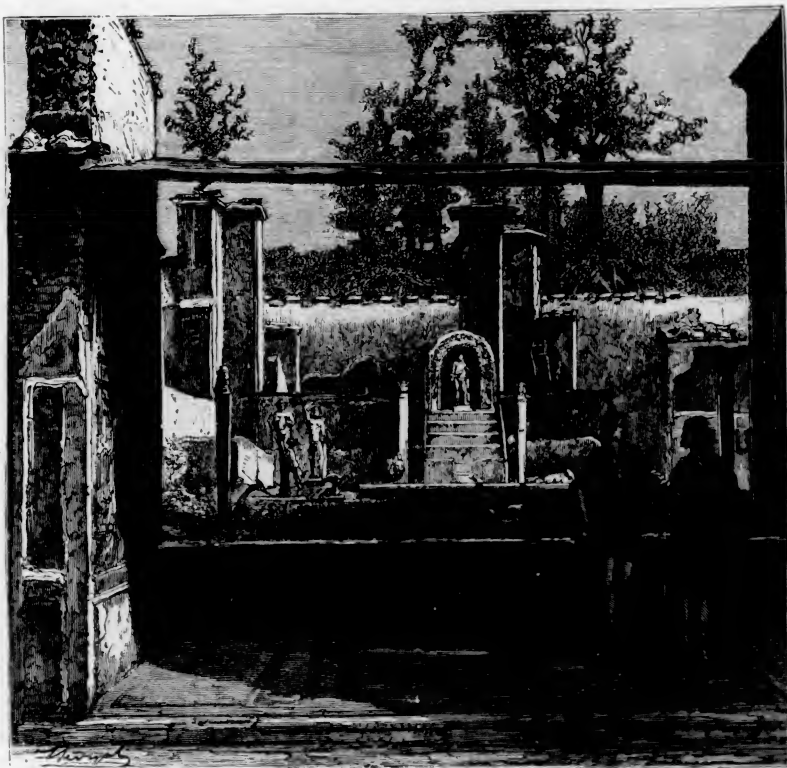
⁴ Orelli, Nos. 3,768 and 3,765.

⁵ *Ornamenta decurionalia* (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 1,529; Henzen, Nos. 7,006, 6,323, 6,111, 5,231, etc.).

⁶ *Bronzes d'Osuna*, capp. cxxvi. and cxxvii.

⁷ *Quod semel ordo decrevit non oportere id rescindi*; but he added, *nisi ex causa, id est, si ad publicam utilitatem respiciat rescissio prioris decreti* (*Digest*, l. 9, 5). Thus we see, in this

budget, after having appointed a commission to examine the accounts,¹ caused to be sold, when needful, the securities and pledges lodged in the municipal coffers, disposed of the common



House of a Decurion of Pompeii (Lucretius, Flamen of Mars and Decurion).

fund,² and nominated the priests.³ Its liberty of action was great, for its resolutions needed not the sanction of the governor of the province, who, however, had power to annul any decisions contrary to the prerogatives of the superior authority.⁴ The curia

single expression, the ancient right of the municipal liberties, and the new right, which was about to prevail, of the absolute dependence of the municipalities.

¹ *Lex Malac.*, 63, 67, 68.

² *Ibid.*, 62-64.

³ Herzog, 504, 518.

⁴ *Ambitiosa decreta decurionum rescindi debent* (Ulpian, in the *Digest*, l. 9, 4, and *Code*, x. 46, 2). This is the idea of Hadrian's rescript.

was thus in each city the deliberative power. It possessed more clearly defined powers than we can assign either to the executive power or to the judicial authority. Thus, as heads of the great municipal family, the decurions could, in certain clearly marked cases, name the guardian whom the magistrates appointed for



The Theatre at Pompeii.

wards,¹ and see to the forms of enfranchisement being carried out when the master of a slave was not twenty years of age.² Later on they will receive the documents and guarantee their validity. They took up land and houses for public uses, regulated compulsory labour for works in the city and the reparation of the roads,³ and

¹ *Lex Salp.*, 29.

² *Ibid.*, 28.

³ M. Giraud (*Bronzes d'Osuna*, p. 12) considers "that the law of 1836 was not better framed for our parish roads" than the regulation at Osuna (cap. lxlvi.). The payment in labour ought not to exceed, yearly, five working days for an adult male (from 40 to 60 years of age) and three days for each waggon team. Chapter lxlx. contains a law of expropriation for the sake of public utility. This text seems to me to solve the question so often debated respecting expropriation as existent among the Romans. Absolute respect for Quiritary proprietorship was the ancient principle (Cic., in *Rull.*, i. 5; *de Off.*, ii. 21, and the edict of Venafrum, Or.-Henzen, No. 6,423); moreover, Lic. Crassus was able to prevent a public aqueduct passing across his property (Livy, xl. 51). But the idea of the *State* and of the rights that its requirements created became so comprehensive that the rule had to yield, even at Rome. (Cf. *Revue de lég.*, 1860, p. 97, and P. Dareste, *op. cit.*, p. 40.) Outside Italy, the Roman people being the head-landlord over provincial soil, the emperor could expropriate without indemnity. (*Digest*, xxi. 2, 11, pr., and vi. 1, 15, § 2.) As regards cities whose public works were considerable, they could not have executed them unless the regulation of Osuna had been general. Ulpian shows (in *Digest*, viii. 4, 13, § 1) that by the side of the principle there was *custom*, and we must conclude from Frontinus that he was paid an indemnity.

decreed honours to those citizens who had deserved well of their country, or the erection of monuments for the adornment of the city: a number of inscriptions bear these words: "Erected by a decree of the decurions." After each election they examined acts of unworthy conduct or pleas of excuse of the elected, a right which will later on pass to the central power, but which permitted the decurions in the first two centuries (of our era) to rescind the choice of the people. There was an appeal to them against penalties fixed by the aediles and duumvirs,¹ which raised the curia above the magistrates; and to oblige the latter to call an extraordinary meeting, the demand on the part of one member was sufficient.² Lastly, at Osuna, where the curia seems, as it were, the old senate of Rome transferred to a little town, the decurions could call the citizens and residents to arms for the defence of the territory; lead them into the field, *armatos educere*, under a duumvir or a prefect; furnish instructions to this general and invest him, for sake of discipline, with the rights possessed by a military tribune of a Roman legion. We have no other example of a similar arrangement in our fragments of municipal laws, which are indeed so scanty; but there is no reason for supposing that it was special to this small Spanish city. This right of high control, so necessary for the security of the inhabitants, must doubtless have been recognized, in the earliest times, as belonging to the municipal senates of all the important cities, with the reservation of answering to the supreme authority respecting the purpose and for the results of taking up arms, as was the case at Vienne and Pompeii. The legions ranged along the frontier would, without this precaution, have delivered up the interior of the Empire to bandits and the coast to pirates, while the Germans and Sarmatians, Arabs and Moors, breaking through the intervals between the camps, would have desolated the provinces within.³

The chairmanship of the curia belonged of right to the magistrate highest in dignity, and this president had the privileges that the *lex Julia* assigned to him.⁴ He made known the business

¹ *Lex Malac.*, cap. lxvi.

² *Bronzes d'Osuna*, cap. lxvi.

³ See the *Mém. de l'Acad. des insér.*, vol. xxix. 2nd part, for my paper on the *Tribuni militum a populo*.

⁴ *Senatum habere, sententiam rogare, ire jubere, sinere*, etc. The inhabitants of Aritium

of the meeting, then each senator, in order of rank, gave his advice either by speech or in writing, and the decisions were arrived at by the majority of votes; yet in some places, or in certain cases, to make the action taken valid, the presence of two-thirds at least of the decurions was required,¹ a regulation which appears in the *Digest* as the general rule.

The highest magistrates of the city formed in the colonies two colleges, the duumvirs and the aediles; in the municipia, one only, that of the quatuorvirs.² The quaestors came next. All were elected for a year and were eligible for re-election after an interval which, at Malaga, was five years. The duumvirs convoked the assembly of the people and the curia, over which they presided. Being executive officers of the municipal senate, they administered under its control the city and its territory, which was almost always of considerable extent, for the rural communes, *vici*, *castella*, were, for the census, imposts, and jurisdiction, dependent on the chief place. Thus on Nîmes were dependent twenty-four *oppida* or large villages,³ on Genoa five *castella*; the whole of Helvetia, which, before the war against Caesar, reckoned 400 *vici* and twelve *oppida*, formed, under Augustus, but one city, and the three Gallie

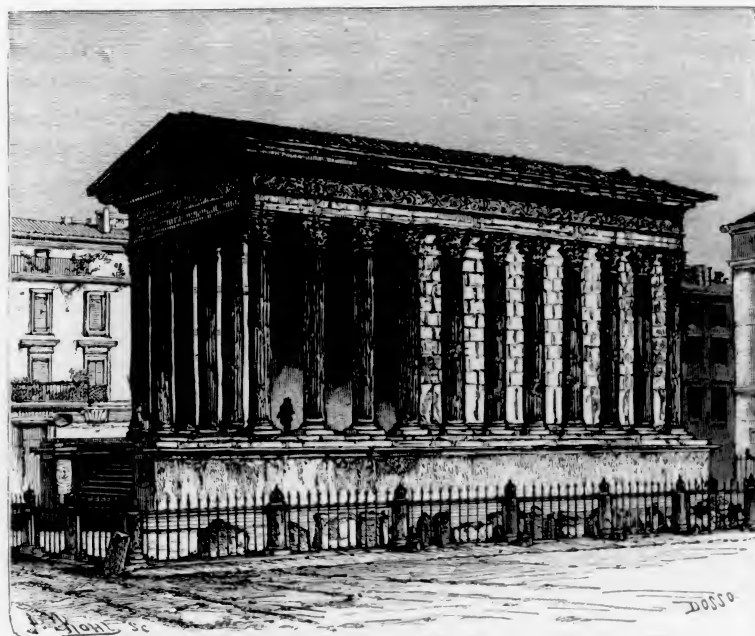
take oath to pursue by land and sea, *armis bello internecivo*, by a war of extermination, Caligula's enemies. An interested oath, which yet proves that this people had arms and would have gone forth to war like that of Osuna.

¹ Thus at Venafrum: . . . *cum non minus quam duae partes decurionum adfuissent* (*Edict of Augustus*, in Henzen, No. 5,428); at Malaga, under Domitian (capp. lxi. lxiv. etc. Cf. *Digest*, iii. 4, 3 and 4; l. 9, 4; and *Col. Theod.*, xii. 4, 84). [A very large *quorum*, which proves good attendance.—*Ed.*]

² In Lower Moesia and Numidia the free towns had duumvirs (L. Renier, *Inscr. de Troesmis*, p. 7): a new proof of the want of uniformity which is asserted for so many things. The inscriptions of the Narbonaise contain the following magisterial titles: *duumviri, quattuorviri, praetores IIviri, praetores IIIviri, IIviri aerarii, IIIviri ab aerario, aediles, quaestores, praefecti vigillum et armorum, triumviri locorum publicorum persequendorum* (Herzog, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-4). An inscription of Vienne (Isère) proves that the municipal magistrates had *scribae, praefones, lictores, viatores*, and *statores*. (L. Renier, *Mém. de l'Acad. des insér.*, vol. xxvii. part 1, p. 8.) The superior magistracies were called *honores*, and the expression *magistratus* was kept for the duumvirs.

³ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, iii. v. The *vici* or *κῶμαι* had special administrators, *magistri praefecti*. (Cf. the *Index* of Henzen, p. 163.) They could be raised to the condition of a *civitas* (Waddington, *Voyage de Lebas*, vol. iii. p. 257), and a city was sometimes reduced to the state of *vicius*. Thus Septimius Severus made Byzantium, which had sided with Niger, a town of the territory of Perinthus. (Dion, lxxiv. 14.) The *lex Rubria* and the *lex Julia municipalis* mention in Italy three sorts of cities or communes having their own administration and jurisdiction: free towns, colonies, *praefecturae*, and four sorts of towns, *vici*, *castella*, *fora*, *conciabula*, territories which were put under them for administration and justice. Certain *vici* were the property of a single person. (Cic., *ad Fam.*, xiv. 1.) More frequently it was a union of private

provinces had only sixty; so that the division of France into dioceses has for a long time corresponded to the division of Roman Gaul into cities: the bishopric of Tours and Touraine has the same limits as the *civitas Turonensis*.¹



Temple called the *Maison Carrée*, at Nîmes.

The duumvirs could contract in the name of the city and, in case of need, appear in court for it by the intervention of a *syndicus* or *actor* whom the curia regularly nominated.² Certain acts, as emancipation, adoption, and manumission,³ had to be

estates, *fundi*. (Desjardins, *Table alimentaire de Veleia*, pp. xliii. et seq.) Ordinarily the landed proprietors lived in the city, while their colonists, established on the land, cultivated it. The *vicani* had, however, their gods, altars, sacrifices (*sacra*), their *comitia*, their own revenues, since they could buy and sell (*C. I. L.*, vol. i. No. 603, and Mommsen, *Inscr. Helv.*, No. 86), and this gave to them the character of a civil person. But all this administration seems to have been usually confined to matters of religious worship.

¹ The communes of France which have the widest extent of territory are in ancient Narbonaise, the most Roman of the Gallic provinces. In the Bouches-du-Rhône they have an area more than three times greater than that which the communes have in a middling sized department; Arles is the largest commune in France: 103,005 hectares.

² . . . per actorem civis syndicum (*Digest*, iii. 4, 1, § 1, and 6, § 1).

³ *Lex Salp.*, 28.

transacted before them, and they farmed out the public works.¹ Like the consuls of Rome, they gave guardians to wards and their own names to the year; they presided at the assemblies for the elections and directed the deliberations of the senate; their toga, like that of the magistrates and priests of Rome, was edged with a broad band of purple.² Those who were in office at the time of the census, which occurred every five years, took in addition the title of quinquennals or censors, and drew up the list of the members of the senate, *album decurionum*. Therefore the duumvirs of the fifth year were very carefully selected, and the most conspicuous citizens were reserved for this office, which was the highest honour in the city.³

While administrators of the city, the duumvirs were also its judges. Yet their system of prevention was expeditious and simple: for young offenders, the rod and the cell; for others, most frequently fines. These were numerous, because, as regards penalties, the free cities preferred to imprisonment, which profited no one, a punishment which profited everybody, the proceeds of the fines being added to the funds for public games and festivities. The French Kabyles, so Roman in their municipal customs, still do the same: among them misdemeanours and crimes are compounded for, either in money, of which each takes a share, or in oxen and sheep, which the community consume, without excluding the man fined from the repast made at his expense. Every infraction of the civic regulations was punished by a fine: the law of Osuna is full of these rules which existed already in the Julian law and are met with in that of Malaga⁴—it was one



Medal of a Duumvir.¹
Coin of Utica.

¹ Plutarch, *An vitiositas*, etc., 3. The Romans did not undertake the direct management of the public works.

² *Lex Salp.*, 29, and Livy, xxxiv. 7. Cf. Zumpt, *Comm. epigr.*, pp. 166 et seq. Kuhn, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

³ See, in Apuleius (*Met.*, x.), what concerns Thiasus.

⁴ C. VIBIO MARCO PROCOS. C. CASSIVS FELIX A IVIR (*A. C. Vibius Marsus proconsul, C. Cassius Felix, duumvir*). Bronze of Utica representing Livia veiled.

⁵ *Lex Julia municipalis*, capp. i. vi. vii. viii. x.; *Lex Malac.*, capp. lviii. lxi. lxxvii. This custom was quite Roman. While the cities filled their coffers with the *finis*, the State filled hers with the confiscations pronounced at the termination of criminal processes. In a society like this, organized on the principle of the *census*, to lessen or annihilate a fortune was not only a financial punishment, but a political and social one also.

of the characteristics of the municipal law. All the citizens were interested in directing attention to breaches of it, from respect for the law and then by the profits of the *delatio*, which generally formed a third of the fine.¹

The Roman principle of appeal to an authority either equal or superior, or the right of interference recognized in magistrates in the acts of their colleagues, was practised in the free cities.² We have seen that the curia received certain appeals;³ they were often carried before the governor of the province, who in the long run will secure them all,⁴ as he had from the very first, in the tributary cities, the deciding of civil matters which had reference to the *imperium* rather than to jurisdiction.⁵ Representative of the Roman people, who had the highest claim over the provincial soil, the governor alone was able to transfer the possession, either in his own person at the assizes which he held annually in different cities of his province (*conventus iuridici*), or by judges whom he appointed to decide in his stead. The duumvirs therefore in certain cases, formed, in cities without privileges, a jurisdiction of the first degree.

Yet, from the multiplicity of their duties, we can understand their being prohibited to be both absent at the same time from the city. "When one of the duumvirs is absent," says the law of Salpensa, art. 25, "and his colleague wants to leave the city, be it only for one day, the latter must select, *ex decurionibus conscriptisve*, a deputy, *praefectus*, to whom he must administer the oath." If the emperor or any member of the imperial family accepted civic office, he must also be replaced by a prefect whose term of office, in this case, is one year.⁶

¹ *Senatus-cons. de Aquaed.* and *lex Mamia Roscia*, ap. Giraud, *Jur. eccl.*, pp. 167 and 170.

² *Lex Salp.*, art. 27, and *Table de Bantia*, § 1. A public assembly dissolved by the *intercessio* of a magistrate could not be called together again the same day by the one who had convoked it the first time. Cf. Bréal, *Epigr. italique*, p. 388; Giraud, *Tables de Salpensa* and *lex Malac.*, pp. 68 et seq.

³ For example, at Malaga, respecting fines, art. 66.

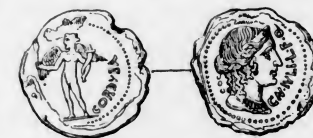
⁴ Cf. *Digest*, xlix. 1, 21, pr., and *ibid.*, 4, 1, §§ 3 and 4.

⁵ Paulus, in the *Digest*, l. 1, 26. So the restoration to a property, giving possession of an estate, or a dowry, or legacy. Yet the Italian duumvirs had the *missio in bona* (see above, pp. 334 sqq.), and this leads to the inquiry whether the magistrates of the Roman colonies and Latin cities did not enjoy the same right.

⁶ L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algérie*, No. 4,070, and the *Index* of Henzen. On the *praefecti lege Petronia*, cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsr.*, i. 494.

To make room for merit or favour the emperors used to give to a person the title of consular, praetorian, etc., although he had never been either consul or praetor, and the free towns followed this example: we find at Canusium four *quinquennalicii* who had never held the office of which they had the name.¹

After the duumvirs came the aediles to supervise the streets, public buildings, and markets, weights and measures, baths and games, in fact, for the maintenance of good order and healthiness in the city. They had also the supervision of the annona, *i.e.*, of provisions sold or distributed;² they draw up edicts on matters belonging to their department, such as cases of flaw or fraud in sales, defects in contracts of sale, the repairs or position of edifices, etc., and in their capacity of administrators they had these edicts carried out; or, as judges, they punished delinquents by fine after having reported to the duumvirs. At least, the law of Malaga thus requires it. Apuleius cites the case of an aedile of Hypata who had the money returned which had been paid for a commodity sold too dear. The goods were destroyed and the merchant was fortunate to get off in this way without being beaten by the rods which the apparitor carried after the aedile.⁴



Medal of a Municipal Quæstor.³
(Coin of Corduba.)

The quæstor had no jurisdiction, but important functions which varied with the customs of each city. He farmed out by auction the public property,⁵ without being able himself to take them on lease either directly or by a middle man; he claimed back usurped domains, looked after the maintenance or repairs of public buildings, invested the civic capital, recovered its debts, entered into all the contracts which the good management of its affairs

¹ Orelli, Nos. 798, 800, 922, 1,170, 1,178, 1,181; Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 625. So at Lyons a citizen received the insignia of the duumvirate although he had been only quæstor. (Orelli, No. 4,020.)

² Petronius, *Satyr.*, 44.

³ CN. IVLI L. F. Q. (*Cnæus Julius, son of Lucius, Quæstor*). Head of Venus. The reverse CORDVBA. Cupid standing, holding a torch and a cornucopia. Bronze coin.

⁴ *Met.*, i. and *Digest*, l. 2, 12.

⁵ Sometimes the duumvirs kept this duty, as at Salpensa. In certain cities the quæstorship was only a *munus*, in others a *honor* (*Digest*, l. 4, 18, § 2). The inferior officers, *scribae, librarii*, etc., received a stipend which at Osuna varied from 1,200 to 1,300 sesterces.

required, and kept the registers of the census up to date, by entering in it all changes of property. He was the guardian of the public wealth.

The cities, "uncertain persons," had only *bona publica*, such as temples, walls, etc., or property belonging as common property to all the citizens, such as our communal property. The emperors recognized successively their right of acquiring and possessing with all the rights of a civil person, of receiving trusts and inheritances, of freeing their slaves and exercising over their freedmen all the rights of a patron. Then they had abundant sources of revenue:



Genii of Games. (Bas-relief in the Musée du Louvre.)

the returns from urban and rural properties, interests of invested capital, legacies, donations, *honoraria* presented by the newly elected, successions of those made free of the city (since the Antonines), the labour of the city slaves, revenue from mines and quarries when they possessed such, rights to tolls on the highways and in the ports, duties at the gates of the cities which had kept this privilege, payments for the maintenance of highways, sewers, aqueducts, by the owners of adjacent property, etc. To these sources of income were added sums voluntarily expended by citizens who had accepted the oversight of a municipal service. Among moderns, public office may be declined and a salary is paid; in the Roman Empire, public service was obligatory and imposed expenditure: it was a civic obligation, *munus*.¹ Thus the administration cost little

¹ In the *Digest* (l. 16, 239, § 3), the *munus* is defined *publicum officium privati hominis*. The *munera* were divided into *mun. personarum* or obligations imposed on the person, which required labour or intelligence, and *mun. patrimonii* or obligations which entailed expenditure. (*Ibid.*, title iv. 1, § 3, and 18, § 1.) If the citizen were absent, they seized on his estate in order that the *munera personalia* might be executed. (*Bull. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1877, p. 128.) The enumeration of the *intributiones*, which the landed proprietors supported, will be found in Kuhn, vol. i. pp. 40-69. These *munera*, voluntarily held, notably reduced the expenses of the city, but they were already in the middle of the second century an onerous charge . . . *munera decurionatus . . . onerosa* (decree of Tergeste); they became an

or nothing. The largest expenditure was for public works. An imperial rescript appropriated a third of the revenue for these; but this rescript is of the year 395, that is to say, at a time when the prince interfered in all civic matters.¹ Indemnities to physicians, professors, citizens sent on deputations to the emperor, games, and, in many cities, relief to the needy and to poor children, took the remainder. When the municipal income was insufficient for the expense of obligatory duties and public works, a rate was imposed on the citizens and foreign residents (*incolæ*), after the consent of the governor of the province had been procured in the case of tributary cities.² In the others the rate was arranged in conformity with the registers of the census fixed by the quinquennals. Thus a considerable portion of the Empire had the free control of its finances,³ as it had its free elections and its own jurisdiction, its own divinities, and its special forms of worship.

At the time of the Antonines there is observable, respecting the financial action of the free towns, a change which must have important results. The irresistible tendency of municipal administrations which a superior power does not check is to burden the future for the profit of the present. The correspondence between Pliny and Trajan proves that many cities were then involved in debt as the result of ill-considered works or scandalous waste. The government was therefore led, in the interest even of its subjects, to put a check on their affairs.⁴ Trajan gave a curator to Bergamum,⁵ Hadrian to Como, Marcus Aurelius to a number of cities, doubtless at their request, and with the sole desire of restoring order to their

intolerable burden when the progressive impoverishment of the Empire and the abandonment by Christians of municipal functions forced a ruinous compulsion to take the place of an interested devotion. At sixty the obligation of holding *munera* ceased: *leges quæ majorem annis LX otio reddunt* (Pliny, *Epist.*, iv. 23). The *Digest* and *Code* give different ages. A rescript of Diocletian (*Cod. Just.*, x. 49, 3) put an end at fifty-five to the obligation of *munera personalia*.

¹ *Cod.*, VIII. ii., and XI. 60, 3.

² The emperors did not like the cities to increase the municipal rates. (See next page, note 5.)

³ Apamea was a Roman colony; when Pliny wished to examine its accounts, the inhabitants declared that no proconsul had ever done so . . . *habuisse privilegium et vetustissimum morem, arbitrio suo rem publicam administrari* (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 56).

⁴ Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 29: . . . *Rationes . . . esse veratas . . . satis constat*. (Cf. *ibid.*, 46 and 48.)

⁵ The institution of these curators has been traced to its origin in Nerva's reign, according to a decree of that prince inserted in the *Digest* (xliii. 24, 3, § 4). But the officer to whom this

finances: thus Apamea had begged Pliny to examine its budget. The *curator* [government auditor], an important personage of senatorial or equestrian rank, received from the emperor for a time not specified the duty of verifying the accounts and of arranging the expenditure of one or more cities. Far from being then an interference with municipal liberty, this intervention of the superior authority was a service rendered to embarrassed cities,¹ while the prince rendered them another when he sent to the province a commissioner extraordinary to terminate disputes respecting boundaries, to appease troubles, to introduce order among men and affairs even of free cities.² The *consulares* of Hadrian, the *juridici* of Marcus Aurelius, would prove more equitable judges than certain municipal magistrates; the *irenarcho* nominated by the governor³ would make the police more vigilant; imperial coins of better standard than the civic coinage will take their place, to the great advantage of trade; in fine, the governors will intervene to prevent the cities from drying up the source of their prosperity by the imposition of excessive imposts⁴ and useless building works,⁵ or in ruining their wealthy citizens by repeated elections to onerous offices.⁶

Yet there are services dangerous in the acceptance: the temporary *curator* of Trajan will become the permanent director, in the name and for the profit of the emperor, of the municipal finances; the provincial governors, who, from the example of the

rescript refers is the *cur. loc. public. persequendorum*, who existed at all times at Rome, and such as several free cities already had. (Cf. Or-Henzen, in vol. iii. p. 109, of the *Index*, a very long enumeration of *curatores rei publice*; L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 43, and the dissertation of Henzen in the *Annali* of 1851, pp. 5-35.)

¹ See, in Plutarch (*Præc. pol.*, 19), how the continual recourse of the cities to the sovereign authority compelled the prince to become more a master than he wished . . . ἀναγκάζονται μᾶλλον ἢ βούλονται δεσπότης εἶναι τοὺς ἡγεμόνους. It is still in France a caprice of the national mind, and this caprice has had grave consequences for the Roman Empire as for us.

² This was an old practice of the Roman senate. (Cf. Or-Henzen, No. 6,450.)

³ He selected him from ten candidates proposed by the decurions. (Aristides, vol. i. p. 523, edit. Dindorf.)

⁴ Rescript of Septimius Severus: . . . *non temere permittenda est nov. vectig. exactio* (*Cod.*, iv. 62, 1).

⁵ The emperors at last kept in their own hands the right of authorizing public works (Ulpian, in the *Digest*, i. 16, 7, § 1; Modestinus and Macer, in the *Digest*, l. 10, 3, § 1, and fr. 6. Cf. *Cod. Theod.*, xv. 1, 37, anno 398), and doubtless they had done so sooner in the case of the tributary cities. This tendency was already showing itself under Trajan (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. *passim*).

⁶ *Digest*, l. 4, 3, § 15. This intervention, called forth by abuses, will end by putting the nomination of magistrates in the governor's hands.

juridici, will watch most closely over the good order of the cities, will put a stop on their life; the resort¹ and appeals to the Roman magistrate will multiply; and by the development of *extraordinary* procedure we shall reach the suppression of the *judec*, so that in Diocletian's time, the jurisdiction of the duumvirs being reduced by all these causes to the most insignificant proportions, the city will become nothing more than a taxable area. At last the provincial coinage will justly fall into disuse; but with it will disappear the last sign of ancient liberty.² Then it will be found that these imperial legates who so successfully put an end to intestine rivalries will have also put an end to the rights which produced them. Augustus had, at Rome, "pacified eloquence;" soon the emperors will have pacified, to the depths of the provinces, the most unpretending liberties: a fatal usurpation, which at first public necessities imposed far more than greed for power, and to which the whole Empire was an accessory; the cities, by allowing abuses to increase in their midst; the emperors, by not resisting the temptation to think and act for all, in the interests of the general weal. It was often at the request of those interested that the government interfered, and it was by means of the best princes, the Antonines, that this movement towards centralization commenced. It would have been quite different if the provincial assembly, situated between the city and the emperor, had been able, by an active control, to prevent the difficulties of the former and as a consequence the encroachments of the latter.

The municipal public services were completed by the religious service which three pontiffs and three augurs secured. At least that is the number at Genetiva, and was most likely the same in many cities, for the body of Augustals had likewise six chiefs, the *seviri*. The importance of these sacerdotal functions is proved by the rank which the album of Thamugas gives the

¹ At the end of the third century the distinction between *jus* and *judicium* will be suppressed. The governor, instead of establishing a *judicium* and appointing a *judec*, will himself hear the case to the end and pronounce the sentence. (Cf. Bethmann-Hollweg, iii. 104.)

² Under Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius a governor caused the silver coin of a city to be demonetized because it contained too much copper, *quasi aerea* (*Digest*, xlv. 3, 102, *proam.*). Hadrian suppressed the tetradrachms of Antioch, which were of too base a standard. In the middle of the third century provincial coining had ceased, except in Egypt (Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monn. rom.*, translation by the Duc de Placas, vol. iii. p. 230).

sacerdotes, and the laws of the Code of Theodosius, which puts them next to the duumvirs in office, but before the other magistrates. The office of flamen was elective, and, like ours, it gave the elect an indelible character, or, at least, gave him a title which he kept for life, *flamen perpetuus*. Lastly, in order to have justice done, the city nominated a *procurator* or *syndicus*, to whom it confided the defence of its interests.

If the Roman city, which has handed down to us so many regulations and institutions, had, in the first two centuries of our era, much more liberty than our French commune, yet was it distinguished by its far less democratic spirit and by the rigorous responsibility which it imposed on its magistrates.

When the Romans founded a colony they reserved a part of the lands assigned to the colonists to form an *ager publicus* for the new city; for it was a settled principle that a city should possess a patrimony. All the free cities had therefore common lands, *prædia*, which were directly utilized by the citizens as public pasturage, or the revenue from which was added to the income of various sources which constituted the civic funds and which the law protected by the severest provisions.

Before entrance on office the magistrates had to provide caution money as well as sureties, to guarantee the city against the results of negligence or fraud.¹ All profit made by him in the exercise of his functions entailed a penalty against him of 200,000 sesterces; it was one of 10,000 for each infraction of a decree of the decurions, and at Osuna, one of 100,000 for the violation of the municipal statutes.² Observe that the accounts are to be presented to the city and not to the governor, it was before the former and not before the prince that the responsibilities are made good: the Romans had not, as the French have, constituted a special court for the public functionary. This is a new proof of the power which this inner civic life at that time exhibited.³

¹ *Lex Malac.*, 60, and *Digest*, l. 1, 38, § 6; *ibid.*, 8, 9, § 4, and § 7.

² *Capp.* lxxvii. cxxix. cxxx.; see also *Table of Bantia*, § 2.

³ The Antonines still further increased the number and extent of these responsibilities. Thus Trajan gave to a ward the right of bringing an action for indemnity against the magistrate who, in the absence of a legitimate or testamentary guardian, had made a bad choice of a man to whom he had transferred the guardianship (*Code*, v. 75, 5); and Hadrian fined a duumvir 40 *aurei* who allowed a corpse to be interred in the city (*Digest*, xlvii. 12, 3, § 5).

To the responsibilities of the administrator were added those of judge. Had the judge given force to a rule contrary to the established law, this rule was henceforth applied to him in all the suits which he himself had to sustain. Did he neglect what the *formula* had prescribed, he owed reparation for the damage caused by his decision.¹

On the one hand, great freedom of action, on the other, a responsibility equal to the power intrusted: this is how men are made; with such principles the municipal system ought to flourish so long as they were respected. It is this much more than the emperors which covered the Roman world with those buildings whose grandeur and stability astonish us. It is these municipal administrations which, frequently uniting their efforts and resources, raised arenas and temples, threw bridges over rivers, aqueducts across valleys, and roads from one end to the other of their province.²

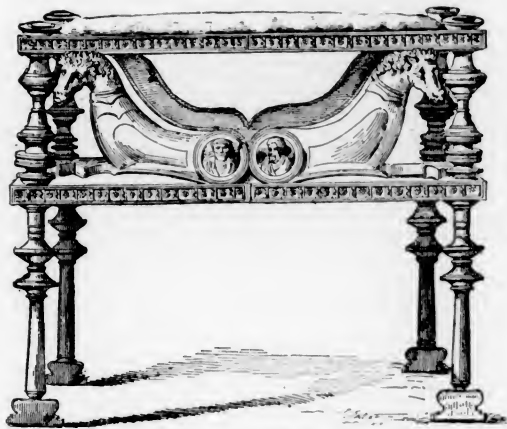
Citizens will not now-a-days be found exposing themselves to like dangers merely for a simple civic distinction. By reducing the commune to infinitesimal proportions alongside of cities containing the population of a kingdom, and by keeping them all under strict State guardianship, our large modern societies have destroyed local patriotism. In the free city of the Flavians and Antonines it

cf. *Capitolinus*, *Marc. Ant.*, 13). M. Pierre Dareste (*des Contrats passés par l'État en droit romain*, p. 102) well says: "The principal or subsidiary responsibility of the functionary . . . which took the form of a responsibility stipulated by contract of civil law, is an idea quite peculiar to the Roman Empire. We are now-a-days accustomed to see in the functionary an almost irresponsible mandatory. . . . In the Roman Empire he was the first to feel the consequences of his own acts. . . . One cannot deny that there was a very just idea at the basis of this system. Despotism exaggerated from a money point of view a system which offered great advantages to it for the collection of its revenues . . . ; but the abuse should not prevent us from comprehending and appreciating the ingenious and just practice of previous centuries."

¹ Keller, edit. *Capinas*, § 86. This rule had existed elsewhere at all times, even for the Roman pretor.

² In Pliny's correspondence (lib. x.) one remarks, for a single province and for less than two years, the following works projected or in course of completion: at Prusa, magnificent baths; at Nicomedia, a forum and an aqueduct, for which the city had already expended 30,529,000 sesterces; at Nicæa, a theatre which before completion had cost 10,000,000 sesterces, and a gymnasium so vast that the walls were 7 mètres thick; at Claudiopolis, baths of colossal size; at Sinope, an aqueduct 23 kilomètres long; at Amastris, the covering in of a river along its whole length which ran through the city, etc. As regards roads, there were three kinds: *publicæ*, *privatæ*, *vicinales* (*Digest*, xliii. 8, 2, § 22); these are our national, departmental, and communal routes. The first only were made at the public expense, *publice mununtur* (Siculus Flaccus, *de Agr. cond.*, p. 27, edit. Giraud). Yet they had to be maintained by the owners of property along them (*Digest*, viii. 6, 14, § 1).

preserved its ancient energy. Each loved his city, and desired it to be fortunate and beautiful, and many thought, like Caesar, that it was worth more to be first at one's own home than second elsewhere. Thus the offices which will be a century later avoided with fear, are at the period we are now considering sought for eagerly.



Bisellium in Bronze, found in the Theatre of Herculaneum. (Musée de Naples.)¹

It is regret at leaving them which most afflicts the exile in Plutarch.

This seeking after municipal honours was such that the cities struck coins with their titles of decurion and all the decorations which they bestow, among them being the *biselliatu* honos,² even with the freedom of the city, as our kings do with their titles of nobility or offices; and they found persons ready to buy for 1,000 or 2,000 denarii the honour of a seat in the curia,³ for 500 drachmæ the right of voting in the public assembly.⁴ Others,

¹ This seat of honour, enriched with carving, is very high on its legs. A marble stool was used to mount up to it. (Monaco, *le Musée nat. de Naples*, pl. 119.)

² The *bisellarii* had obtained or purchased the right of having conveyed by their slaves, to the games, theatre, or festivals, a double seat, *bisellium*, which they occupied alone, so as to give them more ease. (Orelli, Nos. 4,043-4. Cf. Millin, *Descr. des tombeaux de Pompéi*, p. 78.)

³ Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 113 and 48, and many inscriptions. Cf. Léon Renier, *Arch. des Missions*, ii. 319.

⁴ For example, at Tarsus (Dion Chrysostom, *Orat.*, vol. ii. p. 44, edit. Reiske), and elsewhere. Women used to buy this right . . . *civis recepta* (C. I. L., vol. ii. 813; Orelli, Nos. 1,663, 3,710). A tribune says to Paul (*Acts*, xxii. 28): "With a great sum obtained I this freedom." Augustus had interdicted the Athenians from selling the freedom of the city (Dion, liv. 7).

wishing to go further, thought that the duumvirate, in bringing them under the notice of the prince, would help them to reach the honours of Rome and imperial commands.

III.—ARISTOCRATIC CHARACTER OF THE ROMAN CITY; RELATION OF THE CITIZENS TO ONE ANOTHER.

Justinian had a correct view of these ancient institutions when he wrote in one of his *Novellæ*: "Those who in the past constituted our Republic judged it needful to unite in every city the notables, *virī nobiles*, into a body which should transact public affairs and do all in an orderly manner." This aristocratic organization, which dates from Rome's earliest days, was in the provincial cities strengthened by various customs: the non-payment of the public service, the onerous charges imposed by it, and the terrible responsibilities which were incurred in the exercise of the magisterial office. Municipal interests, which in France are guaranteed by administrative control, were in the Roman Empire guaranteed by the financial responsibility of the magistrates, which would have been illusory if poor men could have attained the duumvirate. The municipal senate was open only to *virī nobiles*: a nobility of descent and fortune which sat by hereditary right in the senate, so long as it kept its fortune, or, at least, the income required for the duumvirate. At Prusa, Dion, his father, and grandfather, exercised in succession the highest functions;¹ with 400,000 sesterces they would have had the right to claim to be enrolled in Rome itself among the judges of the five *decuriæ*.² In fine, as this society had as its principal civil institutions slavery and the *clientela*, it did not profess equality, but preferred distinction of ranks. Thus, for inscription on the *album*, a real hierarchy was established. At its head, the *honorati*, who had exercised office in the city or province,³ or enjoyed honours belonging to Rome and the patrons of the city;⁴ then those who had exercised functions

¹ De Bréquigny, *Vie de Dion*.

² Or.-Henzen, No. 6,467.

³ The persons who had been invested with a provincial priestly office in the temple of Rome and Augustus, *sacerdotales*, formed a separate order, often cited in Africa (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, Nos. 1,440, 1,528, 1,718, 1,851). Similarly, the Asiarchs in Asia.

⁴ In 321 the practice was still continued for the cities to obtain a powerful patron: *quod* VOL. V. BB

in the city.¹ Age, marriage, number of children, the votes obtained, were causes of promotion; the lot decided all else. An inscription has preserved the names written on the *Album* of Canusium drawn up in 223; with this document we penetrate into the senate house, and can observe a sitting of a municipal senate, just as the laws of Salpensa and Malaga have, as it were, made us present in the public place at the elective comitia. More than 120 decurions are there assembled.² First of all you see in the place of honour the seats of the patrons, personages too great to condescend to be often seated there. Next come the ex-magistrates, bearing the title derived from the name of the highest office which they have filled: seven quinquennialicii having held the censorship, four coadjutors to the former,³ twenty-nine duumviralicii, nineteen ædilicii, nine quæstoricii, then thirty-two *pedani* or decurions who have not yet held office. Behind them, twenty-five *prætextati* listen to the orators; they are becoming acquainted with the concerns of the city, the rules of law, and the method of conducting public affairs.⁴ The deliberations are not noisy, for age and condition are respected; each speaks and votes according to his rank, and according to the order of inscription on the table. Thus experience has the precedence of ignorance, and wisdom of rashness [unfortunately also, old age and feebleness of youth and vigour].

This order was changed in one case only. If a decurion accused another of unworthy conduct and obtained judgment against

Faustianenses patronum cooptarent, cum liberis posterisque ejus sibi liberis posterisque suis tesseram hospitalem cum eo fecerunt, uti se in fidem atque clientelam vel suam vel posterorum suorum reciperet . . . (Orelli, No. 1,079).

¹ *Scribantur eo ordine quo quisque eorum maximo honore in municipio functus est: puta qui duumviratum gesserunt, si hic honor præcellat* (Ulpian, in the *Digest*, l. 3, fr. 1 and 2).

² On the list are found 164 names, but the 39 patrons, persons of consideration (31 senators, 8 Roman knights), were almost always absent, and 25 *prætextati* did not vote, so that the number of effective decurions was one hundred. But all bore this title. See Mommsen, *Inscr. Neapol.*, 625. M. Masqueray discovered (December, 1875) another *album*, that of Thamugas.

³ *Allati inter quinquennialicios.*

⁴ According to the *Theodosian Code* (xii. 1, 4) those who had exercised magistracies were seated, the rest standing. This classification still existed in the second half of the fifth century. (Cf. Sid. Apollin., *Epist.*, i. 6.) M. Heuzey has found in Macedonia some inscriptions which mention children of five and six years already members of the curia (*Mission en Macédoine*, p. 140); the same at Lyons (*Inscr. de Lyon*), and elsewhere. These nominations had been marks of gratitude towards the father, or an interested choice in the hope of obtaining a liberal gift from the family.

him, he took his place.¹ This was a means of compelling every member of the curia to keep watch over himself.

Every one holds these distinctions so dear that they are recorded on the tombs; on them are named the offices held and the grades of rank gained. When the practice of paying functionaries became general, the amount of pay was even added to the title in the inscriptions to do honour to the deceased. A future empress, Julia Soemias, in this way recalls the fact that her husband had been successively *centenary*, *ducentary*, and *trecentary* procurator, *i.e.*, that he received yearly 100,000, 200,000, and 300,000 sesterces.² When it was not possible to be distinguished from the multitude by descent or fortune, merit was valued according to the sum which a man had cost the State. This hierarchy was observed at the public festivals and even in the distributions of money; each received a share of victuals and a number of ases³ proportional to his rank; some magistrates boast of being men of a share and a half, or even a double share.⁴ One might already call them the *fat* and *lean* people of Florence.



Denarius of Distribution.⁵

A society where wealth was so highly esteemed must find room for any one who know how to acquire it, even for those whose condition destined them to remain at the lowest level. The expression *libertinae opes*⁶ had passed into a proverb, and Narcissus, Pallas, Crispinus, and a thousand others, justify it. One understands such fortunes as these: former slaves, freedmen, had the habit of work amongst a people who toiled but little, nor were they shackled by any prejudice in the midst of people full of it. On obtaining freedom, sometimes

¹ At least, this was the law at Genetiva Julia, cap. cxxiv.

² Orelli, No. 946.

³ At Rudia a money distribution gave 20 sesterces to each decurion, 12 to each Augustal, etc. (Orelli, No. 3,858); at Lyons, a *summus curator civ. rom. prov. Lugd.* gives, *ob honorem perpetui pontif.*: to the decurions, 15 denarii; the members of equestrian rank, to the *severi Augustales*, and to the wine merchants, 13 denarii; to all the authorized corporations, *licite coëventibus*, 12 denarii. Orelli, No. 4,020, and *passim*, for many similar instances.

⁴ Or.-Henzen, Nos. 6,086, 7,181, 7,199 . . . *ob duplam sportulam collatam sibi . . . et magistri sesquiplares.* This usage existed in the army under the name of recompense of honour . . . *ob virtutem* (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.*, v. 90).

⁵ EX A. P. (*ex argento publico*). Victory in a quadriga. Reverse of a denarius of the gens Julia.

⁶ Martial, *Epigr.*, v. 1, 3.

by their vices, but frequently by their intelligence, they knew how to make their way through the crowd, as they had done through servitude. By the stain on their birth they were below the poorest of free men; by the means of gold they rose above the noble who had nothing to live on but the glory of his ancestors. Tacitus points them out to us as filling even at Rome the tribes and decuriae. In the Latin provinces they had invaded the popular sacerdotal office of the Augustales, the annual heads of whom, *seviri*,¹ chosen by the decurions, became, on leaving office, life members of a college which formed a sort of intermediate order between the senate and the simple *possessores*;² at Lyons the *seviri* were as greatly honoured as the knights of the city.³ Into this college entered many freedmen who, unable, in spite of their wealth, to obtain municipal honours, took refuge in the priestly office:⁴ Trimalchio was an Augustal *sevir*. This too was a place which was purchasable.⁵ Some boast in their inscriptions of having obtained it without cost, *gratis factus*,⁶ and they were right, this dispensation was in their case a brilliant distinction.

The first Augustales sacrificed in honour of the *gens Julia*; then Claudiales, Flaviales, etc., formed colleges, sometimes distinct, sometimes united to that of the Augustales; and all, priests of the national deities, but also of Augustus's family and of the imperial

¹ A *sevir* states in his inscription that he has been that twice (Orelli, No. 3,921). There is no need to confound the *seviri Augustales* of the provinces with the *sodales Augustales* of Rome, a college instituted by Tiberius and composed of the greatest personages of the State, nor with the associations which were formed, in *modum collegiorum* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 73), in the capital to honour the new deity.

² By reason of their religious functions, the Augustales were ranked so near the decurions that politeness might sometimes take one for the other. Thus in 140 a freedman of Domitia offers 10,000 sesterces, *ordini decurionum et sevirum Augustalium*, and obtains *ut ex reditu ejus pecunie, III idus febr. natale D., presentibus decurionibus et seviris discumbentibus in publico aequis portionibus fieret divisio* . . . (Orelli, Nos. 775, 3,939, and *passim*).

³ Orelli, No. 4,020. At Narbonne the priesthood of Augustus, established A.D. 11, was composed of three knights and three freedmen. A shipowner of Puteoli was Augustal *sevir* in this city and at Lyons (*Inscr. de Lyon*, No. 358; cf. *ibid.*, No. 406).

⁴ Orelli, No. 3,914: . . . *omnibus honoribus quos libertini gerere potuerunt honoratus*. This and other inscriptions show that the *sevir Augustalis*, the *primus*, and *perpetuus*, owed this title to a decree of the decurions, and that they themselves could not obtain the decurionate.

⁵ *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. 100. It, at last, like the others also, became hereditary (Cf. Marquardt, *Handb.*, i. p. 516).

⁶ Orelli, No. 3,920. The corporation had a chest, *arca*, to receive the gifts of the new associates or of its members (*ibid.*, Nos. 3,913, 7,116, and 7,335); but it seems that an authorization was needed.

majesty, consecrated by religious rites the apotheosis which the senate had decreed. For this institution, as well as for many others, we must give up the hope of finding a uniform rule. The general fact is clear of doubt, and that alone is of importance to political history

A more significant custom was the division of the citizens into two classes; I am not referring to the division into free men and slaves, but into *honestiores* and *humiliores*, or, as they were termed in the Middle Ages, nobles and villains. Thus the former could not be beaten with rods,¹ crucified, fastened to a funeral pile, or thrown to the beasts, and in case of condemnation, these atrocious



Carpenter (after a Gallo-Roman Tomb).

punishments were the ordinary lot of the poor devil who had been unable to rise from his humble condition. In former times the *lex Porcia* protected the citizen, whatever his condition, from being beaten and the punishments reserved for the stranger. When the freedom of the city had been given to the greater part of the Empire, and the *peregrinus* gradually disappeared, the poor citizen took his place: a slow revolution, which was not effected till the third century. Then the better classes and the lower were placed by political and penal law in different conditions, and formed



A Mason. (Trajan Column).

two distinct peoples between whom it is difficult to draw the boundary line; for in this society, land and man had not been marked, as was the case later on, with indelible marks. This much is sure, that at one extreme can be placed the decurions, magistrates, and those who, having obtained civic honours, formed the

¹ *Frustibus cædi solent tenuiores homines, honestiores vero . . . non subjiciuntur*. See, on this point, my paper on the *honestiores* and the *humiliores*.

senate; at the other, along with those who had undergone judicial sentences, were husbandmen, the ancestors of the serfs of the Middle Ages, artisans, day labourers, small tradesmen whom Cicero already styled the dregs of cities,¹ and all those whose calling was regarded ignominious; these were called the *plebei* or *tenuiores*. In the upper class there were also placed the members of the corporation of the Augustales, the *possessores*, or landed proprietors who will, in later times, be summoned in certain matters to deliberate with the decurions; veterans who had obtained the *honesta missio*; professors and physicians.²

These *tenuiores* were very numerous. The State employed many of them, along with freedmen and slaves, for the service of the temples, magistrates, and public works. Poverty tending to equalize both conditions and feelings, some of the well-born competed with slaves in the lowest occupations for a living. They multiplied the number of shops in the streets and public places, and they exercised in wretched cellars a thousand industrial occupations which the rich in former days imposed on their slaves: in the house for domestic needs; out of doors, to hire out their strength, their intelligence, or to sell the products of their toil. There had always been artisans at Rome; there were many more when the brilliant tunic of the slave put to shame the threadbare toga of the citizen. To the latter no calling seemed degrading, neither the boards as an actor, the arena as a gladiator, the brothel as a procurer, or the insulting charity such as the parasite and client received.

To sum up: when, putting aside political history, which often shows only the surface of things, we descend into the interior life of the Roman world, we find a society in which the grades were just as numerous as they have always been in any other. At the bottom, the slaves and plebeians (*humiliores*); above, the freeman possessing landed property (*possessor*); then a double aristocracy of office and wealth. The first, beginning with the provincial who had obtained Roman citizenship, terminated in the consulars and the patrician order which the emperors continually renewed,

¹ *Opifices et tabernarios, atque illam omnem faciem civitatum (pro Flacco, etc.).*

² The professors were nominated by the curia, and physicians received from it a licence to practice, which was always revocable (Modestinus, in the *Digest*, xxvii. 1, 6, § 6).

just as the kings of England take care to keep up the numbers of the nobility by filling up titles that lapse. The second was arranged according to the fortune: 100,000 sesterces, in important cities, qualified for the decurionate; 200,000 were classed, at Rome, among the ducenaries; 400,000, throughout the Empire, elevated to the rank of knight; 1,200,000 opened admission to the senate. Thus a nobility of wealth was parallel to the nobility of birth, and the two conservative forces which descent and wealth constituted concurred in maintaining at the same time order and movement in the heart of this immense society, in which, nevertheless, existed no impassable barrier for any one. Here is the secret of that "Roman peace" which the writers of the first two centuries praise so enthusiastically.

This division into two classes of citizens might have been the cause of troubles in the city if sundry customs had not drawn together those whom political and penal laws separated. The first of these existed in the organization of the Roman family, in which servants, slaves, and freed persons were considered as forming part of the household, so that the obligations of patronage imposed on the rich the position of protectors to a large number of poor. The second was in the confused, but yet deeply-rooted notion of a sort of fraternity existing from the first between all the inhabitants of the free city, and of the protection which in former days the weak had sought for at the hands of the strong. This idea, which had its expression in the *clientela* and in the old institution of public services or *munera*, always prevented the aristocracy of the provincial cities from being as haughty and unpopular as it was in other countries. The *munera* were the duty accepted by rich citizens of superintending a large number of public services and of contributing to the expenditure which they entailed: thus a *curator ludorum* made up the deficiency in a sum set apart for the celebration of a religious festival or of public games; another took the charge of heating the baths or repairing the pavement of a street. Now-a-days the municipal expenditure falls upon everybody; in the Roman city it was for the most part a charge on the rich. They it was who raised the bridges still existing at Merida and Alcantara, the aqueducts of Segovia and the Pont du Gard, and those temples and amphitheatres the ruins of which

meet us everywhere. While seeing the aristocracy pay for its privileges by sacrifice of time and money from which they profited, the poor felt for them neither hate nor wrath. Upon the score of being clients, they experienced still more directly the effects of these liberal gifts, and as this bond which attached the small to the great was voluntary it wounded no one. We said just now that the wealthy provincials followed the example of the emperors who covered Rome with costly edifices. Good princes advised the wealthy to act thus: we have lost a discourse of Nerva exhorting them to show munificence;¹ and to prevent cities being deceived in their expectations, as was often the case with those who hunted for legacies, Trajan made it a fixed principle that every promise made to a city should be binding on the promiser or his heir. He did not wish that municipal patriotism should be played with, or that the vanity of a miser should take advantage of the credulity of a senate.²

At Herculaneum, Mammianus Rufus constructed the theatre at his own cost; Nonius Balbus, the basilica. We know the prodigious liberality of Herodes Atticus at Athens: for his stadium he had ransacked the marble quarries of Pentelicus, and the list of his debtors included almost the whole city. His biography affords us another insight: it shows that some of the great, of the new nobility, did not disdain, in spite of Marcus Aurelius's decree, to live in their provincial cities; as long as Herodes was senator and consular he did not leave Athens once. Plutarch also, after a long stay at Rome, returned to his little city of Chæronea; Martial did the same with less philosophy, and the provinces gained in thus winning back some of the celebrities of Rome.

When the municipal treasury was empty and the donations insufficient, the city opened a public subscription and gave to the prætors a mortgage on its walls, porticoes, and temples, or on a

¹ Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 24: . . . omnes cives ad munificentiam.

² On the capability of the cities for receiving legacies and donations, see *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 803. In spite of Hadrian's rescript difficulties arose sometimes between the donor's heirs and the city as legatee; Antoninus overcame them by prescribing that for the future the consent of the decurions should be regarded as that of the legal personality which the city constituted. (Gaius, *Comm.*, ii. 195.) Before this fresh legislation the cities had already been able, with the authorization of the senate or the prince, to accept a legacy. (Cf. Suet., *Tib.*, 31.) Ulpian enumerates, (in the *Digest*, xxxvii. 1, 3, 4) the bodies which can possess property: *municipia*, *societates*, *decurie corpora*.

branch of its revenues. Cnidus, wishing to erect a portico to Apollo, proceeded thus: it promised to carve on the monument the names of those who would not demand the interest of their money; to others it offered as guarantee on their revenues the impost of the fiftieth and the profits of the office for oaths, where were registered the contracts of sale between private individuals.¹

But let us lay stress on that aspect of civic manners which unhappily is now so strange to us. Ummidia Quadratilla built at Casinum an amphitheatre and temple;² Secundus, at Bordeaux, an aqueduct which cost him 2,000,000 sesterces.³ One of Lucian's heroes, Peregrinus, gives up during his lifetime all his property, thirty talents, to his native city. Crinas, of Marseilles, expended 10,000,000 sesterces in rebuilding the walls of the Phocæan city; the two brothers Stertinius, a larger sum in decorating Naples, their native city, with public buildings;⁴ a Hiero gave as much as 2,000 talents (more than 12,000,000 francs) to Laodicea, his native city.⁵ Pliny the Younger spent less at Como: 11,100,000 sesterces; but were not his whole thoughts towards embellishing it with monuments, honouring it with useful institutions to make it a happy city and of great renown! "Towards it," said he, "I have the heart of a son or of a father."⁶ "One ought to give to one's native place," he says again;⁷ and he encourages his friends and neighbours to imitate his bounty. At Como he founded a library, a school, and a charitable institution to board poor children.⁸ Outside the walls he built a temple to Ceres, and spacious porticoes to shelter the merchants during the fair, which was held during the festival of the goddess. One of his friends made a present of

¹ *Bulletin de corresp. hellén.*, 1880, p. 341. M. Dareste, author of the commentary on this inscription, makes the remark that, by Greek and Roman law, mortgage applied both to movables and immovables.

² Orelli, No. 781.

³ *Revue épigr. du Midi de la France*, p. 179.

⁴ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxix. 8. One of them was that physician Stertinius, who, after having doubled the ordinary fees of the emperor's physician, 250,000 sesterces, affirmed he was still a loser, his practice bringing him in 600,000; another demanded for a cure 200,000 sesterces; a third in a few years gained 10,000,000. The sestertius of those days may be valued at 17 or 18 centimes [a little over 1½d. or 3 cents, so that about 138 went to £1.—*Ed.*].

⁵ Strabo, xiii. 578.

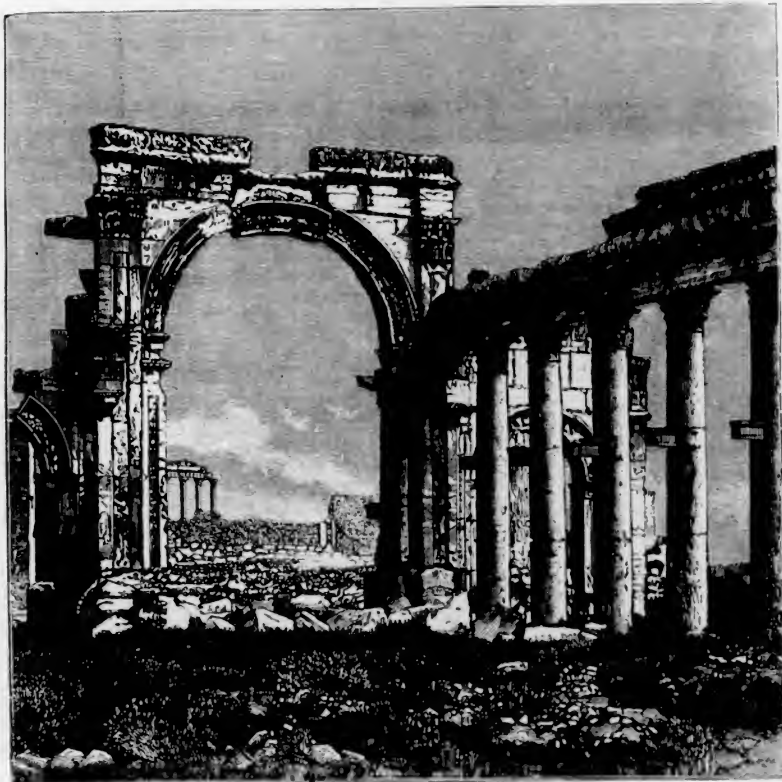
⁶ *Res publica nostra pro filia vel parente* (iv. 13).

⁷ ix. 30.

⁸ Henzen, p. 124. Pliny's correspondence contains six letters in which he mentions his gifts to individuals.

400,000 sesterces; his grandfather had erected a costly portico and furnished the money necessary for the decorations of the city gates.

Observe, too, that these acts of liberality towards a single city, made known to us by some letters which have escaped oblivion, were done in the space of a small number of years, in some sort



Palmyra: Portico of the Colonnade.

by a single family, and all during the lives of the donors: a fact which surely allows us to suppose there were many others. They mark one of the characteristic features of municipal life in the Roman Empire; the inscriptions would furnish a multitude of similar examples, even in places which have become impracticable deserts. At Palmyra, for example, the long porticoes which border the principal streets were built by private individuals, who often received the honour of a statue decreed during life by the senate

and people.¹ Later on the authorization of the prince became necessary for works executed at the expense of the free cities; this was not the case for monuments by individuals.² This dispensing with long troublesome formalities was an encouragement to donors, who often continued such for several generations. A consul of Trajan had given 3,300,000 sesterces to Tarquinii; his son increased the amount for enlarging and completing the baths which had been begun.³

In addition, they desired to interest the multitude in their joys as in their griefs, and there was no solemnity in the midst of a rich family which was not celebrated by some enjoyment for the people, by a public festival or games. "Those who assume the manly gown," says Pliny, "those who marry, or enter on office, or dedicate some public work, are in the habit of inviting to the feast all the senate of the city, even many members of the lower classes, and giving to each one or two denarii."⁴ The Romans of the Empire, even senators of Rome, did not feel ashamed to extend their hand, were it for the smallest advantage. A rich private person having imposed on his heir the obligation of giving a certain sum annually to the conscript fathers,⁵ Domitian quashed the will. The senators certainly found that the prince was too thoughtful of their dignity. He indemnified them for it. One day, at the theatre, as the lottery tokens which he threw into the midst of the audience had all fallen on the third benches—those of the people—the next day he had fifty lots thrown to the seats of the senate.⁶ These habits of liberality existed throughout the whole Roman world. At Oea, in Africa, a widow distributes, on the day when

¹ Cf. de Vogüé, *Inscr. arabiques*, Nos. 8-11, etc. Some of these inscriptions enumerate the bronze ornaments and the plates with which the columns and architraves were covered: the polychrome architecture of Athens transported to the desert!

² *Digest*, l. 10, § 1. This fragment is from Macer, a juriscounsel of the third century. If Pliny kept consulting Trajan respecting the works projected in Bithynia, the reason was that he was fulfilling in that province an extraordinary mission. It is possible besides that in the tributary cities the government had reserved besides the authorization of expenses which could compromise the returns of the State impost.

³ Henzen, No. 6322. Cf. Orelli, No. 80: . . . *quod liberalitates in patriam civesque, a majoribus suis tributas, exemplis suis superaverit* . . .

⁴ Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 117. This usage was very ancient, for Plautus, in the *Aulularia* (v. 107), speaks of money distributions.

⁵ *Ingruentibus curiam* (Suet., *Dom.*, 9). It was a sort of fee given for attendance.

⁶ Suet., *Dom.*, 4.

her son assumes the manly gown, 50,000 sesterces; the next day she contracts a second marriage, and to prevent the repetition of a burdensome generosity, she goes to be married a long way from Oea:¹ a clear proof that custom would have imposed on her a second donative, in spite of the previous evening's gift, if the marriage had taken place in the city.

Maximus lost his wife, a native of Verona: he gave the city, in honour of the deceased, a combat of gladiators,² an old religious



Amphitheatre of Verona.

usage which had been turned into a show; blood first of all to appease the manes, then more to amuse the multitude. A corpse encountered a great risk in the streets of Pollentia from seeking a burial place further away. The inhabitants made a riot and would only allow the procession to pass after the heir had promised them what doubtless they were accustomed to receive at the funerals of their upper classes: a gift of gladiators. At Minturnæ can be read on the base of a statue: "In four days he produced eleven pairs of gladiators, who ceased fighting only after half of them, all the most valiant of Campania, were stretched on the arena; besides,

¹ Apuleius, *Apolog.*

² Pliny, *Epist.*, vi. 31.

he gave a hunt of ten terrible bears." And the author of the inscription exclaims proudly: "Noble fellow-citizens, you will remember this!"¹

Everything was acceptable; struggles between old athletes, combats of low gladiators,² slaughter of wild boars, even of hares; and after the pleasure of the show those of the table, some scanty pittance which the richer changed into a feast. In ancient times religion ennobled everything: these feasts were acts of devotion just as were the early agapæ of the Christians.³ Religious faith had vanished, but the custom remained. Pliny had founded a temple at Tifernum; on the day of its consecration he gave a repast to all the inhabitants: it was part of the sacred festival. It was the same in the case of pious foundations made in honour of some deceased person by a festival annually given to the decurions, the Augustales, the fellows of a college, etc.

Ideas of another sort constantly called forth acts of liberality of the same nature to the clients, even to all the people of a city. In some houses large halls were arranged in which, on certain days, open table was kept, *triclinia popularia*.⁴ Trimalchio wished to be represented on his tomb scattering a sack of crowns amongst the people: "For you know," said he to the architect, "that I gave a public feast and two gold denarii to each guest. Represent the *triclinia* and all the people heartily enjoying themselves."⁵

These repasts were so usual that they had the name of *publicæ cenæ*. But the emperors were very distrustful of these

¹ Henzen, No. 6,148. An inscription of Ancyra says of a citizen that he surpassed every one by his gifts, enriched his country by distributions, that he adorned it with fine works of art, etc. (Perrot, *Galatie*, p. 235, No. 125.)

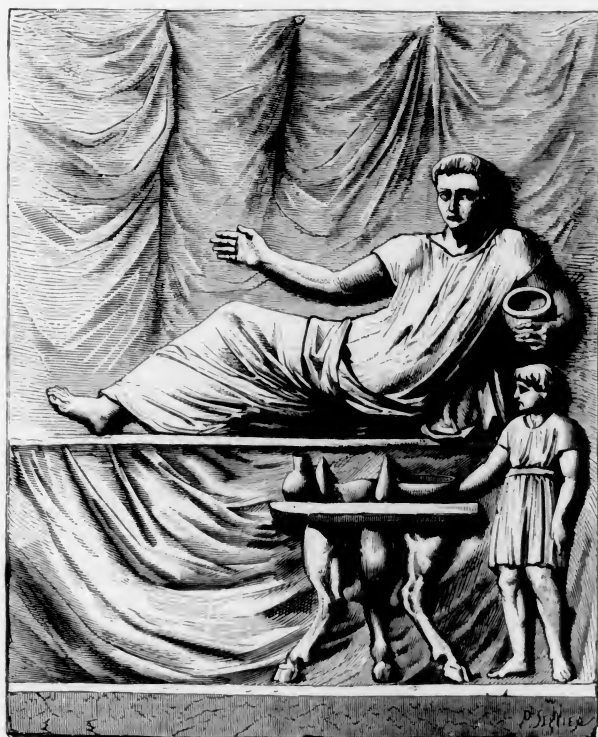
² Martial makes fun (iii. 16, 59) of a shoemaker, whom he calls, it is true, *sutorum regule*, and of a fuller who had given combats of gladiators, the one at Bologna, the other at Modena. In the *Satyricon* (45) there is in contemplation "gladiators at two sesterces a-piece, decrepit, ready to drop if blown upon, and dead in advance, real refuse stock." (Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii., and Persius, *Sat.*, iv.) Yet in Tiberius's reign a senatus-consultum had been passed prohibiting the giving of games if the donor were not possessed of at least 4,000,000 sesterces. (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 63.)

³ *Festis insunt sacrificia, epula, ludi* . . . (Macrob., *Sat.*, i. 16.)

⁴ Cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 3.

⁵ Petronius, *Satyr.*, 71. These donations were of all kinds. The little city of Acrephion, near Chæroneia, has handed down to posterity, in a pompous inscription, evidence of its gratitude for the feasts, sweetmeats, and delicacies given by one of its citizens to the whole population, even the slaves. (C. I. G., No. 1,625.) Cf. Egger, *Mél. d'hist. anc.*, pp. 76 and 87. Others furnished oil for the games or the baths, etc. Another curious example in C. I. G., No. 2,236, and Lebas, *Inscr. de Morée*, No. 149.

gatherings, where they thought that the nobles might find fitting agents for surprises, *bravos*, in fact, such as the great lords of Italy had for so long a time in their pay. Nero interdicted them.¹ He permitted only the *sportula*, or baskets filled with provisions and given to individuals. The thing was still more simplified: the



Couch for the Repast.²

sportula was replaced by the gift of some sesterces, which were the more willingly accepted because they served to satisfy other wants than hunger. These distributions of money were in their turn suspected, and Domitian suppressed them in bringing in again the *sportula*,³ *cena recta*. Trajan, who disliked anything of the nature

¹ *Publicæ cenæ ad sportulas redactæ* (Suet., *Nero*, 16).

² Before the person a round three-legged table (*mensatripedis*); near the table a cup-bearer (*puccillator*). (Bas-relief in the Musée du Louvre, No. 41 in catalogue.)

³ . . . *Sportulas publicas sustulit revocata rectorum cenarum consuetudine* (Suet., *Dom.*, 7).

of an association, did not, however, dare to destroy this last relic of republican manners; he seems to have left the choice to those interested between the two forms of the *sportula*, in kind or in money. Spain and Spanish America still preserve traces of these Roman customs.

These liberalities took place under exceptional circumstances; others occurred daily for the benefit of the clients. When the client voted for his patron in the comitia, shed his blood on the battlefields, showed his fidelity everywhere, the *clientela* was that solid institution to be found under one form or another in all aristocratic societies. In the second century of the Empire it was nothing else than organized mendicity, *i.e.*, a decayed institution. Was any one poor or only straitened in means and lazy, admission was gained into a body of clients—an easy matter, for one of the rich man's vanities was appearing in public preceded or followed by citizens in togas, *turba togata*; just as our lords of former days never showed themselves at court but with a numerous retinue of gentlemen. Consideration being proportionate to the number of clients, the patrons persisted in having a good number of them. "What a thick smoke!" exclaims Juvenal.¹ "It is the *sportula* they are distributing. A hundred are rushing thither, each armed with his kitchen apparatus." Nor did they feel any more shame than a hidalgo with a torn mantle going to fetch his soup at the convent of Toledo.

Doubtless in this multitude were sometimes heard muttered murmurings, and secret revolts were seen against "the king and lord," who on certain days showed haughtiness or niggardliness: "You invite me, Sextus, and while you enjoy a grand supper you give me a hundred farthings. Am I invited for supper or to be envious of you?"² But for a service which gave little trouble,³ and in which the ancients did not expect the servility which we should require, the daily salary, 25 ases,⁴ or 2,280 sesterces for the year (450 to 500 frs.), was a good prize subtracted from folks who

¹ *Sat.*, iii. 249.

² Martial, *Epigr.*, iv. 68.

³ Yet Martial terms it *ingenuas cruces* (x. 82). But he was very idle, and in spite of his practice of extending without shame his hand with its gold ring, the little dignity left in the poet's soul rebelled in the presence of certain patrons (cf. x. 70, 74, and many other places).

⁴ 100 quadrantes, or 25 ases, were worth 6·25 sesterces.

had too much, for the profit of those who had not enough. To the daily farthings must be added the casual ones: occasional presents, an old cloak, a shabby toga, invitations to dinner, a corner in the palace to lodge in,¹ sometimes even, in a lucky moment, a field like that which Martial received,² and about which the begging poet does not seem to care when he has it, in order to obtain more. "You have given me," said he, when reproaching his patron for his stinginess, "some land at the gates of Rome; I have a larger extent on my window. . . . A caterpillar would starve there. Proene would carry off all the straw for her little ones' nest, and a spoon would hold the harvest." Then, too, the clever ones would secure several patrons, and with good limbs they were equal to their double service. Therefore it was, whatever the disappointed might say of it, a trade on which one could live, on the condition, it is true, of not being too proud. These figures are for Rome and the suburbs;³ in the provincial cities the sportula yielded less. But I am quite certain that it was always given where scanty means and much vanity existed: two things which often go together and which in the Empire were never wanting.

The prince had his clients like the rest of the rich; the palace was encumbered with them; they followed him in his travels, ate at his table or in its neighbourhood, and received his gifts, which Quintilian calls *congiaria*, like the distributions to the people.⁴ But the feeling of natural or social inequality was so deeply rooted in the heart of this society, that the prince and all who reckoned a sufficiently large number of clients or "friends," divided them into

¹ *Digest*, ix. 3, 5, § 1.

² xi. 18.

³ At Baiae, Martial received from Flaccus the 100 quadrantes. Martial (*passim*), Juvenal (*Sat.*, i.), and Fronto (*ad Marc. Aur.*, 5; *ad Ver.*, 7) show that under this form the *clientela* was still in full vigour in the Antonines' time; it is found even later, but it no longer carries the idea of fidelity on the one part and actual patronage on the other. See the complaints of Martial against Ponticus, who refused him every kind of assistance. Yet we must distinguish between mere transient clients, runners after *sportulae*, to whom applies what was said before, and family or civic clients. I name also those who were hereditary clients by virtue of a contract in proper legal form between the first patron and the first client, for them and their posterity (cf. Orelli, Nos. 1,079, 3,056 *et seq.*), the freedmen over whom the ancient master had the right of correction, and the inhabitants of a free town who had been given a patron in perpetuity. (*Id.*, *ibid.*)

⁴ vi. 3, 52.

classes under very different conditions without raising any opposition: there were friends of the first, second, or third grade.

Even cities were included among the clients of an influential rich patron, sometimes of several: Canusium had thirty-nine, of whom thirty-one were Roman senators and eight Roman knights.¹ These people of the south, at all times fond of games, spectacles, and noisy demonstrations, knew how to make the most of the lavish, the seekers for popularity, and the vain who liked to hear men saying: "There goes the patron of that important city!" In this city, where the manners of the Republican



Coin of a Patron of a City.²

aristocracy had left so many traces, it was remembered that Scipio and Marcellus, Brutus and Cato, all the great citizens of Rome, had been patrons of cities or peoples. Then this patronage had been useful even to those who exercised it, now it was merely honourable, but it was so in a high degree, and the most considerable personages did not at all disdain to add it to titles conferred by the emperor.³ As for the cities, this patronage guaranteed them against the excesses of a



Gladiator's Helmet. (Naples Museum.)

governor, by the fear of accusers in the senate of Rome.⁴ This selfish interest was by no means concealed: the document which officially constituted the bond between the people and their patron often contained these words: "We offer you this, the highest honour of our city, in order that we may be,

¹ Mommsen, *Inscr. Neapol.*, No. 625. See the advice that Fronto (*ad Amic.*, ii. 10) gives to his compatriots for the choice of several patrons.

² *MVNICIPII PATRONVS*, and an *aplustre*, *i.e.*, an ornament which decorated the stern of ships. Bronze medal of Cadiz.

³ Orelli, No. 784.

⁴ See the discourse of Thrasea in the senate, and the examples furnished by the younger Pliny.

by means of you, in security and well protected." Should also this bond be relaxed or broken it could be renewed, *renovavit hospitium*.¹

In choosing a patron, the senate was called together; a decree had been prepared by the decurions, presented to the public assembly, and voted as a legislative act:² it was a compact which bound the posterity of the protector to that of the protected³—thus Bologna was in the *clientela* of the Antonii,⁴ Lacedæmon in that of the Claudii, Sicily, of the Marcelli, etc. Moreover, women and children were patrons of a city.⁵ The deed was engraved on a tablet of bronze or marble, *tabula hospitalis*, which was preserved in a temple, and a copy was solemnly deposited in the patron's house;⁶ from that time he became the official defender of the city before the central government and of the citizens before the tribunals. For his clients he exhausted his credit and purse, he rebuilt their decayed monuments or built new ones; he gave them games of athletes or gladiators, festivals, public dinners; he had distributions of money, or like Pliny, founded some provident or charitable institution. But then he walked, when in the city, at the head of the magistrates; he had the first place in the temple, at the theatre, and the feasts; he was offered presents, which he returned a hundred fold; during his lifetime inscriptions, busts, and statues, were voted to him; and at death, a tomb, on which were the words: "This monument was erected at the expense of the community by a decree of the decurions, in gratitude for the services rendered by N. to the Republic."⁷ The patron's protection was more effectual than that of Jupiter; he was paid, as was the god, with a little smoke, pomp, and acclamations, and everybody was satisfied, including

¹ Orelli, Nos. 4,036-7.

² *Consentiente populo* (Henzen, No. 7,171). At Malaga (cap. lxi.), at Genetiva Julia (cap. cxxx.), the choice of the patron was made by a decree of the senate passed with a majority of two-thirds.

³ . . . *Eunque cum liberis posterisque suis patronum cooptaverunt* (Henzen, No. 6,413). We know of a good many acts of this sort.

⁴ Suet., *Octav.*, 17.

⁵ *Puer egregius ab origine patronus ordinis et populi* (Orelli, No. 3,767). One of Marcus Aurelius's daughters had this title at Guelma (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, Nos. 2,718-9): a priestess of Venus at Peltuinum (Orelli, No. 4,036), etc.

⁶ Orelli, No. 784.

⁷ . . . *Etique ob merita ejus erga rem publicam scholam et statuas decrevit* (Orelli, No. 344). Cf. No. 3,853: two statues, a silver shield, etc.

the man who had half ruined himself in order to appear of importance.¹

To the liberality shown by the rich during their lifetime were added testamentary legacies, which were very common, the law giving the father the absolute disposition of three-fourths of his property, and custom demanding that he should make a will. Before the Apronian *senatus-consultum* passed under Trajan or Hadrian cities could not receive a gift or inheritance, except by special authorization, as for Marseilles under Tiberius, or by measures so arranged as to elude the law, as

Pliny did to secure for Como a revenue of 50,000 sesterces. But friends, the "brethren" of the deceased, even strangers who did honour to the city or the State, found unexpected gifts in wills. Pliny writes to Trajan: "Julius Largus, of the province of Pontus, whose face I never saw and whose name I never



Inscription placed under the Statue of Marcus Calatorius.²

heard, has in his will begged me to accept 50,000 sesterces, and to divide the remainder between the cities of Heraclea and Tyana to be employed in public works or in quinquennial games."³ The Roman family was strengthened rather than weakened by this freedom of willing property, which obliged the son to show some respect to his father as well as more prudence towards himself, and the city was the gainer also by not having within its walls men considering themselves as strangers in the midst of their fellow-citizens.

These relations established by custom between the different classes of society gave a peculiar character to municipal manners, in

¹ In this case the free city sometimes afforded help to the patron's family. Women or children whose husbands or fathers had perhaps been ruined in the public service obtained from the decurions what was then one of the great desires of life—a tomb. (*Inscr. de Lyon*, No. 194.)

² It must be completed thus: Marco CALATORIO Marci filio QVARTIONI MVNICIPES ET INcolæ AERE CONLATO: "To Marcus Calatorius Quartio, son of Marcus, the citizens of the city and the inhabitants, with the money which they have collected." (Naples Museum. Cf. Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. vi. pl. 86, and p. 167.)

³ *Epist.*, x. 79. Augustus, in 20 years, had received 1,400,000,000 sesterces by legacies in wills, although he refused many of them. (Suet., *Octav.*, 101 and 66.)

spite of the offensive distinction established by the law between the *honestior* and the *humilior*, a difference which [so far], after all, the miscreant alone felt. The rich seemed as if responsible for securing the pleasures, and, to some extent, the subsistence of the poor.¹ It was quite as much for them as for the senators that they erected buildings, since the whole community occupied seats in the same theatre, bathed in the same baths, walked under the same porticoes. With us it is rare for the rich and poor to know one another; in the Roman city, they were in continual communication by means of the *clientela*, patronage, the lavish gifts which associated the one in the joys of the other. Games, spectacles, and exercises, were common to all. From all this came a spirit of mutual good-will and self-control which secured the tranquillity of the Empire.

Why is not this the case in our [French] society? For several reasons. We do not possess the great Roman municipality with its habitually close relations between the citizens; we have the law of a compulsory division of property, which prevents testamentary acts of liberality through making the father's fortune the inalienable property of the son. In the family, by depriving its head of the right of disinheriting the child who throws disgrace on his name, domestic discipline has been destroyed; and throughout the population our continual revolutions have caused a fierce sentiment of false equality which has expelled patronage from our manners and respect from our public life. Each is his own master, which is a good thing; but many in this way remain isolated in the immensity of the State and are ready to charge society with the ills of which this isolation is the cause.

IV.—COLLEGES AND BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

Up to the present we have considered a Roman city in its totality; but the free town contained, like so many little cities, corporations (*collegia*, *universitates*) formed by all those who found interest or pleasure in being associated. For a long time the right

¹ There is a tolerable number of examples in Greek inscriptions of generous citizens importing corn in time of scarcity and selling it at a low price. At other times this is done by the magistrates in the name of the city. (*Bull. de corresp. hellén.*, February, 1881, p. 89.)

of association was practised without restriction, and there existed guilds of handicraftsmen from the earliest times of Rome's history.¹ When, in the last century of the Republic, they became a cause of troubles, they were suppressed, except a small number of colleges protected by their antiquity or religious character. Clodius, in order to provide himself with a revolutionary army, re-established them in 58 and created new ones from the dregs of the people.



Weighing of Loaves at a Baker's. (Bas-relief on the Tomb of Eurysaces.)
(See this tomb, vol. iii. p. 738.)

Cæsar compelled them to dissolve, and Augustus tolerated only those which were founded by virtue of a *senatus-consultum*.² His successors continued faithful to this policy and subjected the members of illegal associations to the most terrible punishments. Ulpian says, "Whoever forms a society without permission is liable to the same penalties as those who, by armed force, hold the public places or the temples."³ And these penalties were

¹ Gaius, in his *Commentary* on the Twelve Tables, says: *Sodales sunt qui ejusdem collegii sunt, quam Græci τραπεζίαν vocant. His autem potestatem facit lex pactionem quam velint sibi ferre, dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant.* He thinks that this right of association is derived from a law of Solon which he quotes, and which shows the extent and variety of this right: *ἴσιν δὲ δῆμος, ἢ φράτορες, ἢ ἱερῶν ὀργίων, ἢ ναῦται, ἢ σύσσιτοι, ἢ ὁμόταφοι, ἢ θιασῶται, ἢ ἐπὶ λείαν οἰχόμενοι, ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν . . .* (*Digest*, xlvii. 22, 4). The Twelve Tables only forbade night assemblies, and the Gabinian law only clandestine meetings (Porc. *Latro*, *Declam. contra Catil.*, § 10). On the *collegia*, *corpora*, *sodalicia*, *scholæ artificum et opificum*, see capp. xvii. and xviii. of Orelli, the *Index* of Henzen, the dissertation of Mommsen, *de Collegiis et sodaliciis*. Boissier, *la Religion romaine*, vol. ii. p. 274, and Levasseur, *les Classes ouvrières*, vol. I. liv. i. cap. vi.

² Dion, xxxviii. 13; Suet., *Cæsar*, 42; *Octav.*, 32; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 10, 8. Cf. the *senatus-consultum de Bacch.* (*C. I. L.*, vol. i. 195); Ulpian, *ad leg. Juliam majestatis* (*Digest*, xlviii. 4, 1). All disorders were readily attributed to these associations; the first measure ordered by the senate towards stopping the dispute between Nuceria and Pompeii was to suppress the colleges, *quæ contra leges instituerant* (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 17). The passage well shows the two contrary tendencies: in the people, the desire of multiplying the colleges; in the government, the wish to restrain them. Chapter cvi. of the law of *Genetiva col.* interdicts *cætum, conventum, conjurationem*.

³ *Digest*, xlvii. 22, 2: *collegium illicitum*.

those of high treason, banishment or death, with all the horrors of the amphitheatre. We have seen Trajan's suspicious repugnance with respect to them, although he himself constituted at Rome, in the public interest, the guild of bakers, and Gaius said, moreover, about the year 150:¹ "They are authorized only for a few reasons. Thus the farmers of taxes, the workers of gold, silver, and salt mines, are permitted to form themselves into societies. Rome has besides many corporate bodies legally established, such as that of the bakers, the boatmen of the Tiber, and some others."² Others exist also in the provinces. These associations can possess property,³ as can the city, a common chest, a syndicate for managing their affairs and defending them in the law courts."

Yet we have noticed, commencing with Hadrian, a check in this policy, at least in respect of the Christians, and this certainly agrees with another regarding the trade and festive societies; for a constitution of the "Divine Brothers"—Marcus Aurelius and Verus—proves the existence of the usage by the very prohibition which they make against being members of two colleges at the same time, while granting to these associations the right of receiving legacies and setting free their slaves, and by consequence inheriting from the freedmen.⁴ Half a century later Alexander Severus himself formed all the trades into guilds.⁵ Manners led to it. Feeling a sense of isolation in so immense an Empire men became all the more strongly attached to their city, and in the city itself the movement towards concentration, the consequence of the increasing aristocratic character which municipal administrations were taking, had for a long time forced the *humiliores* to associate according to their wants and ideas. Political considerations had combated without destroying this inveterate custom of the Græco-Latin world; and as is always the case when manners are in opposition to law, it is the former which conquer; the old usages had triumphed over political feelings of distrust. Besides, it was

¹ *Digest*, iii. 4, 1.

² The scribes of whom Martial speaks (viii. 38) formed one of the colleges at Rome.

³ The widow of a rich freedman left to a college a site for a chapel, a statue in marble of the god, a terrace sheltered by a roof with a gallery where the fellows could hold their collegiate repasts (Orelli, No. 2,417).

⁴ *Digest*, xlvii. 22, 1, § 2; xxxiv. 5, 20, and xl. 3, 1 and 2.

⁵ Lamprid., *Alex. Sev.*, 42. Hadrian had established something similar for the work-people whom he took with him in his travels.

encouraged by the example of the companies authorized by the government for the service of the State or the needs of the public. Then men of the same trade, even of the same district, perhaps of one street, the freedmen of the same master, the wor-



Practice of Singing or Music. (Mosaic of the Naples Museum.)

shippers of the same Lares at the nearest public place, the devotees of the same divinity at the neighbouring temple, the traders of the same country,¹ or the Romans (*collegium urbanorum*) and the veterans settled in a foreign city, and many others also,² associated together for the purpose of rendering mutual help, for religion, or for pleasure. Associations were formed for feastings,³ or, like our

¹ *Collegium peregrinorum*. Thus, at Tomi, existed ὁ οἶκος, or the chamber of the Alexandrine armourers, etc. Cf. Perrot, p. 67. An inscription (Orelli, No. 1,246) bears: "The people of Berytus, worshippers of Jupiter of Heliopolis, established at Puteoli," and a number of others.

² For example, corporations of artists, musicians, and actors. (Cf. Egger, *Mém. d'hist. anc.*, p. 31.) Slaves could not enter a college without the consent of their master, *domini voluntibus*. (*Digest*, xlvii. 16, 3, § 2.)

³ Tertullian (*Apol.*, c. 39) makes allusion to societies for feasting: *epulae, potacula, vora-*

clerks of the Basoche, to celebrate some *fête* by scenic representations, for the practice of singing, music, and gymnastics, etc.¹ The principle was especially applied to funerals.² To be certain of a tomb was, at that time, the great expectation of every one. The rich made their arrangements on their own domain; the poor, who had not a spot of ground to hold the sepulchral urn, bought in common a corner where they would be protected by the "members" better than a knight was, in his sumptuous tomb, against the indignities of placards and announcements, sometimes against the intrusion of another corpse which, from economy, the heritors would wish to place in some old sepulchre.³ Nerva had encouraged this institution, by constituting a fund to aid the poor in meeting their funeral expenses, and as these societies were by far the most numerous, because a senatus-consultum had authorized them, others took the form of a burial society to give a legal character to meetings of a different sort.

We have the rules of one of these colleges, that of Lanuvium.⁴ To become a member, there was a payment of 100 sesterces and an amphora of good wine (twenty-six litres); to continue in it, to pay every month six ases to the common fund: in consideration of which each member was assured of having a funeral pile and a tomb costing the fraternity 300 sesterces, fifty of which were paid to the members who should follow at the funeral to do honour to the deceased. If the subscriber died within twenty miles of Lanuvium, three members selected for this purpose set out at once for the funeral, and they were paid twenty sesterces as travelling expenses. If he died at a greater distance they paid the customary

trine. . . . In an inscription of Orelli, No. 4,073, the associates are called lovers of feasting: *convictores qui una epulo vesci solent*.

¹ The *ludi juvenales* celebrated by *collegia juvenum*, which are found in great number in Italy in the first and second centuries. (Cf. L. Renier, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inser.*, 1866, p. 164, and Orelli, Nos. 1,383, 3,909, 4,094, 4,101, etc.)

² *Ομόρπου*. See the curious passage in Gaius quoted at p. 389. These colleges, or something analogous, still exist in Germany, *Sterbekassen* or *Grabkassen*. For a very moderate premium the family receives, at the death of the assured, a certain sum for his burial: *Begräbnissgeld*: the same thing exists in England and Ireland.

³ See, the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inser.* for 1866, an inscription of Thasos in which the proprietor of a tomb threatens with a fine of 4,000 denarii, to be paid to the city, those who might try to put another corpse in it. There are many such inscriptions. The payment of the fine was certain because it went to the free city or the imperial treasury, *arca pontificum*, and public authority was aroused against violators of sepulchres. (*Digest*, xlvii. 12, 3, § 3.)

⁴ Henzen, No. 6,086.

funeraticum to the undertaker. Lastly, when a master, "from spitefulness," refused the corpse of his deceased slave, the association did not the less for that reason perform for the defunct member a formal funeral.¹ Suicides lost their right to anything. Our black and white penitents of the South are the lasting souvenir of these funeral associations.

A slave-member of the college who obtained his freedom was expected to give, on this occasion, an amphora of wine, which was laid down. Six times a year the members dined together. The fare was plain: for each guest a loaf of two ases, four sardines, and a bottle of the wine which they had in store.² But the company was not at those times occupied with gloomy thoughts; they loved to laugh, and to drink also, nor did they wish to be drawn aside from their pleasures until they had emptied the 100 litres (four amphoræ) put on the table. "If any one desires to make any complaint," says the rule, "or to make any proposition, let him await the stated meeting of the college; we wish, on the festival days, to dine quietly and pleasantly, *ut quieti et hilares . . . epulemur*." As in the city, breaches of the rules were punished by fines: four sesterces for having taken a seat at the feast which was not his own, twelve for having made a disturbance, twenty for being rude to the president; these fines doubtless served to increase the bill of fare. The stewards of the feast³ had to furnish cushions for the couches, the plate, and the hot water⁴ which they liked to mix with their thick or honeyed wines.⁵

¹ *Ei funus imaginarium fiet* (Henzen, *ibid.*).

² Many other inscriptions mention this distribution of wine. Cf. Orelli, No. 2,417; a special legacy secured twice a year, to the ordinary members of this college, 2 denarii and 3 sextarii of wine (1 litre, 60 cent.), to the servants double, to the officials three times as much, and to all four loaves each.

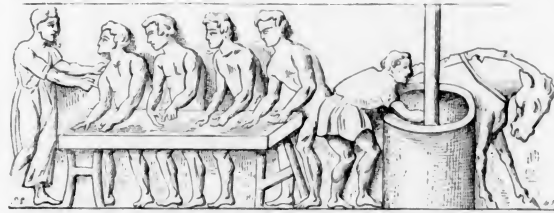
³ *Magistri cenarum ex ordine albi facti*.

⁴ The taste for hot drinks was so general as to require at Rome many thermopolia, . . . in *thermopolio* . . . *calidum bibunt* (Plaut., *Curcul.*, II. iii. 13-14).

⁵ This picture of the interior economy of a Roman brotherhood is taken from a long inscription found at Lanuvium (Henzen, No. 6,086), which is of the year 136, and which bears at the top the senatus-consultum authorizing burial societies. We infer from this text that the quotation of Marcianus in the *Digest*, xlvii. 22, 1, in which the words *in funus* do not occur which are in the inscription, was incomplete. This jurisconsult speaks of the doctrine being established by the whole of the imperial rescripts, *mandatis principalibus præcipitur*, and not of the senatus-consultum appealed to at Lanuvium. He sums up in these words, that the *sodalicia* are prohibited, and yet that people of no consideration can have a common purse, supported by monthly payments, on the condition that the meetings must not take place more than once a month. Marcianus goes even further in saying: . . . *religionis causa coire non prohibetur*

These corporate bodies, in which the slave sat by the side of the free man, at the same banquet, and which secured to him a funeral and a tomb, show how this society, in its ideas and in some of its institutions, of its own accord held out the hand to Christianity.

The guild also had its patron. He was very humbly begged to accept this onerous title, and to allow the decree of nomination



Bakers kneading Dough. (Bas-relief on Eurysaces' Tomb.)

to be carved above his door with many compliments for his meritorious action and his generosity. And there could always be found some well-to-do merchant who was delighted to accept this dignity in the absence of another.

The trade societies, like our ancient guilds, sometimes sought patrons in heaven: on the 19th of March the weavers, fullers, and

(*ibid.*, § 1), and with their master's permission slaves can be affiliated, *collegio tenuiorum* (*ibid.*, § 2). Opposed to this passage from Marcianus are the following words of Ulpian: *sub prætextu religionis vel sub specie solvendi voti catus illicitos nec a veteranis tentare oportet* (*Digest*, XLVI. ii. 2). I see here a precaution against military disorders, and I can comprehend that after so many barrack revolutions, the government, holding every meeting of soldiers as suspected, had placed under a general prohibition, aimed at all illegal assemblies, those of veterans who under the pretext of a sacrifice or a vow held meetings to plan a rising. It was impossible to interdict religious assemblies, for this would have suppressed religion. Marcianus does not speak differently. But there was need to strike at societies which concealed their true purposes under the guise of religion; this is the purport of Ulpian's words. The Romans, like the English, had some very rigorous laws which were generally left dormant, but which they used in case of need. Thus, a well-decided principle of the imperial policy was to interdict associations, and the constant usage was to tolerate, even in the camps (cf. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 57, 60, 63, 70), all those which seemed to be inoffensive. Against others there was always in reserve the law which could be applied: this was what was done against the Christians. Nevertheless, Mommsen confesses that those colleges in which he saw only burial associations would have meetings *ad epulas et res sacras quotiens res ferebat* (p. 88), and he adds that every association which required a monthly subscription took, without constituting itself a special college, the legal form of a burial society. I do not ask more: with that alone all the rest can pass. The prohibition cited previously against being a member of two colleges at once proves, contrary to the opinion held by Mommsen, that there were different kinds, for I do not think that any one desired to be affiliated to two funeral colleges to have two tombs. Walter (*Gesch. des Röm. Rechts.*, No. 339) thinks also that the funeral colleges were only one of the classes of those authorized, and he says respecting Mommsen's statement: *Seine Gründe sind nicht überzeugend.*

dyers betook themselves, headed by their banner,¹ to the temple of Minerva; the 19th of June was, for the millers and bakers, the feast of Vesta and of their guild. Others were worshippers of Diana and Antinous, of the chaste goddess and the favourite whom a



Diana with Dog. (Statue in the Vatican, Musée Pio-Clé., No. 622.)

strange syncretism had united in the same temple at Lanuvium. In fact, all the divinities of the Roman Pantheon, the new as well as the old, were utilized, even those uncertain divinities, and yet so popular that they were styled geniuses, *collegii genio*. For them a chapel was built at the place where the guild held their meetings; on the holy-day they were offered incense and wine, a grain of the former and some drops of the latter, and a victim

¹ *Vexilla collegiorum* (Vopiscus, *Aurel.*, 34, and *Gall.*, 3).

of which the complaisant god left some good morsels for the faithful, being himself satisfied with the sweet smell which arose from the fat burned on his altar.

Thus by the side of the trade societies which old usages and the competition of the slaves had compelled the free workmen to form, there existed others which recall the brotherhood or guild of the Middle Ages.

The college was styled with a certain pride "the republic," and its members were "the people:"¹ thus was it organized after the pattern of the city. It possessed that character of a civil person which Marcus Aurelius had recognized in it by giving the right of receiving legacies.² It had statutes, discussed in the general meeting, *conventu pleno*, which were its law; monthly subscriptions, which represented the State tax; its *album* or list of associates, revised every five years; its annual chiefs, nominated at the election; and its distributions of food or money given by some generous patron.³ Then, too, like the decurions in like circumstances, the dignitaries of the college received a better portion⁴ or a larger sum, but like them also they were condemned to burdensome donations. This mode of recognizing the dignity of the chief by serving him better at table had a famous precedent: at Sparta the law gave a double portion to kings; in this manner Rome always honoured the courage of her bravest soldiers,⁵ and the Church [imitating the Mosaic law] will act similarly towards its priests.

This strange practice hides an idea which was true at the time when combats were often hand to hand fights. To recompense a brave man he was given the means of increasing his strength by giving him the means of getting more to eat; for a contrary reason a coward was punished in weakening him: bleeding was a disciplinary punishment in the Roman army. This people, very tenacious of their usages, honoured the peaceful decurions of the

¹ . . . *Populus collegii* (Orelli, No. 2,417, and elsewhere).

² *Digest*, xxxiv. 5, 20.

³ Under Antoninus four senators of Rome were patrons of the boatmen's guild of Ostia. (Guasco, *Mus. Cap.*, ii. p. 185.)

⁴ . . . *partes duplas* . . . *sesquiplas* (Or-Henzen, No. 6,086). See at No. 2,417 the very curious regulation of the college of Æsculapius and Hygeia.

⁵ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xviii. 3, and our vol. i. p. 301.

Empire in the same way as their ancestors had honoured the heroes of ancient days.

The associations which we have just reviewed, and which the Empire handed down to the Middle Ages, raised the poor man in his own eyes and in the eyes of others. By their union, the members of the college took a position in the city and made themselves of account there. Isolated, they would have been despised; united, they became one of the organs of municipal life. Some of these colleges secured even to their members, by virtue of a concession of the emperors, the freedom of the urban offices,¹ and this privilege of certain corporations profited by securing consideration for the others. Thus it often happened that a decree of the decurions assigned at the theatre special places to the members of an important corporation;² that on public distribution days they received their share before the plebeians and that they had a better one. Even at the elections, the support or hostility of an inferior college was a matter of importance, and this gave to these people of humble rank the ability of speaking out, at least for the time. An inscription at Pompeii states: "The fishermen nominate as ædile Popidius Rufus," an announcement somewhat bold, which might easily influence the undecided and intimidate the opponents.³

We also see that at this period election was practised everywhere, in the corporation as well as in the city, and that it constituted the motive power of the system. But we also find in it another thing. These little cities contained in the great one were often animated by a real spirit of fraternity. These poor people⁴ loved one another. A freedman wrote on his wife's tomb, a former slave: "To the best of women, who never did me anything untoward except that she departed from me," and this tomb he erected for her, for himself, and for all his freed men or women.⁵ Many funeral monuments are raised "by a friend:" *C. Julius Flavius amico suo*. They treated one another as "brethren;" one

¹ *Munera* (*Digest*, l. 6, §, § 12).

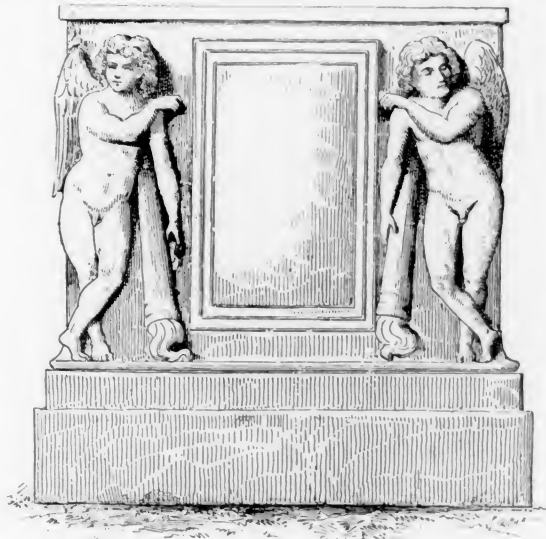
² Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 396.

³ *C. I. L.*, vol. iv. 826. Boissier, *Relig. rom.*, vol. ii. p. 332.

⁴ See, *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. p. 633, the sixty-nine names inscribed on the album of one of these colleges; they are only small people, almost all of them freemen, four slaves of the colony, three of private persons.

⁵ Orelli, No. 575.

of them we see giving "to his brethren composing the college of Velabrum"¹ a monument which he had restored. Others announce that they have consecrated an altar to Jupiter "with the assistance of their brethren and sisters." In another case, it is a friend who, on the anniversary of the birth of the friend whom he has lost, makes a distribution "to the grateful and pious multitude" of his old brethren.² These usages were general, and it was not the



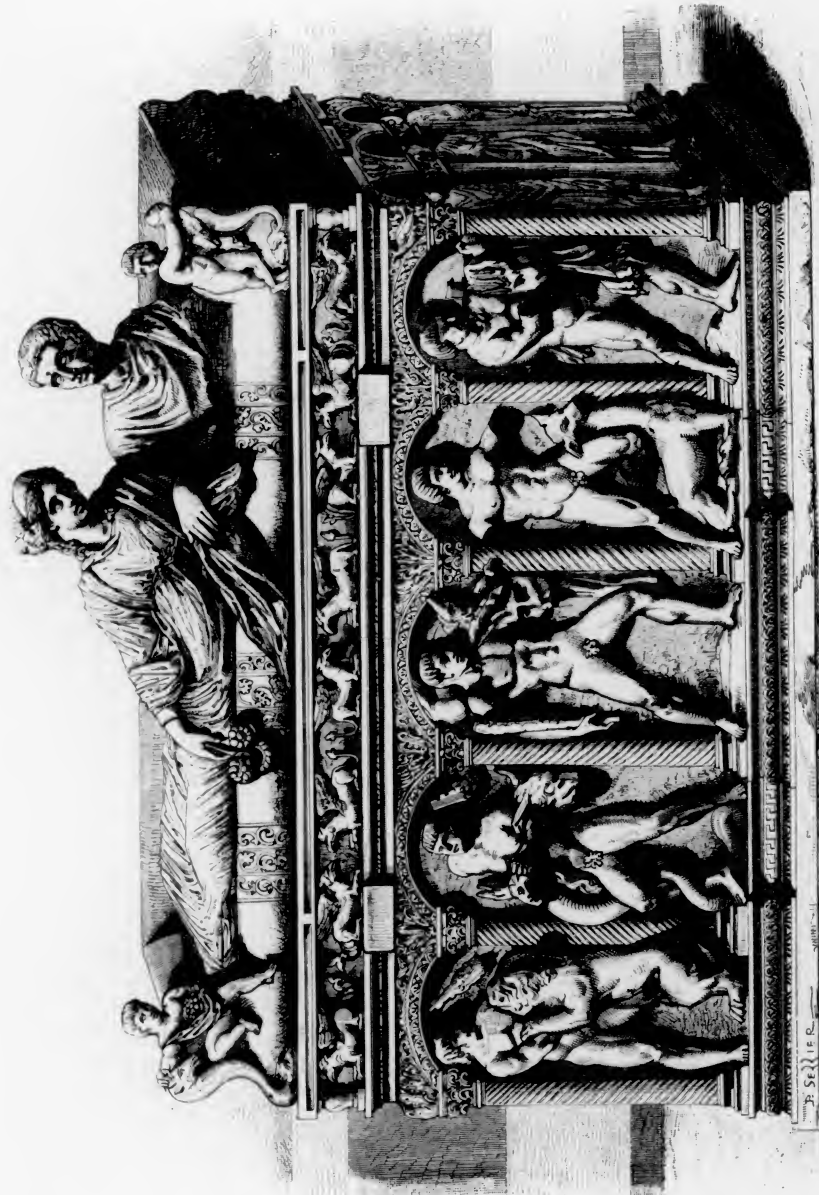
Funeral Monument dedicated by a Husband to his Wife. (Musée du Louvre.)

poor only who helped one another. The senators of Rome, who many times under bad princes had acted as informers, under good ones voluntarily subscribed so that a colleague might give games or rebuild his palace when burnt down,³ and amidst the eulogies pronounced on the deceased it would have been fitting to carve on more than one patrician sepulchre these words, which can be read on a good number of tombs for the people: "He was devoted to his family, to his college; *pius in suos, pius in collegium.*"

¹ Orelli, No. 1485.

² Martial, *Epigr.*, viii. 8. The monument reproduced on the following page was erected by Q. Marcius to his brother: *D. M. Mamertino Q. Marcius Chamo (?) Fratri piissimo et Parthenope conjugi bene merenti.* (Piranesi, *Vasi*, ii. pl. 170.)

³ Seneca, *de Benef.*, ii. 21, 5; Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii. 216.



Cinerary Urn inclosing the Ashes of a Married Couple.

As early as the time of Augustus a rich freedman inserted in his epitaph that he had always been a "friend of the poor."¹

The inscriptions of Lambesa have disclosed a practice which, as it cannot be peculiar to the legion cantoned there, must have been general in the Roman army: the existence of military colleges and the favour which, in spite of the express prohibition by law, the legates themselves extended to them. These colleges had instituted, from the subscriptions of their members, an actual relief fund,² and it is not rash to conclude from this fact that some civil corporations had contrived similar institutions.

There was also in the corporation the spirit of discipline and order. There were classes in the college as in the curia; ranks were assigned and were kept. At the head of the album were inscribed the patrons of the corporation, its elected chiefs, its dignitaries, then the freemen, the freedmen, and the slaves. Order was pleasing to them, and they accepted quite naturally the subordination of ranks, which the teaching of a barbarous equality had not as yet confused. Moreover, nowhere were more docile subjects to be met with. In those immense provinces which had not a single soldier, you never hear any mention made of insurrection.³ The armies revolted but not the peoples. Religious feeling caused risings against the Jew or the Christian: there was nothing of the kind against the magistrate or the law, and far less against society. At the very most, in times of famine there were disorders against so-called monopolists, such as have been seen even in our days.⁴ During its whole duration the Empire neither had servile wars nor social commotions which had so often caused bloodshed during the Republic. Cicero, in one of his orations against Cataline,⁵

¹ *Misericordis, amantis pauperes*. The inscription reads *pauperis*. But this pearl merchant of the Sacred Way, who built on the Appian Way a tomb in which other freedmen may be buried, could not be called a poor man. Besides, *is* for *es* was often used, without regarding the numerous solecisms in inscriptions. See Egger, *Mém. d'hist. anc.*, p. 356.

² Cf. Léon Renier, *Inscr. rom. de l'Algérie*, Nos. 60 and 70. The associate when travelling received his travelling expenses, the veteran, before setting out on his leave, 500 denarii, etc. The Greek world had for a long while been filled with similar associations. The *θίασοι* formed religious societies as well for mutual help, credit, assurance against fire, etc., and their dignitaries, the *clerotes*, have perhaps given their name to the Christian clergy.

³ The two wars of the Jews and that of Civilis, which had their special causes, must be excepted.

⁴ Thus at Prusa, where Dion Chrysostom saw the mob almost burn his house down.

⁵ iv. 7-8; Herodian, vii. 2, 5.

declares the conservative spirit existing in the Roman lower middle class; three centuries later Herodian notices the same thing.

Many causes concurred in producing this peaceful spirit; one, especially, was the character of a society aristocratic and yet open to all, which preserved slavery, but progressively ameliorated the lot of the slave and was already giving attention to the wretchedness of the poor; in which the magistrate was not necessarily an enemy, as is seen to be the case among other peoples; where, too, respect was preserved for the powers and honours conferred in the name of the majesty of the senate or of "the divinity of the emperor," even for the great families which were said or which one wished to believe to be sprung from the gods. The plebeian was also proud, like the *Commoner* of England, of historic families; he thought that these pontiffs of the city, the province, and the Empire, could offer to Jupiter prayers heard with a more favourable ear.¹

It is curious to find at the end of eight centuries this religious reverence, *pietas*, for the country and family, for the laws and discipline established by those ancestors who had laid the foundation of the Roman character. Political revolutions had not been able to destroy this solid social education of ancient Italy.

England is still nearly in this condition; we [French] are no longer so, nor have we known how to replace, by a moral discipline in our hearts, that social discipline which has disappeared in the city. The Empire of the Antonines had both; law was respected, the order established by it was loved, and each man occupied, generally without envy or hate, the condition in which he was born, seeking indeed to raise himself, sometimes by crooked ways or shameful means, but never by outbreak.

The city was completed by certain institutions for teaching and public aid. It had professors for its schools, medical men for its sick; and these professors and medical men were the only functionaries of the city who received fees,² and had exemption for themselves,

¹ Tacitus praises Tiberius for having taken the nobility into consideration in the distribution of office (*Ann.*, iv. 6), and he mentions the case of all the people of Rome taking the part of a great Roman lady against her husband, who was rich but of low birth (*ibid.*, iii. 22). These feelings still existed in the third century and even later. (Cf. Marquardt, vol. v. p. 249.)

² *Multis in locis: præceptores publice conducuntur* (Pliny, *Epist.*, iv. 13; *Cod. Theod.*, xiii. 3, 2 and 3. Σοφιστὰς . . . κοινῇ μισθοῦμενοι, καθάπερ καὶ ἰατροὺς (iv. 1, 5). Fronto

their wives and children, from all municipal offices,¹ guardianships, deputations, quartering of soldiers and public functionaries, duties of judges and priests, and even from military service.² To all these advantages were added the *Minerval* which scholars paid their masters and what rich clients gave their physicians. This practice was old: Strabo had already stated of the Gallic cities: "They give salaries to physicians and rhetoricians." The Republic had shown no concern for the men whose business it was to care for the mind and the body. On this point, as on so many others, the Empire inaugurated a new policy. By his decree in favour of physicians and the professors of the liberal arts, Cæsar had elevated their social condition and paved their way to wealth.³ The honour is due to Vespasian of having created, at the expense of the State, higher literary teaching, by bestowing on some Greek and Latin rhetoricians a salary of 100,000 sesterces, payable by the imperial treasury. Quintilian was the first to profit from this payment, and it may be concluded from an expression used by him,⁴ that at the end of twenty years these public professors obtained a retiring

(*ad Amic.*, 7) asks for one of these positions for one of his *protégés*. Even women practised medicine. An inscription says: *Julie Saturnine . . . incomparabili medicæ*. (De Laborde, *Voy. en Espagne*, vol. i. 2nd part, inser. No. 15, and Wilmanns, 241 and 2, 433.)

¹ The masters of small schools, *qui pueros primas literas docent*, having some other occupation, had no right to these immunities unless they had been nominated by a great society like that of the mines of Aljustrel, which had exempted theirs from all civic offices in order to assure their best services as teachers to the children of its workpeople. Ulpian does not recognize them under the title of professors: *licet non sint professores* (*Digest*, l. 13, 1, § 6). But he desired that the president should be careful not to let them be burdened beyond their ability (*ibid.*, 2, § 8). Notwithstanding, Rome recognized every class of master: the preceptor, who had often only board, lodging, and 200 drachmæ (Lucian, *de Merc. cond.*, 35 and 38), going, like Statius's father (*Silv.*, v. 5, 176) to give lessons in the city, and the one who received boarders at the rate of 5 aurei for the school year of eight months (*Schol. ad Juv.*, vii. 243). Remmius Palæmon gained by his school a profit of 400,000 sesterces (Suet., *Ill. Gram.*, 23). The emperor Pertinax commenced as a professor, but without success (*Capit.*, *Pert.*, 1).

² The deputations from which physicians and professors were exempt (*Digest*, xxvii. 1, 6, § 1), were very frequent and burdensome. At any remarkable event in the life of the emperors they were sent to Rome; others came to ask the prince to settle some difference with a neighbouring city when even the matter in question was something quite paltry. We have just recovered a letter from Antoninus to the Coronæans to thank them for having brought a message of condolence on the occasion of Hadrian's death, and their felicitations respecting Marcus Aurelius's adoption. Another of the same prince recalls the fact that the deputies of Coronæa had asked him to decide whether certain plethra of pasturage belonged to them or to Thisbe. (*Bulletin de corresp. hellén.* for 1881, p. 456. See above, vol. iv. p. 288.)

³ See vol. iii. p. 402.

⁴ *In proæm.*, i. Had public professors from the earliest times public rations, *annonæ*? It is probable, since all the administration had them. In 376, at Trèves, the *rhetor* received 30 shares, the *grammaticus Latinus*, 20, the *grammaticus Græcus*, 12. (*Cod. Theod.*, xiii. 3, 11.)

pension, as the legionary had a right to the privileges of a veteran after a service of equal length. Hadrian and his two successors increased these chairs, supported by the State, and the cities copied their example. Como, not having any public teachers, sent their children to study at Milan. Pliny was annoyed at this; he called



A Doctor dressing a Wound (after a Painting at Pompeii.)

a meeting of the heads of families, represented the need of having a school in the town, engaged to pay a third of the expense, and the school was founded.¹ Thus by the united action of the prince, the magistrates, and individuals, was organized, in the midst of the cities, a new and important service—that of public instruction, which the barbarians never succeeded in destroying everywhere. At first free, this instruction was by degrees subordinated to public authority, either that of the emperor or of the municipal council. In a rescript dated 362 Julian says: “As I cannot be present in every city, I forbid any one wishing to give instruction from suddenly and rashly undertaking this function. Let the candidate be examined by the *ordo*, and, with the consent of the *meliores*, let him deserve that the *curiales* should pass a decree in his favour.” A century earlier Gordian had already prescribed this examination.² The same plan was followed for medical men.

This liberal treatment by the princes of the rhetoricians, grammarians,³ and philosophers, did not produce any great literary

¹ *Epist.*, iv. 13.

² *Code*, x. 52, 2 and 7. The word *meliores* signifies in this passage those most fitted to act as examiners, *probatissimi*, as is said elsewhere. The *ordo* could revoke them, *si non se utiles studentibus præbent*.

³ The *grammarians* explained the poets and commented on them; they criticized the texts

works, for genius can alone do that; but the advantages granted, or rather officially recognized as due to physicians, show an aspect of the social life of antiquity which has been too much left in the shade. The practice of medicine, at first exercised by magicians or religious impostors, was soon secularized. Hippocrates made it a science, and as it proved lucrative many followed it; medical practitioners were found everywhere; medical assistance even became a municipal service. Each Greek city had one or more public medical men who visited the sick in the city and suburbs. Each had also a large dispensary, *iatrium*, where the practitioner, aided by his pupils and slaves, gave consultations, performed operations, and distributed the needful medicines. Some beds were also reserved there, probably for patients who could not be removed, or for persons attacked by very serious complaints.¹



A Surgeon attending to a Wounded Man (after an Engraved Stone).

The rich being able to be cared for at home, those who needed the aid of the public dispensary were the poor, and we know that in that state of society, the isolated poor, I mean without patron and “without brethren,”² were not very numerous. The cities had not, therefore, in order to possess an *iatrium*, to go to the enormous expense which the hospitals of the present day cost, and we may assume that it existed almost everywhere. One of the Hippocratic precepts recommends the care of the poor.³ Inscriptions show that this was followed: one of them is a decree granting a crown of gold to Metrodorus who, “a public physician for twenty years, has saved many citizens, and lives in poverty, having refused from

and explained the incidents and the rules of the language. The *rhetoricians* taught, by the study of the great writers, not eloquence, which cannot be learnt because it is a natural gift, but all the resources open to an orator's use to produce conviction by disposing his arguments in the best order and giving to his discourse the force of thought with the ornaments and graces of style.

¹ This is inferred from different passages in the Hippocratic treatise, *περί ιατρείας*. (Dr. Dechambre, *Revue archéol.* of 1881, p. 53.)

² That is, those who were not members of a college having a mutual benefit fund. See our cap. lxxxiii.

³ “... sometimes even you will give your attendance for nothing, *πρὸς τίνα*.” (*Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, edit. Littré, vol. ix., *Præcepta*, § 6.) The obligation of attending the poor, of which Valentinian reminds the medical men (*Cod. Theod.*, xiii. 3, 8), is not a new duty which he imposes on them; it was one to which they had been always subjected.

them any fees.¹ The whole city paid a special rate, the *iaticum*, for supplying the expenses of this municipal service. One of the most delicate and generous obligations of the modern practitioner was also imposed on the ancient; summoned into the interior of families, he had in certain cases to have ears and not to hear and eyes not to see: Hippocrates had prescribed this professional loyalty.

We see then one-half of the Empire well provided with medical help; we might conclude from this that, thanks to the effect of example, the other was not without it. The army had its medical staff for the wounded and sick, the *lanista* for his gladiators, the rich man for himself and his slaves, the emperor for his own person and the numerous servants of the palace. Even the artisans sought to attach to their colleges poor practitioners who would be satisfied with very moderate fees, and we know from Plautus that Rome had a number of apothecaries with shops where they sold their advice and medicines, and where even they lodged some patients.² Augustus increased the privileges which Cæsar had conferred on them; later on the physicians of Rome entered the administration in an official capacity. There was for each of the fourteen regions a doctor for the poor, whose title *archiater* indicates that he had subordinates under his orders.³ Lastly, mention is made respecting Rome, Beneventum, and Avenches (*Aventicum*), which was then an important city, of *scholæ medicorum*, or places of meeting for the profession, perhaps also schools for instruction in medicine.⁴



Xenophon, the Imperial Physician. Coin of Cos (Bronze).⁵

¹ An inscription recently found at Cos is an honorary decree regarding a physician who, during an epidemic, had particularly distinguished himself by his devotion. Another, discovered at Athens, speaks of several public physicians practising in that city. (*Bull. de corresp. hellén.*, 1881, pp. 233 and 205.)

² Xenophon, Claudius's physician, was, under Nero, chief physician to the imperial family, ἀρχιπαις τῶν βασιλικῶν, before Andronichus, who is stated up to the present time as having first borne this title. (*Bull. de corresp. hellén.*, 1881, p. 468.)

³ *Messénius*, V. v. In the *Asplôteron* and the *Epitômes* Plautus again speaks of these dispensaries. Cf. Dr. Brian, *de l'Assistance médicale chez les Romains*. [Aristophanes alludes to them at Athens in the fourth century B.C., when *ἐπιστάτης* was the technical word for such practice. So Herodotus speaks of Democedes. Cf. my *Social Life in Greece*, chap. v.—Ed.]

⁴ *Col. Theod.*, xiii. 3, 8.

⁵ A passage in the *Protagoras* of Plato, where there is a question of a sum of money taken by a young man to Hippocrates of Cos, "to become himself a physician," shows that medical instruction was not gratuitous.

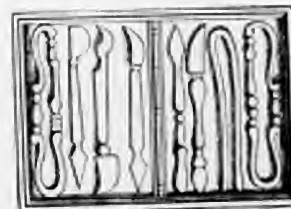
Yet it has been thought that medical assistance was not supplied in the cities of the western provinces. If the observation were well founded, we should reply with the remark which will



1. Lancet with turned truncated Handle. (Pompeii.)



2. Pincers for extracting Foreign Bodies from the Gullet. (Museum of Albucasis.)



3. Box of Instruments. (Bas-relief of the Capitoline Museum.)



4. Forceps. (Museum of Albucasis.)



5. Scalpel. (Museum of Albucasis.)



6. Case of Instruments. (Pompeii.)



7. Stomach Probe with Ringing Knot. (Pompeii.)



8. A Physician's or Teacher's Stamp. (Pompeii, fig. 5117.)

soon be developed, that the time for great benevolent institutions had not come for Roman society, because these institutions were not absolutely necessary. For, although the inscriptions which represent physicians as salaried by the Latin cities are not very

numerous,¹ they yet authorize us to presume that they were found everywhere.

The juriseconsults often make reference to them; they tell us what property was left by them: collyria and salves, surgical instruments, and apparatus for the preparation of medicines; and also what a terrible responsibility lay upon them! Let but one of their remedies kill the patient, and it became to them a matter of banishment or death. This responsibility entailed the obligation, then as now-a-days, of the physician signing his prescriptions, and there have already been found more than 150 of their seals.

We shall be confirmed in the opinion that the medical service of the cities was a general usage from the rescript of Antoninus which we gave under the reign of that prince. This rescript² is a decree which reorganizes and not one which founds. The institution was sufficiently ancient to have already produced abuses which Antoninus proposed to repress. When he fixed the number of public doctors which the large, lesser, and small cities were not to exceed, he protected the municipal finances, and by limiting the number of citizens exempted from the *municipia* he diminished the weight of the common burdens for the inhabitants. This rescript addressed to the Greek province of Asia "applies," says the juriseconsult Modestinus, "to the whole Empire."³ A statement of Galen adds also the fact, that in almost all the cities was found the *officina medicinalis*, the *ιατρείον*, without which the public doctor would have found it difficult to do his duty to the poor.⁴ We have, after many centuries, revived this institution due to the benevolence of Greece.

We now see what the so often repeated statement is worth, that charity was unknown to the ancients. To what has just been said, add the mutual assistance given by cities, the subscriptions in the whole of a province to repair any local disaster,⁵ the numberless subventions of the emperors made to cities desolated by conflagrations

¹ Orelli, Nos. 3,597 and 3,994; *C. I. L.*, vol. v. 37 and 5,377, etc. Paulus, *Sent.*, iii. 6, 62; v. 23, 19.

² See above, p. 154.

³ *Digest*, xxvii. 1, 6, § 2. The same idea will lead Constantine to limit the number of the clergy. (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi. 2, 3, 5 and 6.)

⁴ . . . *νῦν κατὰ πολλὰς τῶν πόλεων* (*Galen's opera*, vol. xviii., *Comm. de med. off.*, I, 8, edit. Kühn).

⁵ Aristides, *Palin. o' Smyrna*.

or earthquakes, and lastly, the important boarding institution founded by Trajan, which was imitated by rich citizens in all the provinces, in the depths of Dacia, Spain, and Africa, quite as much as in the heart of Italy.¹ Our legislation taxes the property left by the poor as it does that of the rich: the imperial treasury, less hard and avaricious, released from this terrible succession duty of a twentieth all property under 100,000 sesterces, that is to say, all the small and medium inheritances of those countless Roman citizens established in the provincial cities. Augustus had established this privilege and Trajan confirmed it.²

It might be believed that policy rather than benevolence had inspired these measures. The two ideas were combined, as in the case of the distributions of corn made to the people of Rome. Did not Pliny write these beautiful words: "Those who are in want must be sought out, aid must be brought them, to support and make of them a kind of family"? "There is in life but one beautiful thing," is to be read on the inscription of a tomb, "and this is well doing."³ Christianity says nothing finer.

The idea of charity is clearly implied in the foundations of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius. By the distinction given to these measures, the princes invited the provincial cities to follow their example: nor did they fail in doing so. Trajan had already recommended them to manage their revenues so as to be able to succour the poor,⁴ a recommendation which was soon changed into a command. In order to secure resources for the relief institution, the juriseconsults laid down the principle that the surplus of the municipal revenues should be employed, among other uses, for furnishing food to the poor and instruction to the children.⁵ Paulus says, "Donations can be made to the city, either for its adornment, *ad ornatum*, or for its honour, *ad honorem*; and among the things which honour

¹ See vol. iv. pp. 787 *et seq.* There are many other examples: thus at Seville, *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 1,174, and the inscriptions relative to the *curatores* and *procuratores alimentorum*.

² Pliny, *Paneg.*, 40.

³ . . . *Quos præcipue scias indigere, sustentantem foventemque orbe quodam societatis ambire* (Pliny, *Epist.*, ix. 30). . . . *ἐν βίῳ δὲ καλὸν ἔργον ἐν μόνῳ εὐπορία* (*C. I. G.*, 3,545). Pliny the Elder says with his usual emphasis: *Deus est mortali juvare mortalem* (*Hist. nat.*, ii. 15). See in cap. lxxxvii. § 2, the opinions of the philosophers on charity.

⁴ . . . *ad sustinendam tenuiorum inopiam*.

⁵ *Sive in alimenta vel eruditionem puerorum* (Marcianus, *ad D.*, xxx. 117). The legacies left *ad alimenta puerorum* became so numerous that a rescript of Severus reduced them by the Falcidian fourth. (*Digest*, xxv. 2, §0.)

a city the most is the practice of giving subsistence to infirm old men, and to young children of both sexes.¹ The decurions who had been ruined in the public service had a right to these allowances.²

If all the curiæ did not, like the emperor in the capital, give corn to the plebs gratuitously or below the market price,³ yet a clear saving was assured by many of them in selling retail goods at the wholesale price and even lower.⁴ While at Rome a special administration existed for the distributions,⁵ some provincial cities transferred annually a sum to their funds to provide for the expense of the *annona*; ⁶ and these cities were numerous enough to induce the emperor Maximin, when at the end of his resources, to seize everywhere the funds destined for the distributions. The *Digest* reckons among the ordinary public duties (*munera*) the care of watching over the application of this money and its division among the citizens;⁷ this is one of the duties which Plutarch reserves for an elderly man compelled to give up military service. We have just seen that many cities supported medical men for their needy members; an inscription shows that charity already assumed all sorts of forms. An herbalist bequeaths to his successor 300 pots of drugs with 60,000 sesterces, on the condition that the sick poor should receive at the surgery gratis mead and remedies.⁸ Finally, the new policy which had imposed on the provincial

¹ *Hoc amplius . . . alimenta infirmæ ætatis, puta senioribus, vel pueris puellisque* (*Digest*, xxx. 122).

² *Digest*, l. 2, 8.

³ See *Digest*, l. 1, 8, and title, 8, 5. The distributions of corn to the poor in the free towns were made under the oversight of the ædiles (*Digest*, xvi. 2, 17), who are sometimes styled *cereales* (Orelli, Nos. 3,902-4). The inscriptions frequently boast of the liberality of so and so, *qui . . . annona populi sæpe subvenit* (Orelli, No. 80). On the distributions of corn or oil in free cities at the expense of individuals, see Or-Henzen, Nos. 748, 2,172, 3,848, 5,323, 6,759, 7,173, and Mommsen, *Inscr. Neapol.*, 190; Guérin, *Voy. en Tunisie*, 233. Other examples: *C. I. G.*, Nos. 378, 2,930, 3,831a. Rhodes had a complete organization for the relief of the poor. They were given bread and work. Strabo (xiv. 2, 5) gives some curious details on this subject. See also an important passage in St. Augustine (*Civit. Dei*, v. 17), which I will quote under Caracalla's reign.

⁴ Ulpian, in the *Digest*, vii. 1, 27, § 3: *solent possessores certam partem fructuum municipio viliori pretio addicere*. Cf. *ibid.*, l. 8, 5.

⁵ *Fiscus frumentarius*.

⁶ *Arca frumentaria, pecunia ad annonam destinata* (cf. Hirschfeld, *Annona*, pp. 83-5, and Kuhn, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 46 *et seq.*).

⁷ *Annonæ divisio* (*Digest*, l. 4, 1, §§ 2 and 18, 5).

⁸ Orelli, No. 114, in the very small town of Lorina, near Cære.

governors¹ as a sacred duty the protection of the young, led on to this other idea of being called upon also to succour the poor, or at least of encouraging foundations to give them assistance. Hence doubtless the readiness of these magistrates to permit, contrary to the law, the establishment of so many colleges where the unfortunate found from time to time a morsel of bread and at last an honourable burial.

The gods gave the example. They had their poor who lived near the temple, at the expense of the sacred treasury, and who were styled in the island of Cyprus, the *gerim*, and in the Greek cities, "the parasites of the gods." The Christians imitated this custom. The *matricularii* of the early churches were also "God's guests."²

Doubtless, all this does not equal the value of our modern charitable institutions. But, amongst the ancients, these institutions were not so much needed, because the agricultural societies, whose whole work was done by slaves or serfs, knew nothing about the terrible proletariat of our industrial classes, except in the great capitals. In these, the workman who lives on his wages is exposed to the disastrous results of being out of work, of illness, misconduct, and idleness; in the former, the master boarded the slave in his house, the hind or the serf on the land that he tilled, and their subsistence was as certain as his own. We have seen³ that the patron had to furnish some allowances to his freedman. Besides, as lately in Spain each convent had its own poor, so in the Empire each rich house had its clients, who, every morning, received their *sportula* or a piece of money, each city had colleges furnishing certain help to their members; and there still remained something of the hospitable manners of ancient times, when the guest and the beggar were looked upon as sent by Jupiter.⁴ We rightly prefer the poverty which labours to that which begs; but this notion is neither Roman nor Greek, not even Christian. The clientship, still in full vigour at the end of the Antonines, was, so far as the great were concerned, the price paid for their fortunes.

¹ *Ne potentiores viri humiliores adficient, ad religionem præsidis prov. pertinet* (*Digest*, i. 18, 6).

² *Acad. des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, report for 28th November, 1880.

³ *Supra*, p. 307.

⁴ *πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἶσιν ἅπαντες | ξείνοι τε πτωχοὶ τε* (Homer, *Od.*, vi. 207-208; viii. 546).

Then also, under the happy sky which the countries bordering the Mediterranean enjoy, poverty is not, as in the North, a state of suffering in addition to misery. The sun there supplies half the cost of clothing and lodging; some water and a loaf of bread suffice for nourishment; now the free city gave the one in abundance, the other cost but little, and the poor man who could not find these sufficient sold himself on certain conditions.¹ The time for the creation of great charitable institutions had not therefore arrived, since they did not belong to the social necessities of the age. One is even disposed to believe that with these organizations of the Roman family and city, there were less persons than among ourselves exposed to death from starvation.

The whole municipal system is summed up in two words, which are often employed by the juriconsults: the *honour* of the city, which was the second religious claim on the Romans when it was not the first;² the *dignity* of the citizen, which included all the qualities by which a man commanded public respect and esteem.³ Under the influence of these two sentiments men were moulded in the cities, at this flourishing period, to whom the aim of their moral life was dignity of character and conduct; the aim of their social life, the fulfilment of their civic duties—precious virtues, although open to all to attain, and which many did attain: as, for example, the younger Pliny, and the large number of persons of honour to whom he refers in his correspondence. It has been said that the Germans brought into the world the sense of honour. To that savage pride which was so ready to draw the sword and was often the only virtue of fine gentlemen, I far prefer the old Roman notions which moulded citizens whose great ambition was to honour or adorn their city, and men, some of whom, by respect for themselves, have gained respect in history.

¹ These voluntary sales were so frequent that the juriconsults took notice of "the free man who sold himself" (*Digest*, i. 5, 21); and they are a proof that at that epoch slavery was not always the abominable institution which modern society condemns.

² Pliny writes to one of his friends: "... quod patriam tuam omnesque qui nomen ejus auverunt, ut patriam ipsam veneraris et diligis" (*Epist.*, iv. 28). The inscriptions often state à propos of donations made by a citizen, "... secundum dignitatem colonie" (Mommsen, *I. N.*, No. 4,040).

³ This expression applies to the State as well as the individual, and to offend the dignity of the Roman people or its representatives was one of the crimes punished as high treason. (*Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 338.)

Since we are to seek for the ideas underlying words, let us further remark that *antiquity* had, besides its proper sense, that of a thing preferred: *nihil mihi antiquius est*, says Cicero. "Nothing is dearer to me."¹ From this union of affection and respect for the old laws and old usages, there was evolved a pious feeling which was a powerful conservative force and which no longer exists on the shifting soil of modern societies. Says the younger Pliny: "Sages teach me that nothing is finer than to walk on the track of one's ancestors, especially," he takes care to add, "when they have taken the right path."² When we shall have shown that corruption had not invaded these cities so much as is believed, we shall perhaps think that the provincial towns were then in a condition analogous to that of Rome in the best period of the Republic, with laborious habits and much municipal liberty, which indemnified them for the loss of political liberty, about which, moreover, they did not disturb themselves. Doubtless, in these cities, by the side of excellent things were found faults: a religion which had no moral influence, and a creed passing into superstitions sometimes unwholesome, or satisfied with outward observances; for public amusements, festivals too often obscene or sanguinary; sometimes were lawless manners and shameless vice; servility in regard of many, because in a society which was divided into clients and patrons, or, as Martial says, into servants and kings, too many were to be met with ready to beg for the *sportula* and too many ready to throw it to them. What grotesque or hateful details in Juvenal, Petronius, Martial, and Lucian, respecting the client, the parasite, and the crafty plotter after bequests; the baseness of the famishing and the insolence of the parvenu, the last cringing before those who were higher in the scale;³ and finally, the universal adoration of "His Most Sacred Majesty Gold, *sanctissima divitiarum Majestas*."⁴ But all this is seen under other forms and other names at all times, even among people the most free, the humble subjects of the "Almighty Dollar," because these vices or dispositions belong

¹ Aur. Victor repeats these words. Sallust says also: *tantum antiquitatis curaque*, which must be translated by "so much reverence and solicitude." (Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Ant.*, 3.)

² *Epist.*, v. 8.

³ We see by Amm. Marcellinus (xxviii. 4) and Claudian (*in Rufin.*, i. 442; *in Eutr.*, ii. 66; and *Laud. Stil.*, ii. 152) that these manners lasted to the end of the Empire.

⁴ Juvenal, *Sat.*, i. 112.

to human nature; and in this respect successive generations differ only in the amount which they possess of them. Besides, we do not believe that civic liberties would have been able of themselves to save the State. It is assuredly a good foundation on which to rest the social edifice, that well ordered free cities and the wisdom of civil laws contain a promise of prosperity. But if the political laws are bad they will ruin the civil.

Thus, when the free city of the first centuries, which was regarded as a civil person, and in respect of its interior affairs as a sovereign state, which had renounced only the right of wielding the sword under the two-fold form of war and punishment by death, shall become, by the deadening influence of the Church and State, an automatic wheelwork in the immense machine which caused a void in the Empire, the sap will no longer rise up from the roots to the branches, and the tree will wither away and fall.¹

We must also add that Christianity, by unceasingly pointing to the heavenly country as the only true one, will cause the earthly one to be despised; that in changing beliefs it will change duties, that in substituting the humility of the faithful for the legitimate pride of the citizen it will draw away the latter from seeking municipal honours; that it will, in short, hasten the fall of the city by the disgust with which it will fill men's minds for institutions grown up around the altars which it seeks to overthrow.²

¹ Already, a short while after the Antonines, Papinian said: *Exigendi tributum munus inter sordida munera non habetur et ideo decurionibus quoque mandatur* (*Digest*, l. 1, 17, § 7), that is to say, that there was then no incompatibility between the municipal functions of decurion and that of collector of the tribute for the State. But the decurion was interdicted from farming the imposts of his own city: *decurio sue civitatis vectigalia exercere prohibetur* (*Dig.*, l. 2, 6, § 2).

² When Tertullian was converted to Christianity he declared that he gave up public affairs (cf. his *de Pallio*). In his *de Idololatria* he required his disciples to discontinue connection with civil society; he condemns every calling which in any degree touched on idolatry, art which lived on it, and literature which spoke of it. He absolutely interdicts Christians from performing public duties, permitting only private ones, i.e., helping at birthday and marriage celebrations in a friendly family, etc. In his *de Corona militis* he prohibits military service. Yet a rescript of Severus *eis qui judaicam superstitionem sequuntur* (*Digest*, l. 2, 3, § 3) authorized Jews, and probably Christians, to gain honours with a dispensation from obligations contrary to their creeds. But the Christians, if included in this quotation, were less tolerant than the emperor, and generally held aloof. The author of the *Letter to Diognetus* had already said (cap. v.): "The Christians live in their native land like strangers." When the Church had become mistress of the Empire she wished to attach the faithful to civic duties; but it was too late. See in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inser.*, 1872, a paper by M. Le Blant on *le détachement de la patrie*.

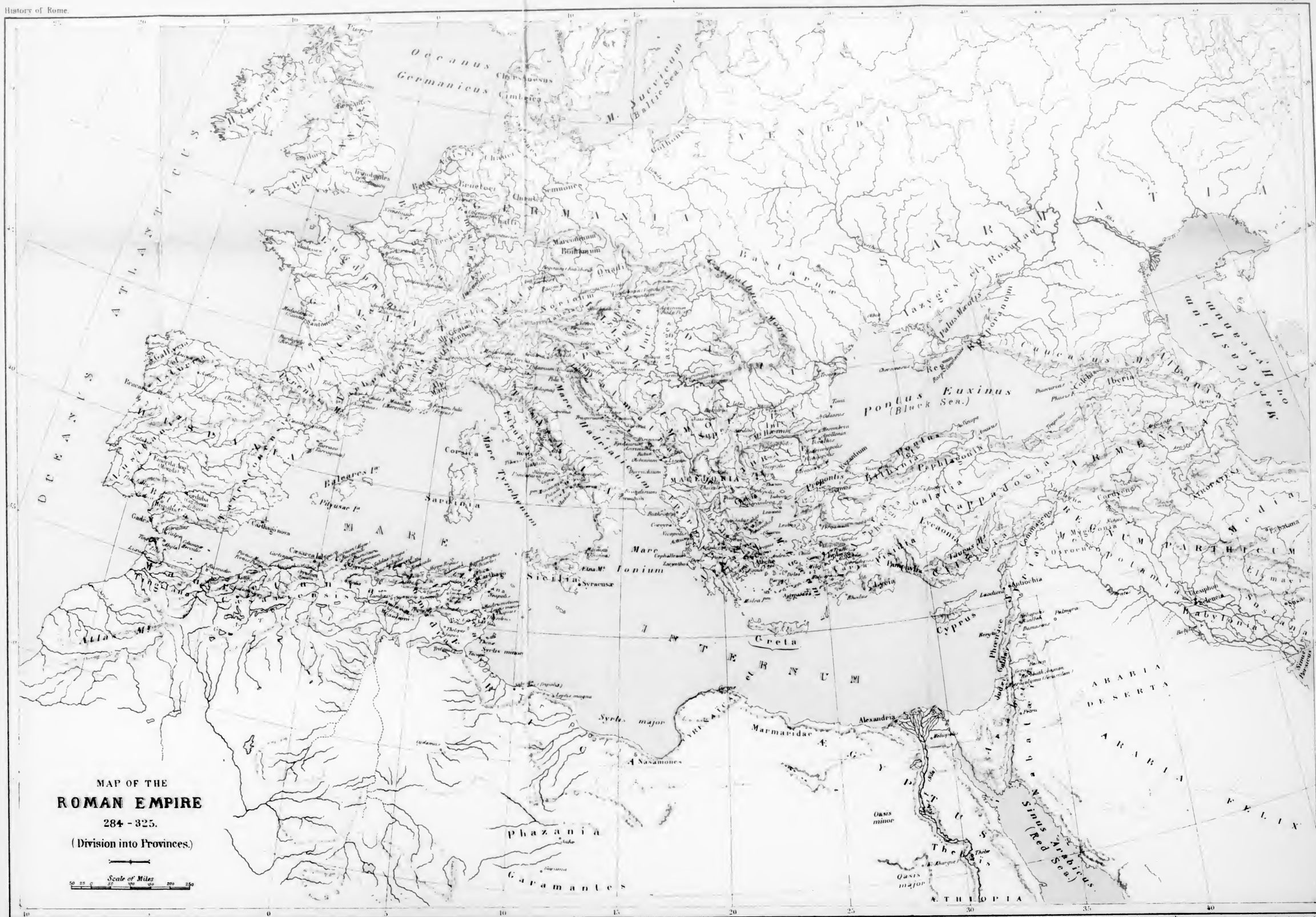
But before reaching this point, the municipal system had produced the age of the Antonines. Formerly, there was created, between Italy and Rome, a current of young rich blood which tended unceasingly to renew the exhausted blood of the ruling class. The same exchange took place, in the Early Empire, between Rome and the provinces. Out of those flourishing free cities came forth artists and poets who had given birth to a new age in literature and art; philosophers who, softening the roughness of Stoicism, had exchanged the anxiety to speak well for that of doing well; in fact, those numerous *gentes* whom Vespasian had demanded of them for reconstituting the Roman aristocracy. Then the senate and equestrian order, from which the Empire recruited its administrators, were filled with men belonging to families who long since held municipal honours, well qualified to transact the affairs of the State after those of the city, and whom the Antonines, themselves provincials, gathered around them to second their own wisdom. This invasion of the municipal nobility into the ranks of high Roman society produced a revolution which was doubly salutary. Public affairs went on better, and the manners of private life resumed there their strictness. Tacitus bears witness to it, and Pliny points it out.

If the world has not known any more fortunate period, it is certainly owing to the superior men who in that century reigned as sages, but it is also owing to that municipal system in which everything tended by its institutions, ideas, and manners to make skilful magistrates, happy cities, and populations obedient to the law. A close responsibility then united the fortunes of the cities to that of the Empire: the prosperity of the former made the strength of the latter, because the vigorous local liberties formed men whom political liberty, now suppressed at Rome, no longer formed.

¹ Head of Pallas, with a laurel crown and the letters *PVblico argento*.



Silver Coin of the *gens Lucilia*.¹



CHAPTER LXXXIV.

THE PROVINCES.

I.—PROSPERITY OF THE PROVINCES; PROGRESS IN THE WEST AND ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE DANUBE.

THE storms which seem to trouble the ocean to its lowest depths trouble only its surface; a few yards below the stormy waves the waters are calm and the sands unmoved. So also in the Empire: the disturbances at Rome, the wars on the Rhine, the Danube, or the Euphrates, did not affect the peacefulness of the provinces in the interior. While there was slaughter in the capital, among the Dacians, or beyond the Tigris, the nations at peace were developing industry and commerce, opening roads and schools, filling their cities with monuments and wealth. The conquered, says Ælius Aristides, congratulated themselves on their defeat, and, losing even the remembrance of ancient independence, amalgamated their own existence with that of the Empire. They possessed security and well-being; they freely enjoyed the fruits of their labour, and the pathway to honours was open to all.

Plutarch, who had seen so many revolutions make the city of the Cæsars run with blood, does not the less on that account call Rome "a sacred and bountiful goddess," and in another place, "the steadfast anchor which stops and holds firmly human affairs in the midst of the whirlwind by which they are driven along." He spoke the truth: Rome had calmed the world and drawn on herself alone the storms which were still breaking forth. Aristides was a pagan, a devotee of Æsculapius, Tertullian, a rigid Christian; they both speak in the same way. The orator exclaims: "Men have doffed their armour of iron to put on festal garments, and your provinces are covered with rich cities, jewels of your empire, which glitter like the precious necklace on a rich lady.

The land is but one immense garden."¹ The sombre imagination of the Christian brightens at the smiling aspect of the Empire: "The world is every day better known, better cultivated and richer. The roads are open to commerce. The deserts are changed into fruitful domains: tillage goes on where once forests rose; sowing, where once were seen only barren rocks; marshes are drained, and the flocks fear no longer the wild beast. Now no longer is there any island which inspires horror, nor rocks which cause fear; everywhere are houses, peoples, cities, everywhere life!"² Rhetoric does not inflate Appian's words as those of Aristides; but the evidence of the cold sagacious historian is the same. He says: "For two hundred years has the imperial system lasted; in that space of time the city has been adorned in a marvellous manner, the revenues of the Empire have increased, and by the blessing of a constant peace the peoples have attained the height of happiness."³

It is easy, in fact, to imagine what the cessation of war during two centuries must produce for peoples who till then had passed a life of continual fighting, and what prosperity peace developed in the provinces and liberty in the cities [and the abolition of numerous frontiers]. Here we see what the tragedies acted in Rome tend to hide and what it is needful to point out.

It is not that the Romans had desired, of deliberate purpose, to become the benefactors of the provincials. It did not pertain to them as to some modern nations to connect with the idea of conquest that of the amelioration of the conquered. They had subdued the world from motives of pride and greed, in order not to have any equals, and to gain wealth without giving themselves the trouble of creating it: so the province, in their eyes, was before all a *prædium*—a farm of a certain return—and in organizing it they were only pre-occupied with the certainty of securing the tribute. All else, municipal liberty and the security of person, the independence of some or the subjection of others, mattered little to them. This had been also the policy of the Republican senate;

¹ Aristides, *Panegy. Rom.*, in the year 145 . . . ὡς περ γυναικὸς πλουσίας ὄρηος (*Orat.*, xiv. p. 224). See also his *Panegy. Cyzic.*

² *De Anima*, 30. In the book *Adv. gentes*, he says: . . . *Romanæ diuturnitati favemus.*

³ *Pref.*, 6. Add to this quotation the famous passage in Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, iii. 6.

the early emperors pursued it also. Both the one and the others found their advantage in this, that their subjects might attend to their own affairs provided they paid the impost with exactness, and that general order which guaranteed its return should not be disturbed. Thence proceeded, at least in early days, their disdainful indifference for local privileges, for the semi-independence of cities, tribes, dynasties, or kings, who sometimes nominated themselves as the procurators of the Roman people and filled that office. In a word, they intended to govern from a distance and in this way to exercise a useful empire, nor did they desire to be embarrassed with a laborious guardianship. Tiberius, by his vigilance in restraining his proconsuls, exhibited clearly this unfeeling policy, yet not without foresight, which he thus summed up: "A good shepherd shears his sheep, but does not flay them." In this respect Claudius and the Flavii were of his school. The Antonines impressed a new character on the government. They looked upon themselves not only as the masters, but as the fathers of the Empire. They softened its laws; they founded charitable institutions, and they were more preoccupied with their subjects' happiness than with the interests of the treasury. Thus, from different motives, the princes in the Early Empire exercised a beneficial influence over the provinces, and this, combined with the happy results of the municipal system which we have described, brought that prosperity the proof of which will be furnished by a rapid survey of the Empire.

Since Augustus the territory held by Rome had grown: under Claudius, by the addition of Britain; under Trajan, by Dacia; under Marcus Aurelius, of a part of Mesopotamia, an uncertain and precarious possession, the theatre of continual fighting.¹ With the exception of Britain and the acquisitions of the two Antonines, which were less provinces than advanced posts, the successors of Augustus had not passed the limits which nature itself had fixed for the Empire, viz., the Atlantic, the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates towards the middle of its course, the cataracts of the Nile, and the deserts of Africa.

¹ In his preface Appian, who wrote under Antoninus, puts the frontier of the Empire at the Euphrates, and does not assign Great Armenia to it, "which does not pay tribute, but receives from it its kings." In the reign of Hadrian (see above, pp. 13 and 40) I have shown what countries bordering on the Black Sea were placed under the administration or influence of the Romans.

The ancient partition made between the emperor and the senate still existed, but new provinces had been formed either by conquests or from the older ones and from allied countries. There were twenty-six under Augustus; under Marcus Aurelius the total was forty-five, six of which remained to the senate.

Thus the number of provinces had been nearly doubled, without the territory having much increased. The fact is, the emperors had already practised the system ordinarily attributed only to Diocletian, of dividing the governments in order to diminish the power of the governors and promote the influence of the Empire on its subjects.

Britain, Gaul, and Spain.—Britain formed but one province, so well protected by Hadrian and Antoninus's double line of defence that the Piets and the Scots had but rarely disturbed the work of civilization which was being carried on.¹ The toga had everywhere taken the place of the barbarian sagum; temples, porticoes, and beautiful villas arose in places where straw huts and Druidic altars had lately stood; and these Britons, the greater part of whom in the time of Augustus knew neither how to till the ground nor to utilize the milk of their herds, were now exporting corn to Gaul. The schools increased with the cities, and the Celtic language was less used as the old manners changed before the new language.² The British nobles spoke Latin; the descendants of Cassivellaunus and Caractacus came before the proconsul's tribunal to practise all the rules of Quintilian and rival in eloquent verbosity the barristers of Bordeaux and Autun. "Already," says Juvenal [with comic exaggeration], "Thule talks of hiring a rhetorician," and Martial was able to boast that his verses, made for the fashionable of Rome, were read even in that island which was the boundary of the habitable world.³

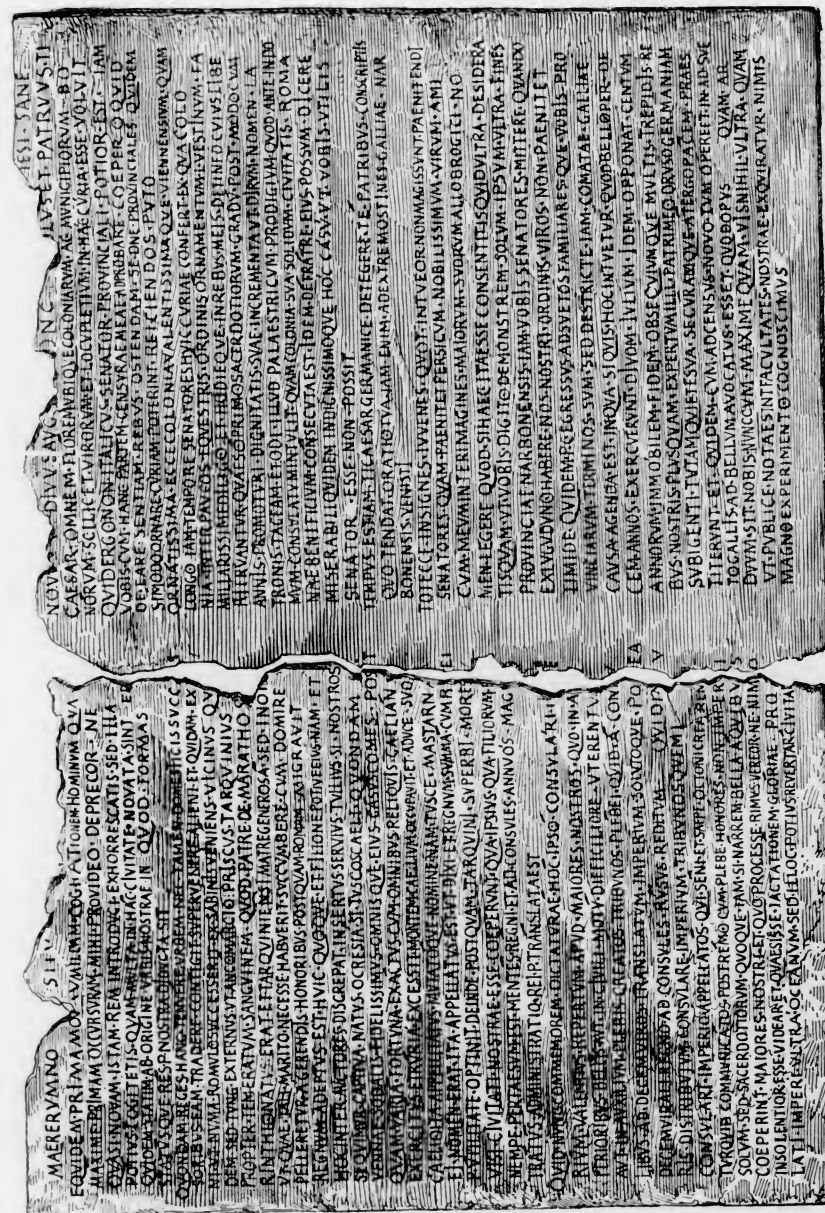
¹ Strabo, iv. p. 200. Britain, till Severus's time, formed but one province governed by a consular (Tac., *Agr.*, 13), who had under him a procurator, *proc. Aug. prov. Brit.* (Orelli, No. 222).

² [The numerous and splendid Roman remains found at York show how luxurious and refined was this great military post in the far north of England. The museum at York in this respect is truly astonishing.—*Ed.*]

*Gallia caesidicos docuit facunda Britannos,
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule.*

(Juvenal, *Sat.*, xv. 111-112.)

Cf. Martial, *Epigr.*, xi. 111. Yet in the time of Constantine a Gallic orator said: . . .



Bronze Tablet containing the Speech of Claudius. (Musée des Antiques at Lyons.)

Some patriots indeed had sought liberty and scope for their resentment in the highlands of the Piets, from whence they will descend to make this servile civilization retreat. But the mass of the nation, except the brave tribe of the Brigantes, joyfully entered upon this new life, and allowed the best of their children to go and serve afar off in the Roman armies. Thus Britons kept garrison in Pannonia, while Germans came to Britain, just as Batavi were sent into Illyricum and Spaniards to the Rhine.

Gaul had more quickly adopted Roman civilization and had made more advance in it. She had received its rays from closer range, especially that zone of our territory which the Italian sea washes and the same sun warms. The imperial government of which Gaul, from its geographical position, formed the most important province, had studied to gain the heart of its inhabitants. In the Narbonaise were seven colonies, twenty-nine Latin cities, two allied peoples; in the "long-haired" provinces, ten free peoples, eight colonies, four federated cities, a number of Latin cities, and a multitude of men who had each received the *jus civitatis*. Lyons had engraved on bronze, that it might always be before the eyes of Gaul, the speech in which Claudius expressed the liberal policy which had made Rome's fortune and the happiness of the provinces. Galba and Otho, from interested motives, Trajan and Hadrian, from understanding the wants of the Empire, had acted similarly, and Gaul, fortunate in the lot which war had brought it, never desired to change it. We have seen the part it played in the revolutions of the Empire. From its breast arose the cry of disgust and revolt against Nero, it was there that Galba and Vitellius had been proclaimed, and there also Civilis and Sabinus had waved, before the astonished eyes of the transalpine nations, the standard of the Gallic Empire: a premature attempt! Gaul itself had deserted its own flag and its provincial Cæsar. It had something else to do besides founding royal houses. Its more noble children aspired to the senatorial laticlave.¹ As regards the people, led on by the general movement towards works of peace, it exerted in the securing of its welfare the activity which it had

latine loqui Romanis ingeneratum est nobis elaboratum (*Pan. Veteres*, ix. 1. Cf. Dieffenbach, *Celtica*, ii. 84).

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 23. For Claudius's discourse see *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 418.

hitherto spent on intestine wars. "From being fighters," said Strabo¹ already, "they have become workers." The Druidic forests fell under the axe of clearers or were penetrated by roads which carried light and life into the very darkest depths. Everywhere was commerce honoured, and Lyons was already assigning the same rank to its wine merchants as to its knights and Augustal sevirs.² Its powerful corporation of the boatmen of the Saone and Rhone (*utricularii*) had agents everywhere for the navigation of the Gallic rivers. In the amphitheatre of Nismes forty places were reserved for them.

Of old the most flourishing cities were met with at the points where Gaul and Italy came into contact, and this corner of our territory has still more Roman remains than any other of the ancient provinces of the Empire. At Narbonne not a single Roman monument is standing, but one cannot take down a wall or strike a pickaxe into the soil without finding there fragments of friezes, bas-reliefs, and tombs, which attest its ancient grandeur. By the classic beauty of its daughters, Arles was a Greek city; by the splendour of its monuments, a Roman one. The culture and opulence formerly concentrated in this "Italia Transalpina" had passed from the frontier to the interior, and this change of social activity indicated the general prosperity of the country. Toulouse outran Narbo. Nismes,³ adorned by the Antonines or by itself with monuments which still command admiration, eclipsed the old Phœcean city, which, losing its strict manners, caused the proverb to arise which was repeated to the effeminate: "You are making sail for Marseilles."⁴ Then, as at present, commerce amassed money in that city, and this wealth was spent on fleeting pleasures, instead of devoting it, as at Nismes, to lasting works of art. Thanks to its thermal waters, Aix was the meeting place of the rich Massaliotes and one of the pleasure resorts of the province. Lyons, the ancient metropolis, saw two rivals growing up in the city of the Remi and

¹ iv. 1, 2 and 14.

² Orelli, No. 4,020.

³ From Strabo's time (iv. 190) Nismes had more inhabitants than Narbonne. It was in honour of the grandsons of Augustus, Lucius and Caius Cæsar, the latter of whom was patron of Nismes, that the temple called the *Maison carrée* was erected (see above, p. 358). The edifice is 49 Roman feet high from the ground to the summit of the pediment—a number regarded as doubly fortunate, since it was the square of 7. (*Rev. épigr. du midi de la France*, No. 287.) Tacitus calls this city *ornatissima colonia valentissimaque* (*Ann.*, ii. 24).

⁴ Athenæus, xii. 5.

that of the Treviri, from whence the governors of Belgica and Lower Germany watched the barbarians, as from Lyons they had for a long while watched Gaul, when the latter was still a source of



A Mosaic of Lillebonne.

distrust. Vienne, the place of exile for dethroned kings or guilty governors; Autun, with its schools; Arras, with its manufactures of red cloth which rivalled the Eastern purple; Langres and Saintes, with their industry of *caracallæ*,¹ which they exported to the whole

¹ Capes of thick napped coarse cloth. In the third century the greater part of the Gallic cities took again the name of their people. Thus *Andomatunum* became *Lingones*, *Augustoritum* was called *Lemovices*, etc.

of Italy; Bordeaux, the principal port for Spain and the Ile des Bretons, Juliobona (Lillebonne, near the mouth of the Seine), where so many Roman remains have been found, etc., exhibit life extending in every direction, to centre and circumference, on the Rhine,



Silver Vase found at Bernay. (Cabinet de France.)

the Atlantic, and the Channel, as well as the coasts of the Mediterranean. Although the senate had established in the long-haired provinces only a very small number of colonies, Roman life had changed the language, religion, and customs, and had spread abroad luxury with wealth. Sumptuous villas arose in places but lately quite wild, decorated with rare marbles and mosaics, of which we

find traces, and with objects precious from their material and workmanship, like the fine collection of vases from Bernay which a fortunate discovery has restored to us.¹

The Gallic divinities were then those of Rome, and the peoples erected magnificent temples to them, like that of which the imposing remains have just been discovered on the summit of the Puy-de-Dôme. As for the Druidic worship, it had assumed the last form taken by religions before dying out: it was pagan, *paganus*. It was no longer met with except in out-of-the-way districts where the last priests of Teutates concealed themselves. Such will be the case with the Roman official religion after Constantine, when Jupiter, in his turn, driven out from the gilded roofs, will preserve only the rustic altar adorned by peasants in the depths of the woods. To the honour of Rome the earlier conversion took place without violence. The skilful policy of Augustus and Tiberius had therefore succeeded: these Gallic divinities associated in the same temples with the worship of Rome and the Cæsars had become zealous servants of the Empire.

This attraction proceeding from a superior civilization was equally exercised on the Celtic language, which could not defend itself better than the Druidic religion had done. It also abandoned the cities and towns where the affairs of government, justice, and commerce, were transacted in Latin, and the descendants of the Gallic bards, the diligent readers of Catullus, Ovid, and Martial, tried to imitate the poets and orators of the sovereign people. Already had Rome inscribed amongst its great literary names those of the grammarian and poet Valerius Cato—"the Latin Siren," of Antonius Gniphon, who had taught in Cæsar's house and counted Cicero among his hearers; of Varro Atacinus, a didactic poet; of Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Virgil; of Trogus Pompeius, the first Latin author of a Universal History; of Domitius Afer, the master of Quintilian and the most eloquent orator whom the latter

¹ The Bernay Treasure, found by a labourer in 1830 under his plough, is made up of sixty-nine silver articles which belonged to a temple of Mercury, and seem to have been buried towards the end of the third century. The inscriptions on the articles are as late as that, and go back to the time of Augustus. M. Chabouillet has given in his *Catalogue* a description of all these objects. See also above, vol. iii. p. 345. [Cf. also with the mosaic given on p. 425 the floor from the Isle of Wight, given on pp. 486 and 487, and discovered since this book was first published. Similar mosaic floors have been found near York, and are preserved in the splendid Roman museum of that town.—*Ed.*]

had heard, but who dishonoured his genius by his baseness. Petronius also soiled the Latin muse by his *Satyricon*, an immoral picture of a society whose vices only he points out. But Marcus Afer has had the honour of being taken for the author of the dialogue which bears the name of Tacitus. Later still, under Hadrian, shone the sophist Favorinus, who excited wonder by three things: first, that being a Gaul, he spoke Greek; secondly, that he was alive, being on bad terms with the emperor; I pass over the third. Favorinus was of Arles, Petronius of Marseilles, Gallus of Frejus, Trogus Pompeius of the Voconces country, Varro from the banks of the Aude—all, as one sees, from the province of Narbo.

Gallia Comata had also poets and orators; but the provincial muses, like the indigenous divinities, remained unknown outside the walls of the city, and the competitions at Lyons were more celebrated for the oddity of their rules than the renown of the crowned victors. Southern Gaul, which gave Rome so many men of letters, also furnished it with generals and consuls: from Viennæ, Valerius Asiaticus, who twice held the fasces; from Toulouse, Vindex, Agricola from Frejus, etc.

This work of arms and brains to which Gaul had devoted itself with so much ardour had been favoured by peace, which since Civilis reigned on the banks of the Rhine. Barbarism, as if tired of having for two centuries expended useless efforts in that direction, had returned towards the Danube. Then there was for Gaul, between the league of the Cherusei and that of the Franks, between Hermann and the first Merovei, nearly two centuries of respite. We have just seen how Gaul profited by it!

Spain, still better sheltered from the barbarians, had travelled more quickly along the ways in which Augustus had set it. To snatch it from barbarism, the Romans had early multiplied its cities. Pliny reckons up 400 important cities, without speaking of 293 which were subordinate to them: this was five or six times as many as in Gaul. Here therefore is found one of the most lasting contrasts between the two countries. The municipal system, in fact, took such complete possession of the Iberian peninsula that fifteen centuries have not been able to uproot it. At this very hour, thanks to these old institutions so perfectly in accordance with the geographical character of the peninsula, there



SEILLIER PINX'.

Imp. Fraillery.

DAMBOURGÉZ, chromolith.

SILVER VASES FOUND AT BERNAY

are indeed in Spain cities and provinces, but how laborious is the formation of a Spanish people!

Besides, the system of Augustus had the results that he expected from it. Each of its numerous cities was a focus of riches and of light; from the time of Strabo Bætica and a part of Tarragona were already quite Latin. On the fall of Cæsar's house two of its governors successively attained the Empire, and Vespasian considered it Roman enough to give it the *jus Latii*. We notice under this prince the establishment at Merida of a numerous body of Jews, the stock whence they soon rapidly increased in the peninsula. Domitian continued towards Spain the favour of his house. He encouraged the extension of public works and allowed the younger Pliny to pass condemnation on a governor of Bætica, yet dreaded at Rome as an official informer. Under Trajan there was a similar example of justice: the property of the faithless governor served to indemnify the victims. Hadrian, who lovingly visited his native land, extended over it his active surveillance, and bore with patience the refusal of a general assembly to furnish levies which he asked to recruit the legions of the frontiers. That fact is serious, for it proves the repugnance which the most warlike populations had even then for military service.



Coin of Tarragona.¹

The principal Spanish cities were always: Italica, the birth-place of two emperors; Cordova, the Iberian Athens; the coast cities which trafficked with Italy and Africa: Tarragona, where the deputies of Hispania Citerior assembled, and where the best of Trajan's generals was born, viz., Licinius Sura; Gades, famous for its 500 knights, but also for the lascivious dances of its *mañolas*.² Its fleets traded in Senegal, perhaps further still, and it irreverently laid claim to preserve in its temple of Hercules the bones of the god, as Crete showed the tomb of Jupiter.

¹ C. V. T. T. (*colonia Victrix togata Tarraco*). An altar surmounted by a palm. Bronze. (See another coin, vol. ii. p. 150.) The engraving on p. 431 represents an aqueduct, conveying to Tarragona, on a double row of arcades above a valley, water obtained seven leagues away. Twenty-five upper arches, eleven lower. (Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, i. pl. lv.)

² Mela, iii. 2; Juvenal, *Sat.*, xi. 162; Martial, *Epigr.*, v. 78; Martial boasts of Canius, the gay poet of Cadiz (i. 62); he is unknown to us.

We know that Trajan and Hadrian were from *Italica*; Spain had therefore the honour of furnishing the first two provincial emperors. That means that it was no longer a mere province, a foreign land. Before giving as occupants of the palace of the Caesars princes whose family were natives of the banks of the Bætis, it had sent to Rome quite a colony of poets and rhetoricians; it had conquered the eternal city by literature before conquering



Coin of Italica.¹



Coin of Calagurris.²

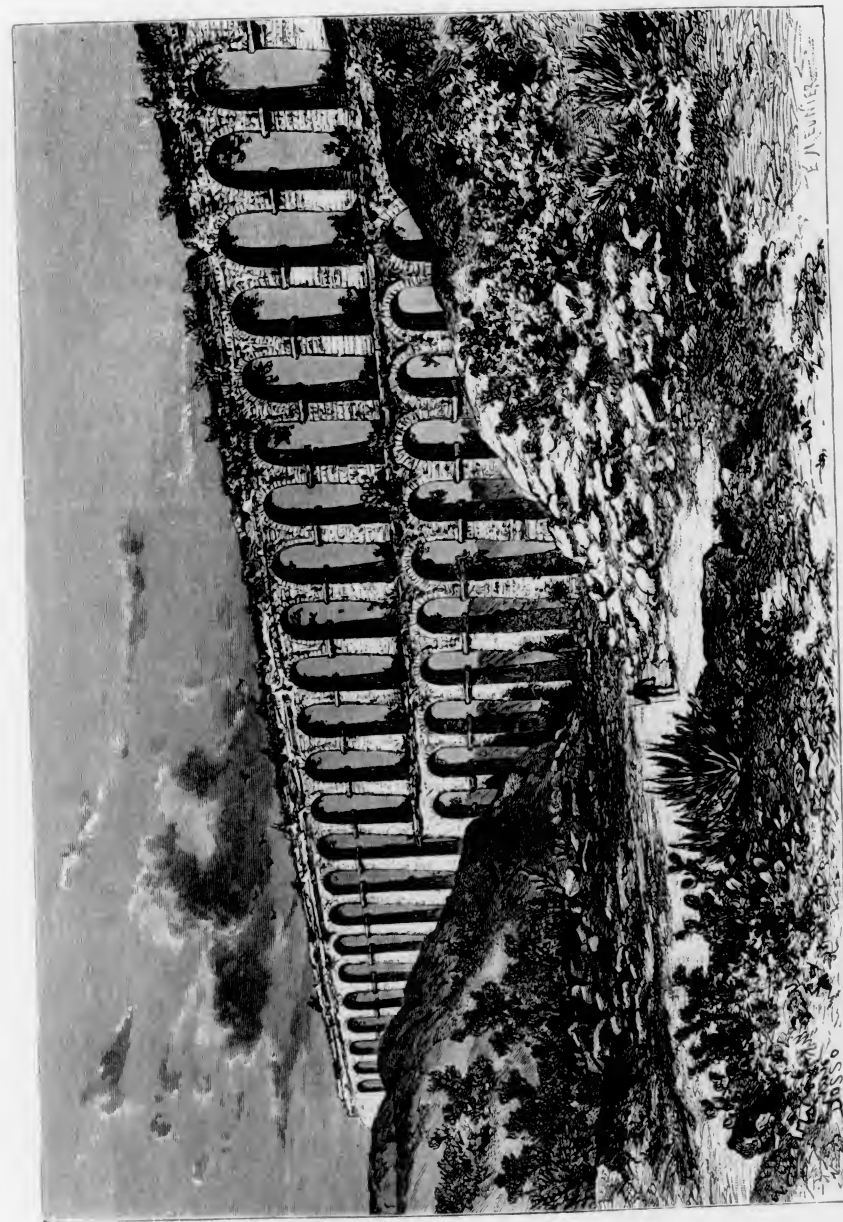
it by the glorious services of its children. The two Senecas, Lucan, Pomponius Mela, Columella, Quintilian, Martial, Silius Italicus, Hyginus, perhaps Florus, were Spaniards. One recalls the contempt of Cicero for those poets of Cordova who dared to make the Latin muses speak; what would the great orator have said had he seen these provincials now opening schools and holding the sceptre of the new eloquence? The Senecas ruled at Rome; the last of the great Roman poets was their nephew, and it was a Calagurritan who became the law-giver of Latin literature! In another place we will show the value of this importation from the provinces; here we simply desire to draw this conclusion, that in the time of the Antonines the education of Spain was completed and Rome has nothing more to teach her, for Rome has given to her all she knew and possessed: social life and the taste for literature, with a huge impulse for works and administration, as well as sanguinary amusements, the games of the circus, to which Spain added bull fights.

The three countries which we have just passed in review will one day form one of the four prefectures of the Empire, to which Gaul will give its name, for henceforth it will include the two provinces which touch it in its sphere of political activity, and this preponderance will continue increasing in proportion as the frontier that it guards becomes more exposed to attack.

Illyricum.—The mountainous countries which extend from the

¹ MVN. ITALIC. IVLIA AVGVSTA. Livia seated, holding a sceptre and some heads of corn. Bronze. (See other coins of Italica, vol. ii. pp. 150 and 760.)

² MVN. CAL. II VIR. Augustus bareheaded. Bronze.



Aqueduct of Tarragona. (See note 1, p. 429.)

Alps to the Danube were divided into five provinces: Rhaetia as far as the Inn; Noricum up to the Kahlenberg (*Celcius mons*);¹ Pannonia as far as the Save; Illyria and Dalmatia from the Arsia to the Lissus; Moesia from the Drina to the Black Sea. We would willingly leave to this vast region the general name of Illyricum which Appian gives it;² for the nature of the soil, the character and civilization of the inhabitants, offer, in spite of numerous differences, general features of resemblance. Just as Roman life was richly and fruitfully developed in the group of western provinces, so, in this slope of the Alps and Haemus which descended to the Danube, towards Germanic and Slavish barbarism, manners were still coarse and violent. There were few cities, colonies, and privileged cities, but camps, fortresses, and, in the indigenous tribes, the daily use of arms made necessary by the neighbourhood of the enemy.³

Yet the conquest of Dacia and the transference into that province of a numerous Roman population had just opened up an era of prosperity for those regions. The fine river which henceforth flowed between two banks belonging to Rome became covered with flourishing cities, and Illyricum will become one of the vital parts of the Empire, because its inhabitants preserved their warlike manners in the midst of the works of peace. Thence, in fact, will arise the only great princes, except Theodosius, who will for a while check the decadence of Rome, and the most illustrious of the emperors of the Later Empire, Justinian.⁴

Rhaetia at that time included all the country of the Vindelici. In order to direct towards the Danube the attention and the forces of these valiant tribes, too much in the habit of looking towards Upper Italy, which they had ravaged a long time, the first emperor

¹ Rhaetia, from the western end of Lake Constance to the confluence of the Inn with the Danube, and Noricum from Passau to Klosterneuburg near Vienna, had been for a long time governed by procurators, and seem only in the time of Marcus Aurelius to have adopted the organization of provinces administered by imperial legates. (Cf. *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. pp. 588 and 707.)

² Κοινὴ δὲ πᾶντας Ἰλλυρίδα ἡγοῦνται (*Illyr.*, 6). Tacitus never gives this name to Rhaetia nor Noricum, but to Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia. (Cf. *Hist.*, i. 76, and ii. 85-6, and Suet., *Tib.*, 16.)

³ *Rectorum juvenis sueta armis et more Romanae militiae exercita* (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 68).

⁴ Decius was from Budalia near Sirmium, Claudius II. from Illyria, Aurelian from Pannonia, Probus from Sirmium, Maximian from Sardica, Diocletian from Salona, Constantine from Naissus, Justinian from Tauresium near the Haemus. "*Quis dubitat*," says Mamertinus (*Panegy. ad Maxim.*, 2), "*quin . . . Italia sit gentium domina gloriae vetustate, sed Pannonia virtute.*"

had given them as their principal city *Augusta Vindelicorum* on the Lech (Augsburg).¹

In *Noricum* and Pannonia the indigenous race had been almost entirely exterminated by the Cimbri, Dacians, and Romans. However, the desert of the Boii, which occupied a part of these two provinces,² began to be repopled, and Claudius had sent there the colony of *Savaria* (Stein am Anger), where, as at Lyons, an altar to Augustus was erected, surrounded by statues which represented the other cities of the province.³ A city, *Scarabantia* (Edenburg), which bore the surname of *Julia* or *Flavia*, in remembrance of some imperial favour, served as a halting-place between *Savaria* (Stein am Anger) and the strongly-armed place of the Romans on the Danube, *Carnuntum* (Petronel). A little higher up the river, at *Lauriacum* (Lorch), a strong garrison and a flotilla defended the entrance to Noricum, and lower down the river, *Vindobona* (Vienna) had already been founded, perhaps by Vespasian. *Noreia* (Neumark), the ancient capital of the Taurisci, had ended by being destroyed; but it was fortunately replaced by four colonies which the Romans, with their usual skill, had settled in front of the Julian Alps, the most vulnerable part of the frontiers of Cisalpine. The first, *Virunum* (Mariasaal, to the north of Klagenfurt), arose at the point where the routes from Noricum and Pannonia met; the three others⁴ in the elevated valleys of the Save and Drave, so as to protect that rich corner of Italy where every year population and wealth kept accumulating, and where Pola will soon reach 30,000 inhabitants and Aquileia 100,000, where also Padua already sees 500 of its citizens decorated with the knights' gold ring.⁵

These precautions had not appeared sufficient. In order the better to guard the two grand routes which the Save and Drave open up through Pannonia, from the country of the Daci to the Julian Alps, the Romans there doubled their military posts. *Aquincum* (Alt-Ofen), on the Danube, and *Mursa* (Eszeg), on the

¹ Tacitus calls it *splendidissima Rætiae provinciae colonia*.

² *Deserta Boiorum* (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, iv. 12).

³ *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. p. 525.

⁴ Soloea, Celeia, and Emona (Seckau, Cilly, and Laybach).

⁵ Strabo, iii. 169. No city of Italy and the Latin provinces, Rome and Gades excepted, had a like number of knights.

Drave, were colonized, the latter by Hadrian. The fortifications of *Taurunum* (Semlin), at the confluence of the Save, made this place the advanced post and ramparts of the great city *Sirmium* (Mitrovic), situated some leagues in the rear. *Sirmium*, much nearer to the barbarians, now eclipsed *Siscia* (Siszek), an old colony and armed place of Tiberius. A military road, which at the heights of *Servitium* (Gradiska) separated into two to send a branch to the Adriatic, kept close to the Save, and connected one with the other the fortresses established on its banks. We see that the Romans had profited by the lessons given by the revolts of the Pannonians under Augustus and by the alarm caused by the Dacians under Domitian.

Pliny, who is so unequal in his descriptions, is less brief than customary respecting Illyria and Dalmatia. He says this province was divided into three judicial jurisdictions, the chief places of which were *Scardona* and *Salona*, which have kept their names, and *Narona* (Viddo). In the first were comprised the Iapydes, fourteen Liburnian cities, six of which enjoyed the *jus Italicum*, and a seventh which had besides the title and advantages of the *immunity*. In the second jurisdiction were found the Roman city *Tragurium* (Trau), celebrated for its marbles, the colony of *Sicum* and that of *Salona*, the principal post of the Romans in Illyria, in fine, different Dalmatian peoples divided into 924 decuriae. The third contained three colonies, seven Roman cities, and ten tribes divided into 463 decuriae.¹

Pliny had not as yet spoken of these subdivisions, analogous examples of which existed in Thrace and Cappadocia under the name of *strategie*. As this mountainous region with its numberless valleys possessed few cities, the Romans had further divided these turbulent tribes into small territorial areas, over each of which a native chief was placed, who answered with his head for the preservation of order in his jurisdiction. To watch them and keep them in bounds, to deprive them of the sight of the sea which reminded these old pirates of so many recollections and dangerous temptations, a crowd of colonies and Roman cities had been placed between them and the Adriatic along the coast.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, iii. 26.

Dacia, Moesia, and Thrace.—Trajan transferred to his administration the greatness and the rapidity of his military enterprises. When he had made the Carpathian Mountains the frontier of the Empire he clearly saw that a few scattered garrisons in that vast province would not be sufficient to hold the Dacians in check, and that barbarism though driven back would advance again as the victors withdrew; so he had introduced a whole population from



Moesia Superior. Coin of Viminacium.¹



Coin of Tomi.²



Coin of Nicopolis ad Istrum.³

the older provinces. In spite of fifteen centuries of troubles the Roumanians amount at this present day to 12,000,000 of men. Trajan in a few years did the work of an age. This vast focus of Roman life established beyond the Danube caused its beneficent influence to be felt in the neighbouring provinces. Moesia had remained uncultivated and without cities, and civilization in crossing it had let drop some of the germs of prosperity which it was carrying into Dacia.³ *Ratiara* (Arzar-Palanca), *Viminacium* (Kostolacz), and *Nicopolis*, which still keeps its name, soon vied in prosperity with the old cities of Greek origin on the coast: *Tomi* (Kustendjé) and *Odessus* (Varna). Before a century has past the right bank of the Danube will be dotted with cities more in number than it possesses now-a-days. Widdin, Sistova, Nicopolis, its largest cities, are of Roman origin, and from these recently barbarous regions will go forth the last defenders of the Empire. Thrace had a bad name; it was called the parent of the nations most to be feared: so Claudius had put it under a double supervision; he had made of it a province (46) administered by a procurator, and he had put this procurator under the governor of Moesia, who was always at the head of considerable forces. Roman

¹ P. M. S. COL. VIM. (*Provinciae Moesiae Superioris Colonia Viminacium*). Woman standing between a lion and a bull. (Bronze.)

² ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟΝ(του) ΤΟΜΕΩΣ (Tomi, metropolis of Pontus). Jupiter seated. (Bronze.)

³ Moesia formed, commencing from Domitian, two provinces separated by the *Cibris* (Cibritza).

life was developed but little there; only three or four colonies were to be counted in Thrace; but on the coasts and along the great military road which ran from Amphipolis to Byzantium there was a number of Greek cities. Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian, obeying a movement which from that period drew the Empire to the East, had founded or enlarged there several cities: *Trajanopolis* (Orikova?), *Plotinopolis* (?), and Adrianople, whose situation had been so well selected that it has continued since that time one of the great European cities.



Coin of Trajanopolis.¹

As in Dalmatia, no cities at all were met with in the interior of Thrace. The Romans had however grouped its tribes into *strategie*: a rude attempt at municipal life. Before the elder Pliny's time fifty of them were known; Ptolemy found but fourteen: a proof of the progress of urban life in that region.² We have seen the same thing take place in Spain, and we might affirm it as the case everywhere: Pergamum had 120,000 inhabitants, Caesarea in Cappadocia 400,000.



Coin of Plotinopolis.³

II.—ITALY AND GREECE.

The difficult work of assimilation, which was the aim, the very life of the Empire, and which must remain its justification in history, advanced in the valley of the Danube doubtless less rapidly than in the Rhine valley, because the populations were more diverse and barbarous, but rapidly enough for the hope that Illyricum would effectually protect Italy and Greece against invasion by the barbarians of the North.

These two ancient queens of the world whom force and vigour were abandoning had need of this barrier. Objects of unceasing respect to the nations, they saw their capitals still growing in

¹ ΗΓΕΤΩΝ Α ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥΚΤΗΡ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΗ. City gate. (Bronze.)

² Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, iv. 40; Ptolemy, *Geograph.*, iii. 11, §§ 8-10.

³ ΠΛΩΤΕΙΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ (the inhabitants of Plotinopolis). Minerva offering food to a serpent curled round a tree. (Bronze.)

beauty: Hadrian had just completed at Athens the temple of Jupiter, and the Flavians and Antonines had made Rome the city of wonders. But where is to be found the vigorous population who, by arms or character, had subdued the world? If you except



Roman Statue in the Museum of Prince Torlonia (*Atlas du Bull. archéol.*, xi. pl. xii.).¹

Rome, whither all the beggars of Italy flocked, Southern Etruria,² which had returned to life through order and peace, and some cities situated on the route to Brundisium, which leads to Asia, and on that of Aquileia, which goes towards the Danube, what

¹ The two statues on pages 438 and 439 were found, the one in the circus of Maxentius, near Rome, the other at the villa of the Gordians, on the Prænestine Way. Some learned critics see in them, in spite of the numerous restorations to which they have been subjected, the expressions of two different phases of art: the one Greek, the other more Roman. Von Duhn says (*Ann. dell' Istituto di corrisp. archeol.*, vol. li. p. 189): "Ciascuno . . . potrà à colpo d'occhio ravvisare la differenza tra la forza e naturalezza greca e l'eleganza ed artificiosità del lavoro romano."

² Canina, *Ann. dell' Instit.*, 1837, p. 62, and Dennis, *Etruria*, i. 204-210. As regards the prosperity of Etruria under the Empire, see our chapter lxx. *ad finem*. In the Roman Campagna the cultivator was not in all parts driven from these fruitful plains by the malaria, which the execution of subterranean canalization by the ancient inhabitants was here and there combating. Unhealthiness is caused there by the numerous deposits of stagnant water which

was there apart from the Flaminian and Appian Ways? Every day the desert was extending. For one city prospering how many were there on the decline? Capua, Otricoli, Tuder, Rimini, Bologna, Verona, and Pola, raised amphitheatres, the ruins of



Greek Statue in the Museum of Prince Torlonia (*Atlas du Bull. archéol.*, xii. pl. xi.).

which astonish and charm us;¹ Ferentinum, a theatre; Beneventum, Ancona, Rimini, and Susa, triumphal arches which are still standing.² Gubbio owes to its sulphurous waters the fact of becoming richer than it had ever been; in its ruins has been

remain at little depth in the very soil of Rome and its campagna, and from whence under a burning sun come forth parasites, *bacilli malariae*, so numerous that the labourer can find them in the drops of sweat which cover his face. One is exposed to their influence on any point elevated only a few mètres above these subterranean pools, whence the water does not get away because they are formed of an almost impermeable tufa. Moreover, the Romans had drained this soil by subterranean drains, one of which, found in our days and put in a state of repair, cleared the neighbouring lands of their stagnant waters. See Tommasei Crudelli, *Sur la distribution des eaux dans le sous-sol de la Campagne de Rome* (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Lincei*, 1880), and for the cuniculi of the Pontine Marshes, de la Blanchère, *la Malaria de Rome et le drainage antique* (in the *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, fasc. i.).

¹ That of Pola (p. 441), which is 25 mètres high, its greatest diameter 90, and of rare elegance.

² Except Ancona and Susa, all these cities are situated on the Appian and Flaminian Ways or their extensions.

found, amongst a number of *chefs-d'œuvre*, one of the most beautiful statues of antiquity, the Diana which bears its name. But what has become of Magna Græcia, the central region, and its 1,200 cities of which the ancients speak?

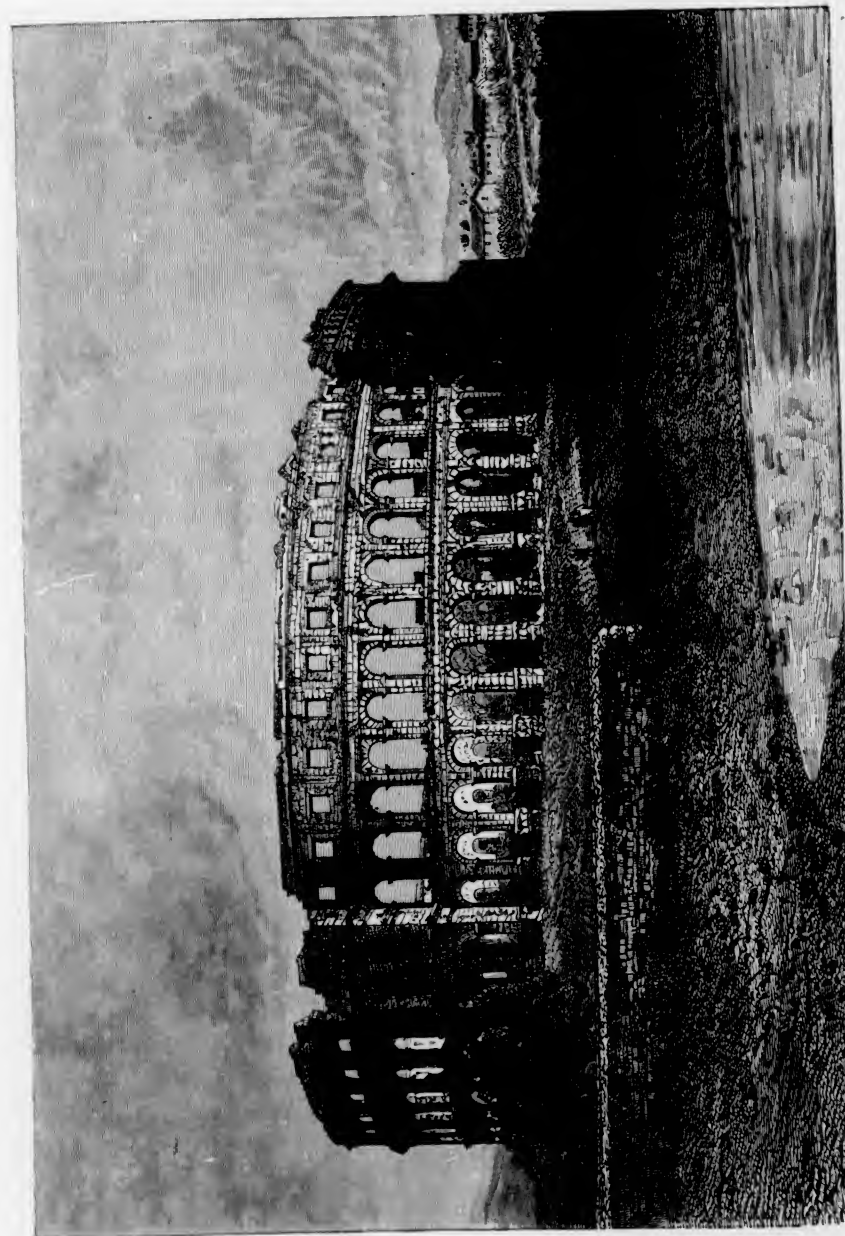


The Diana of Gabii.²

We have seen¹ the sad picture drawn by Columella of the plains of Italy less than a century after the *Georgics* of Virgil; in spite of his pressing appeal very few had returned to the plough, and the large landed proprietor had continued the struggle against the small. But why had not this new arrangement of landed property saved Italian agriculture and produced in the peninsula the same prosperous revolution as it has effected in England? It is because in England the landlords for a long while held in check by their tariff the competition with foreign corn, whilst policy obliged the emperors to hand over the Italian market to the

¹ *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 652.

² Parian marble statue, discovered in 1792. (Musée du Louvre.)



Ruins of the Amphitheatre of Pola (p. 439).

harvests here and there; now, the number of the population is in proportion to the subsistence; this being insufficient, the former diminished. Economical facts therefore explain the continuous decadence of Italy, at the very time when the provinces were prospering around it.

Greece was still less prosperous. To people Nicopolis, Augustus had brought together into it the inhabitants of all the neighbouring towns. The foundation of a single city had ruined two provinces: Acarnania and Ætolia were deserts.¹ In many parts there was no other rural industry than the rearing of horses, a sure sign that the population was neither rich nor numerous. Yet it did not arise from the imperial government having acted harshly towards Greece. It had been assured a profound peace; in return for its applause Nero had even freed it from imposts. It is true that Vespasian thought that the recompense exceeded the service, and profiting from some disorders as a motive for saying that the Greeks had unlearned liberty,² he again placed them under prætorian authority; Plutarch was still lamenting it in the time of Hadrian. Yet he allowed to exist in Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, and the Isles, ten colonies, sixteen free peoples, two cities exempt from tribute, a Roman city, Stobi, near the confluence of the Axios and the Erigon, and just as in the days of independence, the Amphictyons continued to meet at the sanctuary of Delphi; Olympia also kept its festivals.⁴

Coin of Stobi.³

What Greece wanted was not more liberty and order, but men.

In a passage of the *Histories* of Polybius, which we [French] may well consider, this political sage seeks the causes of the ruin of Greece. He does not accuse, as a vulgar mind would, fortune and

¹ Strabo, vii. 325. I have nothing to say of Sicily, which formed a province, nor of Corsica and Sardinia, which formed another. But, while the whole of Sicily had the Latin right, the whole Sardinian territory was *ager publicus*, and had consequently to pay the tithe of its harvests.

² Ἀπομαθηκέναι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν (Pausan., vii. 17, 14).

³ MVNICIPI STOBENSIVM. Upright figure, with turreted head, holding a victory and cornucopia; on the earth, a helmet, cuirass, and buckler. (Bronze.)

⁴ Beulé, *le Péloponèse*. Three inscriptions which he quotes show that the priestly functions were still in exercise in the third century.

the gods, but the people. He says: "We have had neither an epidemic nor war of long duration, and yet our cities are depopulated! We do not charge it to the gods and are not going to consult the oracles: the remedy, as the evil, is in ourselves. In our cities, from debauchery and sloth, marriage is avoided, and if children are born of transient unions, only one or two of them are kept in order to leave them as rich as their parents. But let sickness strike down one of these children and war the other, and the house is left childless. Thus have our cities perished."¹ And unfortunately we should be able to say as he does: "Thus is our country depopulated." A singular agreement between two such different civilizations in which the same anxiety for comfort has produced the same effects!

The evil pointed out three centuries before by Polybius had only further extended itself. That which was then true of Greece becomes true now of Italy. We have the rewards promised by Augustus to the heads of numerous families, and in vain: all failed against the selfishness of these grandees who were now living but for pleasure. Shameful vice, the plague spot of the East at all periods,² and the credit which a fortune without heir secured, even in the case of important personages, increased every day the number of men who avoided the duties of paternity. Among those even whom the law touched some avoided its censure and usurped the privileges which it reserved for useful citizens. The unmarried were seen claiming a place of honour in the theatre in virtue of the *jus trium liberorum*; so that the law *Julia Poppaea* was found to have put at the disposal of the prince a further privilege for the reward of egotism and vanity. "Now," says Pliny, "we boast of having barren wives, and not even an only son is desired." "They deny their own," says also Seneca;³ "they abandon them," adds Tacitus.

These usages of the aristocracy turned against themselves; they were decimated by their vices more surely than by the hand of the executioner; from Cæsar to Marcus Aurelius's time the most

¹ Polybius, xxxvii. 7.

² Cf. Zumpt, *Ueber den Stand der Bevölkerung und die Volksvermehrung im Alterthum*, pp. 14-16.

³ Pliny, *Epist.*, iv. 15; Seneca, *Consol. ad Marc.*, 19.

illustrious houses had almost all disappeared. Cæsar and Augustus had in vain created new patricians; under Claudius these had already ceased to exist.¹

One of the causes of the colonial power of England is certainly its fecundity. It is *rich in men*, and its numerous children, which grow up like the thick close grass of its meadows, overflow unceasingly by all the great highways of the world upon America, India, and Oceania. Thus had ancient Greece been spread over all the borders of the Mediterranean, and Italy over the countries of the West. But in those parts whence so many colonies had emigrated there was now a dearth of men, *ὀλιγαριθμία*, according to the expression of Polybius; and as man is the best and surest cause of produce, and this was specially the case in ancient times when machinery could not replace him, when man failed, all failed. "The Greece of our days," says Plutarch, "would be unable to muster 3,000 hoplites."² That is the number of soldiers which the city of Megara alone had furnished against the Persians.

And, moreover, those who formerly took delight in following the masters of thoughts to the lofty points which the ideal illuminates, were occupied in nothing else but selling or hiring out, at a good profit, what remained in their hands of the literary or art productions of their fathers. Every day was to be seen setting out for Rome, from Hellas or Asia, some undertaker in education or pictures, in poetry or statues, in philosophy or religion. The slaves born in Asiatic Greece were numerous in the capital of the Empire; but these men of pliant disposition and gilded speech did not remain in servitude. Soon gaining freedom, they governed their master,³ and when the latter was an emperor they governed

¹ . . . nec ideo conjugia et educationes liberum frequentabantur, prævalida orbitate (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 25; xi. 25).

² Plutarch, *de defectu oracul.*, 8. Some cities, however, had increased: "Tithorea, in Phocis, was not at that time so considerable a city as it is now." (Id., *Sylla*, 21.)

³ Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii. 57-114. This descendant of the Volsci did not like the Greeks; "if he avoids Rome," says he, "it is to escape the invasion of folks from Sicily and Andros, Tralles or Alabanda, who, landing at Ostia with figs and plums, storm the Esquiline and Viminal to penetrate the powerful houses whose conquest they are planning. They possess an ardent disposition, an unbridled effrontery, and a ready rapid flow of talk! This is the universal man! He is grammarian, rhetorician, geometrician, painter, bath keeper, augur, tight rope dancer, physician, magician. He knows everything, and if you give him the order, he will arrange to climb up to heaven. In fact, he was neither Moor, nor Sarmatian, nor Thracian who dared to get him wings: it was Athens gave him birth." (*Ibid.*, iii. 69-80.)

the Empire.¹ In this respect, for the last eighty years, the clever speakers from our southern provinces make our revolutions and ministers. Artists or rhetoricians, physicians or astrologers, freedmen of a grand house or workmen of a low position, all these Greeks understood wonderfully how to utilize the Roman by giving in to his national vanity. As the Bedouin, in his rags, has only disdain for you, so the Greek in his heart had disdain for those minds which to him seemed slow and for those heavy hands which had enchained his country. From Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Libanius, not a Greek, except Plutarch, is to be found who has mentioned Horace or Virgil.

On the contrary, with what ardour did the Greeks repeat on the shores of the Tiber, where so many of them taught, as on the banks of the Ilissus and the Meles, the great names and heroic deeds of their ancestors! Lost in the immensity of the Roman Empire they had begun to revive the recollections of their native land. They celebrated, as in the time of Aristides and Cimon, on the anniversary of the battle of Plataea, the festival of the Deliverance,² and the warriors of Marathon were less forgotten in their tomb than on the day on which Demosthenes swore by their glorious death. At Delphi, the *soteria* recalled the victorious repulse of the Gauls from the temple, pierced by Apollo's arrows. Eleusis preserved its mysteries, which Claudius would have wished transferred to Rome. Sparta had no longer a Leonidas, but it had always its bloody sacrificial games. After a long indifference there was a return of pious fervour for the national religion and glory. Ancient Greece was found again just as fifty years ago we discovered the Middle Ages; and Hellenism, eclipsed during three centuries, was about to exercise a new influence on the world's ideas. Thanks to its renown and monuments, over which six centuries had passed already without tarnishing their youthful splendour, Athens, in spite of its poverty,³ had become, after a long silence, the city of

¹ The most famous of these freedmen of whom we have just spoken are, Callistus under Caligula; Narcissus and Pallas under Claudius; Polycleetus, Doryphorus, and Helios, under Nero; Icelus under Galba; Asiaticus under Vitellius.

² Plutarch, *Aristid.*, 21.

³ The Romans had left it several islands and cities which paid it tribute: Oropus, Haliartus, Salamis, Lemnos, Imbros, Paros, Scyros, Ios, Sciathos, Ceos, Peparethus, Delos, and Cephallenia. Yet it was so poor that in the second century A.D. it tried to sell Delos (Philostratus, *Vite*

Minerva. It had once more recovered its clamorous schools, and



1st. Sacrifice.

2nd. Purification.



3rd. End of Initiation.

ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.¹

the artists thronged within its walls in the suite of emperors. On

Soph., i. 23), and had to give up incurring the smallest expenses (A. Dumont, *Popul. de l'Attique*, in the *Journal des Savants*, December, 1871), and in the third could not continue working the mines of Laurion. By the computation of M. Dumont (*Ephébie attique*), its population under the Antonines did not reach 12,000. Horace in the time of Augustus had already said of it . . . *vacuas . . . Athenas* (*Epist.*, II. ii. 81).

¹ Copied from a vase discovered a few years ago in the tombs of the freedmen and slaves of the Statilian family (the early days of the Empire). The engraved representations around this vase are the same as those of the marble bas-reliefs and terra-cotta friezes which decorated

entering into this ancient sanctuary of intellect, the philosophers cried out: "Let us here bend the knee."¹ Hadrian had just completed the work of Pericles, the temple of Olympian Jove; and what does Pausanias, who at that very time was surveying it, seek for on that ancient site? The traces of the gods and heroes. He forgets the miseries of the present, to exhibit that famous past in which lived the heirs of Homer and Leonidas.

Thus, in the European possessions of the Empire, we have three groups, viz., the countries of the North, which were awaking to social life; the western provinces, which enjoyed it fully; the central regions, which had grown poor, decayed, and silent. It is the modern movement which is beginning to take place, the life which leaves its place and travels northwards, as if to challenge barbarism, to fight the great battle which will cause ancient civilization to disappear, as far as the distant day in which it shall free itself, stronger and better, from the midst of the ruins heaped upon it by the Germans.

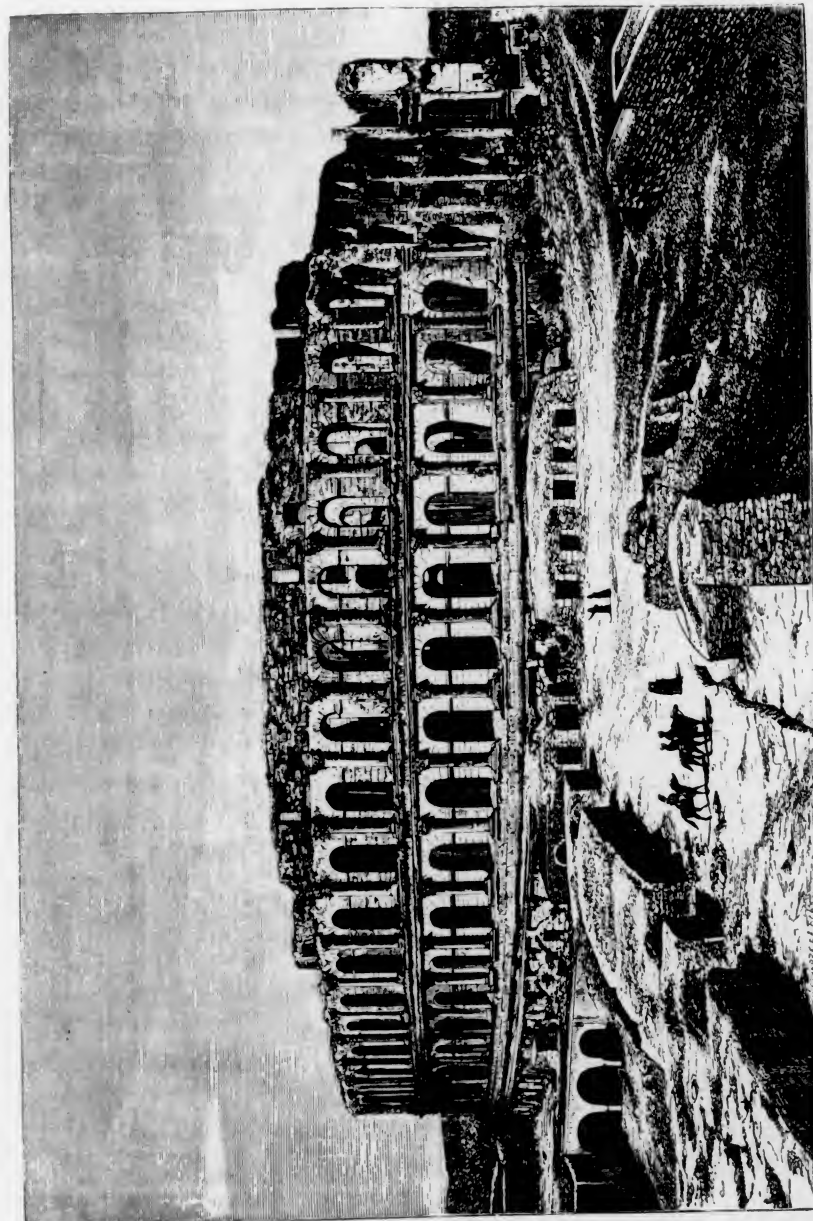
III.—AFRICA AND THE EAST.

On the other side of the Mediterranean extended the six African provinces: Egypt, Cyrenaica, Africa proper, Numidia, and the two Mauretanas. These provinces formed two distinct groups, separated by the frightful solitudes of the region of the Syrtes; on the east, Cyrenaica and Egypt; on the west, the country of Carthage, the Numidians, and the Moors.

It was by means of Carthaginian territory that the Romans had first got hold on Africa. They became so firmly established there that Tunis is still covered with the ruins of their cities, and many of these ruins are amongst the most imposing that have been left us. The Coliseum of *Thysdrus* recalls that of Vespasian, and

ancient buildings, and which form one of the treasures of the Campana collection. The circular bas-relief is composed of three groups, which represent three successive parts of the sacred ceremonies: 1, the initiated, assisted by a priest, offers the goddesses of Eleusis the preparatory sacrifice of a young pig; 2, the priestess puts on him the mystic vase (he is seated, veiled, with his feet placed on the skin of a ram)—the rite of *catharsis* or purification; 3, Demeter and her daughter admit the initiated to caress the familiar serpent—the rite of the *epopteia*, the crowning of the initiation. (Communication of the Comtesse Lovatelli, presented to the Institute by M. Henzey, 13th June, 1879.)

¹ Philostratus, *Vita Soph.*, ii. 5, 3.



The Coliseum of Thysdrus (El-Djem). Its present state. (Page 448.)

is equal in grandeur, with perhaps more elegance, to the amphitheatre of Verona.¹ Formerly a large rich population crowded it; now all the *gourbis* of an Arab village live in its shade. What vigour had this municipal system which could raise such colossal constructions on the borders of the desert!

From Africa Proper the new manners had gained the neighbouring countries. To advance the transformation of these parts Augustus and his successors had founded numerous cities in the two Mauretania, even on the Atlantic coast, but facing Bætica, from whence encouragement and help came to them.²

This attempt succeeded badly, or perhaps Augustus hoped to make more progress by giving the charge of this important affair to a native chief; he gave up Mauretania to Juba. This learned king, to whom Athens raised a statue, employed a reign of fifty years in spreading among his people the taste for Roman manners. His capital, Iol or Cæsarea, now called Cherchel, was an Italian city. This prince, one of the *reges inservientes* of Tacitus, was of more worth than a proconsul to prepare the way for the imperial domination. Caligula took away the kingdom from Juba's son (40), and Claudius divided Mauretania into two provinces, Tingitana and Cæsariensis, separated by the Malva, which might still serve as the frontier between Morocco and our province of Oran.⁴ From that time the whole of North Africa formed part of the Empire.



Coin of Cæsarea.³

The influence of Rome therefore preponderated in Africa for a century and a half; nearly two centuries since Scipio Æmilianus; two centuries and a half by going back to Zama. Nothing great

¹ Its greatest diameter is 150 mètres, its smallest 123, and height 35; that of Verona is 154 long by 123 broad. See Guérin, *Voy. arch. dans la régence de Tunis*.

² Otho rendered this action more direct by placing Mauretania Tingitana under the jurisdiction of the governor of Bætica. Augustus had already arranged that Zilis should be amenable to it: *Zilis jura Baticam petere jussa* (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, v. 1).

³ Head of Africa covered with an elephant's skin. On the reverse, CAESAREA under a dolphin. (Bronze.)

⁴ The two Mauretania, which extended from the Atlantic to the Ampsaga (Oued Roumel or Oued-el-Kebir), were several times united under a single *procurator*, who commanded different corps of auxiliary troops. Marcius Turbo seems to have held this command under Hadrian.

can be done without time. We forget this too much in our unjust complaints concerning the slowness of our progress in Algeria, we who take the place of Rome on that coast where Carthage, Masinissa, Bocchus, and Juba, had laboured for it, and where we have found greater obstacles without having had the ground prepared for us by any one.

Still it was not without resistance that this nationality fell. History has not preserved an account of all the wars which had to be undertaken to stifle the protests against a foreign yoke. We know only the expeditions of Suetonius Paulinus, who crossed the Atlas Mountains, and of Geta, who pursued the Moors to the Sahara. The revolt of Tacfarinas has made more noise, thanks to Tacitus. Although he did not possess that religious aid which the marabouts employ against us, he held the troops of Tiberius in check for seven years, and he deserved to have his name associated with those of the heroes of national independence in the first century of the Cæsars: Civilis, Sacerovir, Simon ben Giora, Caractacus, and the valiant Boadicea.

This war had extended from Sitifis, which was the centre of it, to the country of the Garamantes, whose king made his submission after the death of Tacfarinas. This did not, however, relieve the province from all disquietude. The tribes of the Sahara, Musulames and Getuli, for a long time tried the patience of the governors. To make the work of repression quicker, by weakening, however, the too great power of the proconsul of Africa, Caligula deprived this governor of the army and gave it to an imperial legate. From the same cause State criminals had been forbidden to remain in Africa; for quiet in that province which caused either abundance or dearth at Rome, *i. e.*, joy or anger on the part of the people, the security or fear of the prince, was too important not to be guaranteed by all the prudential means possible.

Vespasian, whose wife was the daughter of a Roman knight settled at Sabrata, felt certainly the same solicitude for Africa as for the other provinces; but all we know of his administration is the dispatch of a colony to Icosium (Algiers). The pacification of Tripoli, which was begun by him, was completed under Domitian, who, in order to put an end to the plunderings of the Nasamones, exterminated the greatest part of them. Hadrian had to repress

some commotions of the Moors, and under Marcus Aurelius we saw the tribes of Mount Atlas start and respond to the voice of the barbarians which arose in confused clamours on the banks of the Danube.

Three causes rendered these revolts inevitable: the natural features of the country, which offered so many secure retreats; the government by natives, from which Rome almost always derived considerable advantage, but which also had its dangers, because the fidelity of the national chiefs allowed itself at times to be shaken;¹ lastly, the custom of carrying arms which the Moors preserved. We have already seen that the provincials on the banks of the Danube had the same habit; but the latter were kept in check by the nearness of the enemy; the Moors had to fight only the wild beasts, and these hardy lion hunters often forgot the lord of the hunting grounds to hunt men.²

But Africa has never belonged to itself, because it has no geographical centre. These revolts would remain therefore without serious consequences until the time when they could be supported by a foreign conqueror. To that point the organization given by the Romans to Africa sufficed to keep it. It is true that it was worthy of their usual skill.

Rome had a double interest to establish on that coast. The first was to forge there the last ring of the chain with which she was inclosing the ancient world, and then to bring the Mediterranean among her possessions. Formerly a Carthaginian general prohibited the Roman sailors from using the Sicilian sea; now-a-days they possess the whole Mediterranean. She knew also how to utilize to her profit the riches of Africa.

These riches were very unequal. Tingitana doubtless exported then, as now, cattle to Bætica, but the Romans imported only



Coin of Bocchus II, with a Horse and its Rider on the Reverse.³

¹ Under Hadrian, a Moor who had been made consul had instigated or furthered the risings of this province. (Cf. above, p. 8.)

² Herodian and Zosimus say that the Moors were always armed with their arrows.

³ On the obverse, the head of king Bocchus II.; on the reverse, a horse with a rider without bridle; in a cartouche, letters signifying: "To Bocchus, the kingdom." (Bronze. See above, p. 49, a fine bronze representing a Numidian horse.)

tables made from a single piece of those gigantic trees, witnesses of the first ages of the world, and which grew in the magnificent forests with which the foot of Mount Atlas was then covered.¹ Pliny gives the inventory of Numidia in two words. He says, "fine marbles and wild beasts." He might have added horses incomparable for swiftness if not for beauty of form. Mauretania



Race Horse. (Fragment of the Mosaic of Pompeianus, found near Constantine).²

engraved on the reverse of its coins a horse without bridle, and this inscription has been found:

Daughter of the Getulan Harena,
Daughter of the Getulan Equinus,
Rapid as the winds in their course,
Having always lived a virgin,
Spendusa, thou dwellest on the banks of Lethe.³

In Byzacena, where the increasing dryness of the climate has transferred to the earth a part of its fertility, corn returns a hundredfold: thus Africa was represented as a girl with her two hands laden with heavy corn ears.⁴ The fruitful soil of the Byzacena and Zeugitana was continued into a part of Numidia; the Arabs still call the plains which extend from Setif to Constantine "the gold country." Moreover, it was easy to interest the Numidians in agriculture; and Rome did not fail to do it.

¹ Tingitana also furnished elephants for the circus (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, v. 1); there are none now, but the entire character of this coast has changed, and the mountains are disforested. Traces of large rivers, of immense spaces which were covered with water, are seen there, and here and there proofs of a formerly luxurious vegetation. Rabbi Mardochee found in 1875, to the south of Mogador and very far beyond Cape Ghir, fertile regions, ancient ruins, and tombs with carved figures, which are doubtless anterior to the Mohammedan era. (*Bull. de la Soc. de Geogr.*, January, 1876.)

² The inscription signifies: "Whether you win or not, Polidoxus, we will always love you."

³ Orelli, No. 4322.

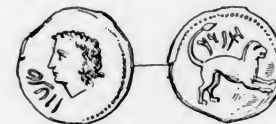
⁴ Pindar (*Isthm.*, iv. 91) calls Africa, *τὸν πυροφόρον*, fruitful in corn; *Faruch* in Syriac, *Ferik* in Arabic, mean a certain state of the ear of corn.

As regards Mauretania, the part which formed the basin of the Malva was sterile, but at its western extremity, where it had been attacked by Augustus, it was almost equal to the two neighbouring provinces.

To possess this rich territory, Rome was not satisfied with holding simply the African coast by the maritime cities; this



Coin of Zilis.¹



Coin of Hippo Regius.²

restricted occupation was regarded in the same light as it is at present. She penetrated into the interior; went as far as Mount Atlas, crossed it and descended to the Sahara.

But at first she held tightly the coast. From the Lixus (Oued



Coin of Hadrumetum.³



Coin of Thapsus.⁴



Coin of Leptis Minor.⁵

el-Kous),⁶ which falls into the Atlantic, to Lake Triton, which the sands and cliffs on the coast separate from the Syrtis Minor, she stretched a long chain of colonies, free or privileged cities, and Roman cities.

¹ Head of Mercury; on the reverse, two ears of corn. (Bronze.)

² Beardless head, and the inscription HIPPO in Punic characters. On the reverse, a panther; above it, TYPAT in Punic. (Bronze.)

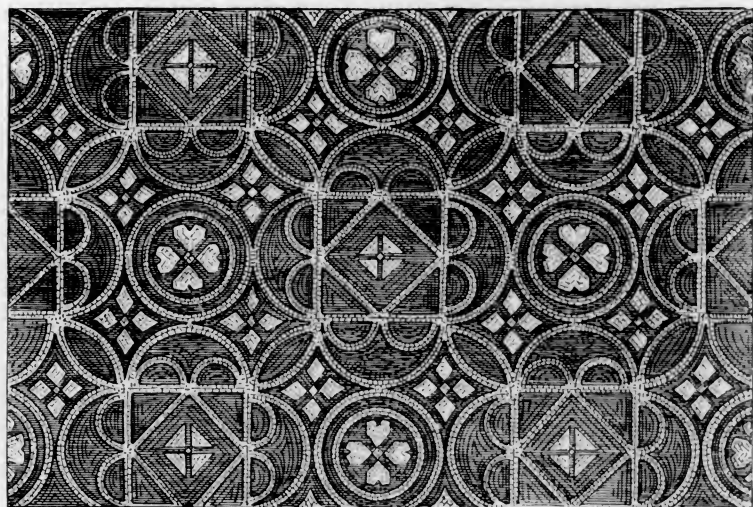
³ HADR. Head of Neptune; before it a trident. (Bronze.)

⁴ THAPSVM IVN. AVG. Head of Livia, veiled and crowned with ears of corn. (Bronze.)

⁵ AEIITI. Bust of Mercury. (Bronze.) See, vol. iii. p. 451, another coin of Leptis of the same type.

⁶ At four kilomètres from El-Araïch, the Oued el-Kous surrounds a rocky peninsula where exist the ruins of an ancient city with Cyclopean ramparts. On the very front of El-Araïch the site of the Garden of the Hesperides has been thought recognizable (*Mém. of M. Tissot on his travels in Morocco*, 1874). A few leagues from Mequinez the ruins of *Volubilis*, with the remains of a temple, a triumphal arch, and the inclosure, cover an entire hill. What discoveries might be made there, although they have for a long while served as a quarry for the construction of Mequinez, if Morocco were not so inhospitable!

Tabraca had the title of a Roman city; so also had *Utica*, the ruins of which, as a consequence of the alluvial deposits of the Bagradas, are situated in the midst of cultivated fields more than



Mosaic of *Igilgili* (Djidjelli). (Delamare, *Expl. de l'Algérie*.)

10 kilomètres from the coast;¹ *Hippo Zarytus* (Byzerte), Carthage, *Neapolis* (Nabel), *Hadrumetum* (Sousa), *Thenae*, at the entrance to the Syrtis Minor, *Tucape* (Gabes), were colonies; *Thapsus*, *Leptis Minor*, and twenty-seven other cities of the province, had the rights of free cities.²



Coin of Cirta.³

In the interior colonization was checked in Mauretania Tingitana (Morocco) by the deserts which adjoined the Malva and by what are called the mountains of the Rif. But in the other provinces which answer to Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, it rapidly developed. Each of the

¹ Hadrian gave it the title of colony. (Aul. Gellius, *Noct. Atticae*, xvi. 13.)

² Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, v. 29. To these thirty free cities Pliny adds fifteen *oppida civium Romanorum* and six colonies, but in the time of the Antonines there were many more. Many military posts, *castella*, *turres*, had become cities. Thus an inscription of *Turris Tamalleni* praises Hadrian as the *conditor municipii* (Guérin, i. p. 244). Marquardt (iv. pp. 320-3) gives a long list of the colonies and free cities of Numidia.

³ Struck in 43 B.C. with the figure of Sittius. (Bronze.) About Sittius, see vol. iii. p. 343.

innumerable valleys which the ramifications of the Atlas form had its city connected with neighbouring ones by roads which cross the whole province from west to east, and which descend in one direction towards the maritime towns, and in the other go towards the desert and the posts established at the foot of Mount Atlas.¹

The Romans, like ourselves, had with difficulty penetrated the Great Kabylia; but by occupying all the entrances to this thickly-wooded district, they forced the Kabyles to acknowledge, in order to exist, the law of those who held the valleys, and they finally gained a footing in their mountains. The same policy, but with different means, on the side of the Sahara; they had closed by defences the gorges of the Aures in order to check the incursions of the nomads; they had even crossed the high plateau so as to reach the desert and seize some of its oases. We have only been to Laghouat since 1854, and here found at Géryville on the same latitude some vestiges of Roman occupation. At the foot of the south side of the Aures they traced out a route which was studded by military posts from Biskra even far to the east. In the oasis of El-Outhaia, to the south of El-Kantara, Marcus Aurelius had caused his soldiers to raise again a decayed triumphal arch,² and near Besseriani (*ad Majores*), not far from Chott Melghir, has been found a milestone with Trajan's name on it.



Coin of *Thysdrus*, bearing the Head of Astarte. (Bronze.)

For Numidia and Africa the centre of defence was Lambesa, where are still existing the two camps of the *IIIa Augusta* legion and its auxiliaries, about 10,000 men, who furnished garrisons to all those posts, even a cohort to the proconsul of Carthage.³ Military roads, made by the soldiers, radiate hence in all directions.

The Romans, who had left autonomy to many cities and their

¹ Moreover, the Aures, part of the Atlas range, which is in the south of the province of Constantine, between Batna and Biskra, forms a wooded district 600 kilomètres in circumference, inhabited by the Kabyles, who have been rarely subdued. Three valleys, one of which is easily practicable, cross it. The ruins remaining in this district of Roman origin prove that they had formed a quadrilateral, the sides of which abutted on Lambesa, Ksar Baghaï, Bades, and Biskra. (*Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr.*, September, 1880: *les Monts Aourès*.)

² L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 1650.

³ Cf. Henzen, *Annali*, 1860, pp. 52-71. L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 5 15.

magistrates¹ the Punic name of *suffetes*, had also recognized or established the authority of certain chiefs of tribes.

The Sahara or the Atlas range could not be, like the Rhine and the Danube, bordered by a continuous entrenchment, nor was there the necessity of maintaining eight or ten legions on that frontier threatened by no danger. Some posts well stationed kept the nomads at a distance. Modern travellers who have at great risk lately penetrated to the south of Tunis, have found in all the mountain gorges works, now fallen to ruins, which defended



Coin of Roman Carthage bearing the names of the *suffetes*.²

the passage. Roman roads led to these, and aqueducts took the water from the hills to the cities of the plain: one of these was not less than seventy kilometres long.²

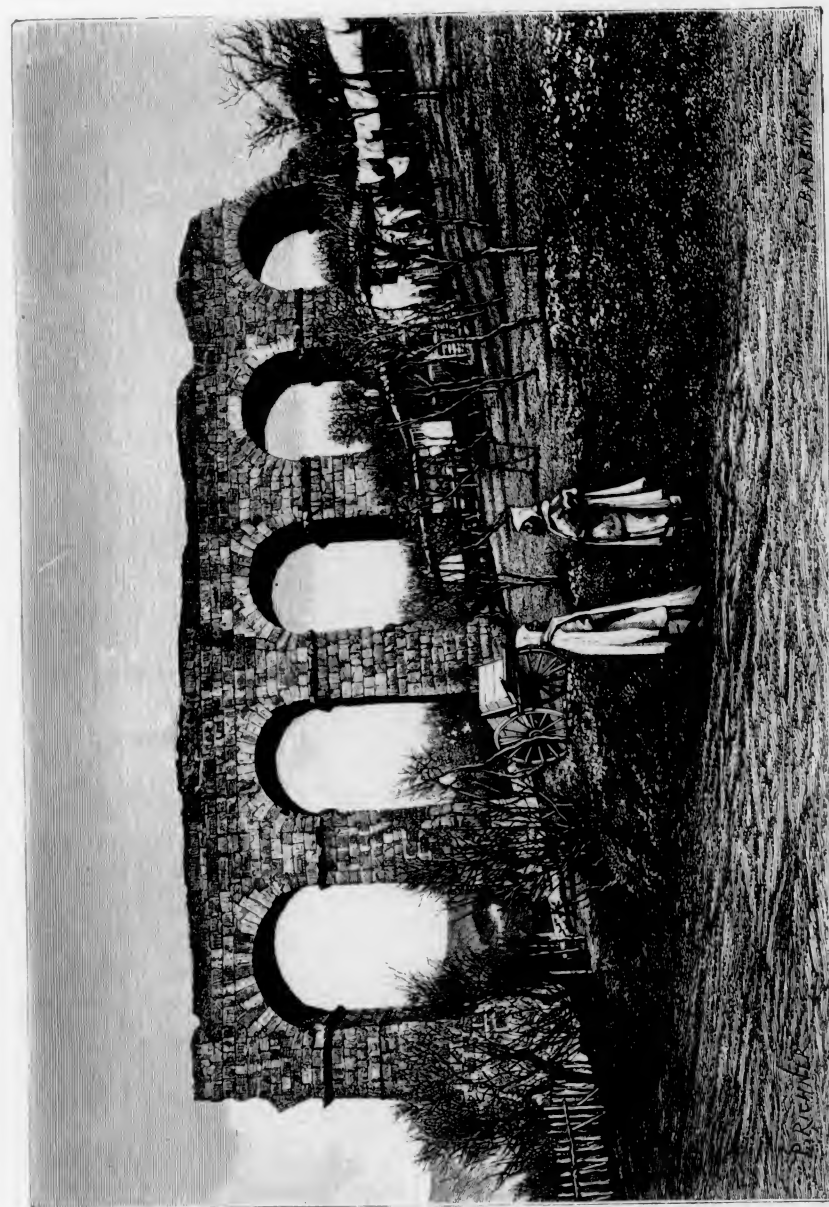
As these precautions were not always sufficient to prevent rapid incursions and pillage, the government completed them by another means of defence: it gave a sort of investiture to some of the native chiefs whose duty it was, on their own responsibility, to act as imperial police. These chiefs ordinarily built a fortress in the centre of their tribe; when they had paid the tribute and guaranteed the public peace, they could style themselves princes or kings and govern as they liked. Rome showed no jealousy of them. Only she kept near the most powerful a centurion or a prefect, as a representative of her sovereign authority, who was always ready to intervene to check plots or tumults too likely to spread. They were simply our heads of Arab departments (*bureaux arabes*) overseeing the native aghas.⁴

¹ C. I. L., vol. v. Nos. 4,919-22.

² Guérin, *Voyage en Tunisie, passim*, and *Archives des Missions pour 1877*, pp. 362 et seq.

³ ARISTO MVTVM BAL RICOCE SVF. Heads without beards and uncovered of J. Cæsar and Augustus. On the reverse, KAR. VENERIS around a tetrastyle temple. (Bronze.)

⁴ The history of Firmus (Amm. Marc., xxix. 5) shows that there were in this province powerful chiefs, one of whom even bears the title of king. In an inscription of Trajan's time found at Kamala in Numidia (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 2,715), there is mention of a Roman *præfectus gentis Musulamiorum*; another inscription, found at Cæsarea in Mauretania (*ibid.*, No. 4,033), mentions a *procurator Augusti ad curam gentium*.



Ruins of a Roman Aqueduct near Constantine.

We find a similar system on the other frontiers. To the tetrarchs who held commands on the borders of the Syrian desert, to the kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, to the barbarian chiefs whom Rome paid on the north of the Danube, the emperors sent agents, who, residing near these princes, acted as intermediaries between them and the Empire, and often controlled their acts. This was a general measure of government, and, let us acknowledge, one of the most skilful.

This great province of Africa had been subject, since Caligula's reign, to two different authorities: the one civil, the proconsul who resided at Carthage; the other military, the legate of the *II^a Augusta* legion, whose headquarters were at Lambesa. Hence arose conflicts and encroachments on the part of the legate, who, having the effective power and the longer duration of his duties,¹ finally secured the formation of Numidia into a separate province of which he was the head. There is another resemblance to our Algeria, viz., that French colonization is hindered in the interior of our provinces by two conflicting elements—the Arabs and the Kabyles; so also was Roman colonization by the Berbers and the Phœnicians. The latter preserved in the cities their own worship, dialect, and manners, and the Berbers kept the language which they still speak. But Rome had an advantage over us: its beliefs did not excite the fanatical hatred of its subjects. Of the two sentiments which constitute in a people's eyes their greatest power of resistance against the foreigner, viz., patriotism and religion, the emperors had nothing to fear from the one, and historical circumstances had singularly weakened the other.

Perhaps also the Romans found in this region, less old at that time by 2,000 years, better conditions of culture: mountains better wooded, springs of water more abundant and especially more constant. Even in the Sahara—a territory burnt by an irresistible sun, it seems that there have been in many places powerful water courses, which only occur now in the form of subterranean pools. Some dried-up palm trees bear witness, here and there, to the recent disappearance of the springs, and the Romans might have seen a rich vegetation at the very place where we see only a sea

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 48.

of sand. They boast, and with reason, of the system of irrigation regulated by the week, the day, and the hour, which the Arabs have established in the Huerta of Valentia. The Romans practised it. In Algeria stones have been found on which are inscribed the hours during which each proprietor had a right to the water.¹

To sum up, from the sea to the Sahara, were four zones: the maritime cities, that is to say, commerce; the cities of the Tell, or agriculture; at the foot of the Atlas range, the military posts and the native principalities; beyond were the oases and the desert nomads, who were dependent on the Tell for their supply of corn.²

Such was the Africa of the emperors and such also is ours. On that territory whither we carry the civilization of Europe, the name of Rome calls up that of France, and the two names become involuntary conjoined, as are the traces of the two peoples. Yet we have not recovered all those which Rome has left.

In 1850 one of our generals, when crossing the Aures to reach Biskra, thus wrote: "We were flattering ourselves that we had been the first to pass the defile of Tighanimine. What a mistake! In the very middle, cut in the rock . . . , an inscription informed us that, under Antoninus, the sixth legion had gone the same route along which we were labouring 1,700 years after."³ Others relate that, during the expedition from Constantine, our soldiers were filled with admiration when, fatigued by the dreariness of the route, they all of a sudden discovered the remains of a Roman city. No one expected such a discovery. These ruins lying apart in the solitude animated the spirits of the army by reminding them in a solemn manner that, before them, a great people had conquered and civilized this land. And since then, how often has it seen monuments, still imposing in decay, the remains of baths, aqueducts, amphitheatres, temples, tombs, and

¹ Masqueray, *Ruines de Kenchela*, p. 3. The fauna of Algeria have changed like the water system. In the south of Algeria are seen on the rocks representations of animals, such as the elephant, rhinoceros, and the giraffe, which are no longer found there. The elephant, still very common in North Africa in the time of Procopius, has entirely disappeared.

² Dr. Seriziat, who was at Ouargla, our last oasis in the south, in March, 1865, says that corn was worth 175 francs per 100 kilogrammes.

³ *Correspondence* of General St. Arnaud.

triumphal arches, from whose heights, one might say, the genius of Rome seemed to be watching France beginning again the work of her legions. The Arabs, whom nothing astonishes, had yet been struck by the grandeur and number of these ruins, and they said, when pointing them out to those whom they call the Roumi: "Did your ancestors then believe they would never die?"

Africa, so energetically laid hold of by Roman civilization, yielded to this powerful embrace. It will stand next after Spain and Gaul in furnishing emperors. There was already some Libyan blood in the Flavian family; Septimius Severus, Albinus, his rival, Macrinus, the murderer and successor of Caracalla, were of pure African descent. From Hadrumetum came the great juriconsult Salvius Julianus, and, as was proper, a provincial had edited provincial law.¹ This prosperity of Africa does not show itself only in the success of its citizens, in the splendour of its cities, especially in that of Carthage, which became once more the second city of the West. When the sap circulates actively and powerfully, fruit comes with the flower. Africa was about to seize that literary sceptre which Italy was letting fall from her enfeebled hands after having for a while snatched it from Spain and Gaul by the two Plinys, Juvenal, and Tacitus. The great names of Latin literature will henceforth be African: Apuleius, Tertullian, Minutius Felix, S. Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, and the greatest of all, S. Augustine. For the time Fronto reigns there, and Cirta is quite proud of having given to the world him whom it styles a new Cicero.²

These details regarding Roman Africa the reader will pardon. Its history under the Cæsars is now a page of our national history.

I have not spoken at all of Tripoli, where the three cities Leptis, Oea, and Sabrata, formed a sort of federal republic with an

¹ See above, p. 104.

² The first two governments in the Empire were those of the proconsular provinces of Asia and Africa, the governors of which had a salary of 250,000 drachmas. (Dion, lxxviii. 22.) It seems also that the government of Numidia assured to its governor the privilege when leaving office of being raised to the consulate. At least, M. L. Renier has found inscriptions of the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Septimius Severus, in which six legates, proprietors of Numidia, bear in the last year of their official life the title of *consul designate*.

annual diet which continued even to the fourth century, and the splendour of which comes later since it was the work of Septimius Severus;¹ beyond the Syrtes we enter into the Greek world, where we find nearly the same state of things as existed two centuries earlier.

Cyrenaica, while protected against the nomads by brilliant expeditions, yet saw its prosperity diminishing; Alexandria caused its ruin, and the emperors did nothing to arrest its decadence.

In Egypt the policy of Augustus was followed as when first initiated. The princes nominated to this rich government only knights, sometimes even citizens of foreign extraction, like that



Coin of Oea. (Obverse and Reverse).²



Coin of Salrara (with bearded Hercules). (Bronze.)

Jew who proclaimed Vespasian in Alexandria, and that Balbillus, grandson of a king Antiochus, whose daughter, the poetess Balbilla, carved some pretentious verses and her genealogy on the leg of Memnon.³ The native civilization was nearly extinct, but the country had always its rich harvests, its commerce with India, and its porphyry quarries, at that time worked for the whole Empire. Under the strong hand of its new masters it flashed out as in the days of the Pharaohs. Its numerous navies ploughed the Red Sea; its merchants again followed the route of the Rameses towards Nubia and sought to solve the problem of the source of the Nile.⁴ The oases in the desert show to this

¹ Amm. Marcell., xxviii. 67. The territory of this kind of republic was a dependence of the province of Africa, and Rome supported a garrison even in Fezzan. Barth (*Voy. dans l'Afrique centrale*, vol. i.) found in the mountains to the south of Tripoli a tomb, 36 feet high, which he believes to be of the time of the Antonines, and others also on the route from Tripoli to Mourzouk.

² Woman's head turreted; behind, Oea. On the reverse, head of Apollo laurel crowned; in front, *quaestor (?) praefectus tributo*. (Bronze.)

³ Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, vol. ii. 358.

⁴ Dr. Schweinfurth found in 1874 the remains of seven Roman *castella* in the grand oasis of

very day traces of Roman occupation, and inscriptions found on these remains bear the names of Galba, Titus, and Trajan.

We have traversed with Hadrian the whole Eastern frontier. In Syria, Baalbec, Palmyra, Gerasa, Rabbath-Ammon, Bostra, commenced erecting those monuments the ruins of which astonish the traveller who in fear and peril penetrates the solitudes in which in those days so many peoples were active.



Coin of Bostra, struck under Antoninus. (Bronze.)

In Asia Minor one would need to stop at every step to verify the prosperity of those provinces now desert and where five hundred cities were then flourishing; but in this work our aim before all is the study of the manners and institutions of Rome. If we have written at length respecting the western half of the Empire, it is because all the activity of the Romans showed itself on that side. They awakened there civilized life; there they made all ready for the formation of modern nations, and they seem to have handed down to them that clear precise mind which had aided them in doing such great achievements.

The Romans who had in the East followed the Greeks were not able to dispossess them, and in spite of Latin inscriptions and of Roman names to be found here and there on the tombs, they had not succeeded in causing their language and usages to predominate. These lands, organized a very long time before the legions appeared in them, had preserved their customs and peculiar genius as regards art, industry, commerce, temples, theatres, festivals; none or very few gladiators and amphitheatres, except at Pergamus and Cyzicus;¹ but philosophers who are going to

the Lybian desert, El-Khargué, at 130 kilomètres west of the Nile (*Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr.*, June, 1874). Cailliaud (*Voyages à l'oasis de Thèbes*), the bold traveller of Nantes, had seen, in 1818, fifty-six years before the German expedition, the ruins of El-Khargué and notably more than two hundred Roman tombs. To the south of Syene a wall bars the Nile valley against Ethiopian marauders. Inscriptions speak of the guardians of the sacred gate *ἱερὰς πόλης Σοῦνης* (*C. I. G.*, No. 4,878). This sacred gate was doubtless only an important post of the imperial customs.

¹ There was in the whole of Asia Minor no regular organization for gladiatorial games except at Pergamus and Cyzicus. These are the only cities in which the ruins of an amphitheatre are found. (Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 217.) S. Polycarp's martyrdom proves, however, that games of wild beasts were given at Smyrna, Miletus, Ancyra, Aphrodisias of Caria, and

frame Christian theology, and a number of sophists who will multiply heresies. It is quite another world; the difference was so profound that it still exists. From the Adriatic to the Atlantic all had become Roman; from the Euphrates to the Adriatic all was Greek.¹ Pliny talks vainly in grandiloquent terms of the universality of Latin;² one half only of the Empire employed the dialect of Latium.

Latin was the official language, that of the army and the administration; but in the second century every well-educated man spoke Greek, even at Rome, and under the envelope of the two languages which divided the Roman world between them, local dialects, and consequently in a certain degree nationalities also, still existed. If the language of the Druids has lasted in Brittany till our own days, and that of the Iberians in the Pyrenees, one need not feel astonished that some noble Arverni still should make use of the Celtic dialect in the fifth century of our era;³ that S. Irenæus was obliged to preach in Celtic in the Lyonnais district,⁴ and that S. Jerome found some genuine Gauls in Galatia, although Greek prevailed throughout the whole East.⁵ Some Italians, the contemporaries of Marcus Aurelius, could speak Gallic and Tuscan,⁶ at the very gates of Rome, Umbrian at Iguvium,⁷ Greek in South Italy, where, except at Brundisium, no Latin inscriptions are met with. The emperor Septimius Severus was considered to be more fluent in the dialect of Hannibal than in that of Scipio. The stepson of Apuleius, though born of a high family, scarcely knew

in Greece, Corinth, Megara, and even Athens had them as well. (Egger, *Mém. d'hist. anc.*, p. 39.)

¹ Apuleius says a Thessalian peasant could not understand a soldier who spoke Latin to him. [Only a dozen Latin words, concerning soldiers and taxes, are to be found in the Greek of the New Testament.—*Ed.*]

² *Hist. nat.*, iii. 6. S. Augustine says also of Rome: *Linguam suam domitis gentibus per pacem societatis imposuit* (*Cité de Dieu*, xix. 7).

³ Sidon. Apollinaris, iii. 3, v. 18, and Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule mérid.*, i. p. 397. A Gallic inscription, found at Paris, dates from the fourth century. (*Bullet. de la Soc. de l'Hist. de Paris*, March and April, 1877, p. 36.) Another can be read on a vase of the third or fourth century discovered at Bourges. Cf. *Revue critique*, 1882, p. 131.

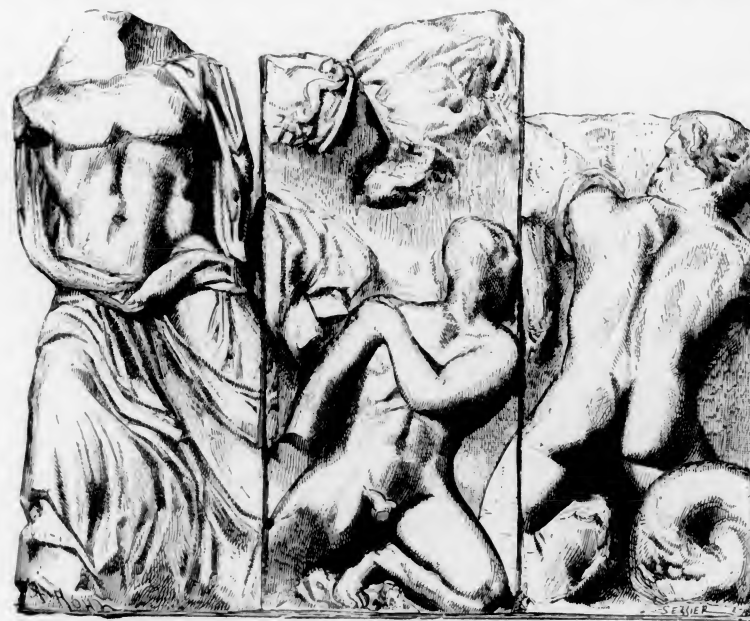
⁴ . . . *nos qui apud Celtas commoramur et in barbarum sermonem plerumque vacamus* (*Adv. Hæres. proem.*, 3).

⁵ *Comm. in Epist. ad Gal.*, iii. The reasons which are given for doubting the evidence of S. Jerome do not seem to me conclusive.

⁶ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xi. 7.

⁷ Bréal, *les Tables eugubines*.

any Latin or Greek words; his maternal language was the Carthaginian.¹ Two centuries later, in the diocese of S. Augustine, the greatest part of the country people knew no other language, and it was still the case, in the time of Procopius, as regards the Moors who lived near the pillars of Hercules. There have also in Algeria been discovered numerous Latin inscriptions in which



Bas-relief from Pergamum: Fragment of the *Gigantomachia*, representing Zeus. (Berlin Museum.) See in vol. iv. p. 541, another Fragment called the Group of Athena.

Carthaginian names² occur, and daily there are found in Tunis Punic inscriptions of the Roman period.

Among the emperor's secretaries we know that one was required for the Arabic language; might we not conclude that there was one for each of the principal languages, since all the subjects of the Empire had the right of appeal to the emperor or of addressing petitions to him, and since agreements were valid written in any language?

¹ Apuleius in the *Apologia*.

² L. Renier, *Mél. d'Épigr.*, 255-285. *Digest.* XLV. i. 1, § 6, and *Inst.* iii. 15, i. § 1.

There was another difference between the two great divisions of the Empire: the right of coinage, of which the Latin countries had been deprived, was for a long while preserved in the oriental provinces—a measure which is explained by the greater activity of Asiatic commerce and by the privileges of municipal autonomy continued to a large number of transmarine cities.¹ Rome naturally transferred her monetary system to Gaul, Spain, and Africa, having already given them her language and institutions, whilst the East preserved their own, as they did their language, manners, and manufacturing industry.

Greece, which has done nothing great in politics outside its own territory, nothing at least of a lasting nature, has had in matters of intellect an inexhaustible fecundity, and for philosophy and eloquence a proselytizing ardour which belongs ordinarily only to religious beliefs. Without organization, and by the simple force of its genius, this race was spread over Western Asia, where it had occupied and penetrated everything. In its presence the ancient civilizations had been effaced or transformed; the national languages had disappeared or existed only in the lower strata of the population; Hellenic life had everywhere taken possession of men and cities.

The Greeks, above all things a rhetorical people, were desirous to have no limit in talking, discussing, and teaching. In whatever place they came they at once organized a place of discussion, a school, and they allured the population to their disputes. Then men took sides violently for rhetoric or grammar, for Zeno or Epicurus, and from each city of Asia proceeded new masters. On the banks of the Nile old Egypt, affrighted, had escaped from Alexandria into the Thebais, whither a new enemy will soon come to trouble it with a new creed; and even to the foot of Atlas, the palaces which took the place of Masinissa's royal tent had resounded with the names of Aristotle and Plato. All the Asiatic courts tried to speak Greek: the Parthian kings had some of Euripides' plays acted in their presence, and India tried to decipher those medals covered with Greek characters which it restores to us to-day, and which help us to recover the lost

¹ *Hist. de la monn. rom.*, by Mommsen, translated by the Duc de Blacas, vol. iii. p. 9.

history of a Greek state flourishing twenty centuries ago on the banks of its great river.

Such active masters as these always found eager listeners. At Olbia the Scythians were in the vicinity, the war standard planted on the towers; but Dion Chrysostom comes and speaks of Homer and Phocylides: all become attention and then, in order to hear better, they lead the orator to the agora and listen to a long discourse on the city of the gods. Much flattered, Dion adds: "So far were they truly Greeks by their tastes and manners."¹ Every rhetorician was then welcome. Every discovery excited enthusiasm, and if these Greeks came into a country which had had its days of scientific culture, amongst a people whom without humiliation they could acknowledge as their elders (as Plato was pleased to say to the priests of Egypt), they immediately sought to make these unexplored treasures their own. In the whole East they had formed large translation offices,² to carry off science from its priests as their ancestors had seized upon political power from its warriors. Egyptian, Hebrew, Chaldean books, all had been translated, and if they had been unable to penetrate into India either far enough or in sufficient numbers to make that old civilization also their prey, yet they had formed active commercial relations with that country, and while taking its commodities they had questioned its wise men and carried off some of their teaching.

But what a long time the effort had already lasted! and the Greek mind gave way under the mass of learning that it had acquired. From the habit of learning how others thought, one forgets to think for oneself; and as real political life did not uphold the Greek mind, as its birth-place had grown so small and the land of adoption so great that patriotism existed no more for these citizens of the world, the energetic need of knowing and believing, which animated men in the flourishing days of the great schools of thought, was replaced, in the early days of the Empire, by the



The Nile personified.
(Bronze of Hadrian.)

¹ Dion Chrysostom, *Orat.*, lxxx.

² Strabo, xvii. p. 806: "They draw from the writings of the Egyptians as well as from those of the Chaldeans."

noisy restlessness of sterile thought. Strength was wanting for research outside the paths which the master minds had opened up, and there were seen only a vain disquietude and a curiosity which was satisfied with puerile subtilties. So is it, after the grand movements of the ocean are calmed that the agitation continues for a time longer in the shallows. It is there that they end, but it is there also that they commence afresh. These schools, now poorly occupied, will assume greatness again when Greek philosophy, yielding to the influence of the revolution which had united so many peoples into one family, shall lay aside metaphysics in order to undertake the moral education of the world.

The more recent peoples of the West had neither fallen so low nor risen so high. They were not when Rome made their conquest leading a life of luxury: they wanted its necessities.¹ They had everything to learn, and from Rome they asked everything—laws, manners, language, good, and evil. Therefore she put her stamp upon them, and twenty centuries have not yet effaced it. Since Actium the Roman world leaned towards the West, the face of which had been renewed; henceforth she is going to turn towards the East. Then a time will come when this Empire will have but one language, that of Athens, and when Rome will be at Byzantium; but then the Empire will be nothing else than the Byzantine Empire.

IV.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCES; COMMERCE; TRAVELS.

There is no need to explain for a third time the provincial administration which from Augustus to Diocletian existed in its general features.² If the creation of new governments and the interchange of provinces made between the prince and the senate

¹ Cicero wrote to his brother, the governor of Pergamean Asia some years before Actium: "*Quod si te sors aut Afris, aut Hispanis, aut Gallis præfecisset inmanibus ac barbaris nationibus*" (*ad Quint.*, i. 1, 6). Juvenal still makes the same difference. After having raised the laugh against the effeminate Rhodian, the perfumed Corinthian, and the hairless youth, a race engaged in polishing their legs, he advises the insolent nobles who would have to govern the western provinces to exercise prudence with such impatient folk: "*Horrida vitanda est Hispania, Gallicus avis . . . Illyricum latus*, etc. (*Sat.*, viii. 115).

² For the provincial organization under the Republic, see vol. ii. pp. 160 *et seq.*: under Augustus, vol. iv. cap. lxvii. and in this volume the chapter on *The City*.

be omitted, the principal modification has reference to the *procuratores*. At first, simply financial agents charged with the levying of the tribute in the imperial provinces, they had conferred upon them by Claudius a jurisdiction over fiscal matters,¹ and finally possessed, under the higher authority of the military chief of the district, the administration of part of a province *cum jure gladii*.² Such were the procurators of Rætia, Thrace, and Judæa. As regards the *consulares* of Hadrian, the *juridici* of Marcus Aurelius, and the *curatores* of the Antonines, they belong to a new order of things which began then, and which we shall see resulting in Constantine's great reform. The time is not come for considering this, and we can merely say that since Augustus's ordinance the government of the provinces has not undergone any important modifications.

We simply recall the fact that, in certain circumstances, extraordinary commissioners were sent to correct abuses,³ and that great military commands were given from time to time to a prince of the imperial house or a famous general, as had been done for Pompey and Caesar. The different provinces reunited under one chief will furnish Diocletian with the idea of his division of the Empire into dioceses.

An unimportant change yet deserves mention here. After the Social War, the Italian soil, having become quiritary, had ceased paying the land tax. Some provincial cities obtained from the emperors leave for their territory to be assimilated to the Italian estates. This privilege was known as the *jus Italicum*.

The powers of the governor, *præses*,⁴ continue the same as in the past. He has both civil and criminal jurisdiction, with the exceptions which we have mentioned; the headship of police in the whole extent of his government, which he is called upon to preserve in peace and quietness.⁵ His authority, as had been that

¹ See vol. iv. p. 413.

² Orelli, Nos. 3,664, 3,888.

³ Pliny, *Epist.*, viii. 24; Philost., *Life of Herodes Atticus*, § 3.

⁴ *Præsidis nomen generale est* (*Digest*, i. 18, 1); . . . *magis imperium habet omnibus post principem* (16-4).

⁵ *Digest*, i. 18, 13 pr.: *Provincia pacata et quieta*. The State police was formed of soldiers taken from all the legions, and first of all kept at Rome, *frumentarii*, then sent into the provinces where *omnia occulta explorabant* (*Hist. Aug. Hadr.*, 10; *Maer.*, 12); that

of the senate over Italy, was not limited to the repression of crimes; he kept somewhat of the vague moral jurisdiction of the censors. "The governor," says Ulpian,¹ "ought to take care that no one make an unjust gain or suffer an undeserved hurt," a very vague formula which would permit any sort of interference, "to prevent the usurpations of property, sales procured from fear or pretended sales which are not completed by an actual cash settlement." But here is something new: "It is a sacred duty for him not to allow the powerful to do wrong to the humble; nor under pretence of the arrival of functionaries or soldiers to deprive the poor of their only lantern or of their scanty furniture." This is like our exemption of the indigent from billeting soldiers.

As to the fashion in which the governors acquitted themselves in their functions, the writers of the imperial period point out that the established order had its necessary consequences. Doubtless, not all the governors were Plinys or Agricolas, and there were still abuses at rare intervals; but betrayals of trust were rarely spoken of, because the peoples no longer had the resignation of older times, now that they knew that the prince was interested in not allowing any injustice to be committed, and that the senate showed no complaisance towards those whom the provincial delegates cited and accused before it.

The short duration of proconsulates and legateships suggests that the public service would suffer from it; but the governors had at hand, besides their *assessors* and *friends*, public slaves and freedmen who, continuing in their positions, had charge of the papers and public documents, arranged the settlement of matters, and preserved the routine. From numerous inscriptions found in a cemetery at Carthage it is possible to draw up a long list for the proconsulate of Africa of these obscure but useful public servants. The head changed, but the departments remained, and affairs were not interrupted. The inexperience of a fresh comer was set right by the experience of his predecessors, which the subordinates of the provincial government communicated to him, and

of the cities was effected by municipal officers, the *irenarchs* or justices of the peace, whom the governor selected yearly from a list of ten notables presented by the curia. (Æl. Aristides, *Sacr. Serm.*, IV. vol. i. p. 523, edit. Dindorf.)

¹ *De off. præ.* (*Digest*, 18, 6): . . . *ad religionem præsidis pertinet.*

in the carefully preserved registers he could find precedents bearing on every question.

We shall see shortly that the departments of the central administration had a like organization; like those of the governors, they continued, even under an incapable chief, the accustomed work. Thus the imperial tragedies took place unnoticed by the provinces: they were revolutions of the palace, not of the Empire.

We called to mind a little time back those provincial assemblies in which the civic deputies came to declare their union with Rome. An inscription of the year 238 lets us see the interested consideration which the governors were still showing, after the Antonines, to the influential members of these assemblies. "At the time when I was imperial legate of the province of Lyons, I was acquainted in that city with several distinguished men, among whom was Sennius Solleminis of the city of the Viduasses, who had been nominated as priest of the altar of Rome and Augustus. . . . A particular reason secured him my friendship. Some members of the assembly of the Gauls, thinking they had cause to complain of Cl. Paulinus, my predecessor, wished to raise an accusation against him in the name of the province. Solleminis resisted their proposal, and declared that his fellow citizens, far from directing him to accuse the governor, had ordered him to pass an eulogium on him. For this reason the assembly decided that it would not prefer a complaint against Cl. Paulinus."

Thus, in the third century, the right of criticizing the governor's conduct, and consequently of examining his administration, was in full exercise. And documents give evidence, for the fourth and fifth centuries, of the regular exercise of this practice. It was also as well understood by the government as by the populations, for in Dacia Trajan organized a *concilium prov. Daciae trium* which seems copied from that which Drusus had established at Lyons under Augustus.¹ The province possessing its own festivals, its treasury, and, in the East, its royal right to coin money, its deputies and its priests, its functionaries and its public slaves,² had

¹ *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 1,454, *ad annum* 241: . . . *sacerdotes aræ Augusti* (Nos. 1,209, 1,509, 1,513) and *coronatus Daciae trium* (No. 1,433).

² There were public slaves of the province as of the city. Cf. *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. 28, 1, and Henzen, No. 6,393.

then a life of its own derived from itself and not from Rome,¹ which might have been a source of strength for the Empire. The emperors unfortunately did not know how to develop this advantage.

For want of a part useful to the State, the provincials secured one favourable to their own interests. By degrees they took possession of all the offices, even the highest, reckoning from those illustrious Antonines who were so great, simply because they had to second them a number of men sprung like themselves from the free cities. The Empire gained in them energetic skilful princes who understood the part played by the provincial assemblies. Trajan increased their number and Hadrian was pleased to consult them. But they seem to have been forgotten in the midst of the troubles of the third century, and when, in the following age, there was a wish to revive them, it was too late. This chapter leads therefore to the same conclusion as the preceding. Much municipal life and a little provincial life have made the grandeur of the Empire; the ruin of these institutions will cause its decadence.

The prosperity of the provinces, proved by the progressive elevation of the aristocracy of the cities, is further proved by the innumerable monumental buildings with which the cities covered the Empire, and which imply an amount of wealth to be met with again only in our own days. This general well-to-do condition was the result of bringing into culture immense territories and of a commerce which conveyed to all parts the products of the soil, of industry, and of art. Let us also take note of three things. First, the nobility of those days had none of the prejudices of our old military families. Dion Chrysostom tells us that his grandfather, father, and himself, turned again to business, after having been ruined in the service of their city, and recovered their

¹ Provincia Lugdunensis had a *summus curator civium Romanorum* (Orelli, No. 4,020), another proof of the *personality* of the province. An inscription (Lebas, *Voy. archéol.*, No. 1,189) records a quarrel between two cities respecting their frontiers. The affair was carried to the *κοινὸν θεσπιάριον*, composed of 334 members, who met periodically at Larissa. The voting took place upon oath and by ballot. To make the judgment binding, it needed the confirmation of the Roman governor. It has been concluded hence that "the Roman administration inclosed within very narrow limits the liberty of these so-called autonomous communities and of their national assemblies." On the contrary, this matter proves the extent of the powers of the assembly which is judge in the first instance of a question that with us the *Corps législatif* only could decide by a law. The right of fixing the limits of the communes is of the very essence of sovereign power.

fortune previously lost in public life.¹ There were therefore in this social state fewer idle people than we should expect. Next, very strict regulations respecting weights and measures and the permanence of the imperial coinage² gave a security to commerce which it had never known and which it knew no later than the third century, when after the Antonines the monetary system of the Empire becomes nothing else "than a permanent bankruptcy." Lastly, the military roads laid down by the Romans from one end to the other of their provinces, and the lesser roads which were in relation with them, brought about the revolution which railroads have effected with us. On the territory of ancient Gaul have been counted 22,000 kilomètres (13,200 English miles) of Gallo-Roman roads, and by no means all are identified.

The world was opened up, the most secluded places had become accessible. It was our free trade with its happy consequences.³ All the produce of the world came into Rome by the Tiber, which Pliny calls *rerum in toto orbe nascentium mercator placidissimus*. The ladies of the Bernese Oberland bought their jewels of a jeweller of Asia Minor,⁴ just as we obtain from Smyrna our best carpets. Merchants from Carthage and Arabia came to end their days at Lyons; Greeks, a Thracian lady, a citizen of

¹ *Orat.*, xlvi.

² Silver was in classical antiquity the standard metal. The Empire first of all kept it so, concurrently with gold, and thus had a bi-metallic standard. But in consequence of the alterations in weights and alloyage which silver money incurred, to the extent that in the time of Severus these coins, containing 50 to 60 per cent. of alloy, became simply debased coin, silver assumed more and more the nature of token money, and gold remained the sole standard. In the year 16 Augustus divided the Roman gold pound into 42 *aurei* (= 327.43 grs. = 1,127 frs. 81 cents. of French money, from whence one gets the intrinsic value of the *aureus* of Augustus, in pure gold = 26 frs. 87 cents.). Under Marcus Aurelius the pound equalled 45 *aurei*, which reduced the metallic value of the *aureus* to 25 frs. 8 cents., *i.e.*, the small decrease of 1 fr. 79 cents. in nearly two centuries; but these coins always containing 96 of fine gold, and keeping their official value, continued to be received everywhere with confidence. The treasures hidden away and which have been discovered, one of which, that of Brescello, was composed of 80,000 *aurei*, attest the enormous circulation of gold coinage which took place at that period. (Mommson, *Hist. de la monn. rom.*, translated by the Duc de Blacas, vol. iii. *passim*.) Gold is the coin of rich countries, and the Empire was rich. Requiring much gold for its innumerable exchanges, it drained all the neighbouring countries of this metal, as in our days America, whose monetary needs grow more quickly than its population, its commerce, and the clearance of land, attracts the gold of the old world.

³ The colleges of the Early Empire (see p. 397) differ from our trade guilds in an essential point: they did not form privileged bodies, except certain societies established in the public interest.

⁴ Mommson, *Die Rom. Schweiz*, p. 24.

Nicomedia, have found burial at Bordeaux,¹ some Nabataeans at Pozzuoli, a Pozzuolan at Rusicada, etc.; a Phrygian makes a boast of having rounded Cape Malea seventy-two times to reach Brindisi or the coast of Asia.² "Thanks to the happy peace which we are enjoying," exclaims Pliny, "an immense crowd of navigators cross the seas and even the Western Ocean, and find hospitality on all the coasts."³ Merchants found it even on the summits of moun-



Tombstone of a Citizen of Pozzuoli.⁴

tains: at the loftiest point of the Pass of the Great S. Bernard, between the lake and the spot where the present hospice has been built, there have been discovered the ruins of a temple of Jupiter Penninus and more than thirty tablets in bronze, which had been set up in it for the discharge of vows. This temple had certainly during the summer ministrants who gained a living from the passing travellers.

¹ Robert, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inser.*, 1872, p. 54, and Le Blant, *Inscr. chrét.*, No. 225; Allmer, *Rev. épiqr.*, p. 180.

² *C. I. G.*, No. 3,920.

³ . . . *pace tam festa* (ii. 45 and 67). Horace had already said: *Ter et quater anno revisens æquor Atlanticum*. We have seen that these navigators had lighthouses to guide their course, like those of Alexandria and Boulogne (above, iv. pp. 91 and 389; v. p. 88), or sea-marks like the *towers of Hannibal* on the African and Spanish coasts, as also on those of Asia, constructions from the top of which the sea could be watched to a great distance and where on the approach of pirates could be lighted *prænuntiatiui ignes* (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, ii. 73). Strabo speaks also of lofty towers on all the coasts to observe the approach of the tunny fish.

⁴ This tombstone, found at Rusicada (Philippeville), and unfortunately broken, is only interesting from the inscription it bears: GEN(io) COL(onizæ) PVT(eolanorum) AVG(ustio) SAC(rum). It is a proof of the commercial connection existing between the two maritime cities. (*Musée du Louvre*, Fröhner, *op. cit.*, No. 473.)

Communications with India and Ceylon, though slower than in modern days,¹ were as regular: the setting out and return were fixed almost to the very day.² Some Italian merchants had branch offices on the Malabar coast,³ and used to sell their wines at Barygaza, at the head of the Gulf of Cambay; by the Indus they penetrated into Bactriana; by the Persian Gulf, to the mouths of the Tigris; and from all these countries there came many times ambassadors to the lords of Rome. According even to Seneca, ships went from Spain to the Indies by rounding Africa.⁴

By land caravans reached the centre of Ethiopia and the African oases,⁵ which our merchants have so much difficulty in reaching; to the north they penetrated to the furthest parts of Denmark. In the island of Fünen, to the east of Jutland, and in the neighbourhood of Königsberg, have been found

coins of the Antonine period with arms and utensils of Roman make. The kingdom of the Bosphorus was rich and flourishing; at Dioscurias, at the extremity of the Euxine, so many barbarous nations came to buy and sell that 130 interpreters were required



Roman Figure in Bronze found in Pomerania.⁶

¹ [Not as compared to our sailing ships.—Ed.]

² Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, vi. 26.

³ A quantity of Roman coins has been found on the banks of a river in Malabar. Cf. Reinaud, *Memoir on the Périple de la mer érythrée* and on the *Relations de l'empire romain avec l'Asie orientale*.

⁴ *Quæst. Nat. præf.*

⁵ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, vi. 34. Cf. d'Avezac, *Afrique ancienne*, pp. 33 and 58. The Roman Maternus seems to have reached the Soudan (Ptolemæus, *Geogr.*, i. 8).

⁶ *Archæol. Zeitung*, 35th year, pl. 10.

there.¹ It is not proved that some Roman or Greek merchants had not at this period traffic with China, and some cities now inaccessible or destroyed, as Petra,² Baalbec, Palmyra, "the ports of the desert," were crowded with a busy population, who exchanged



Royal Diadem in Gold, found in the Cimmerian Bosphorus. (Museum of St. Petersburg.)

the commodities of the Empire for those of Babylonia and Parthia. "Every year," says Pliny, "we send to India 50,000,000 sesterces



Diadem of a King of the Bosphorus. (Museum of St. Petersburg.)

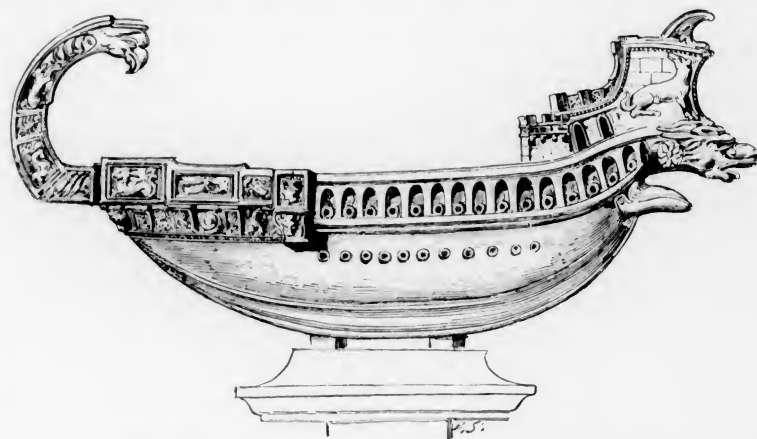
in exchange for goods which are sold in the Empire at 100 per cent. profit."³ The prices rose to such a height because there were many purchasers seeking for the goods and abundance of money to pay for them.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, vi. 5.

² Petra was not yet united to the Empire in Strabo's time, and still a large number of Roman merchants were found there. (Strabo, xvi. p. 779.) In the Arabian peninsula have been found traces of the working of gold mines, and Sprenger, in his *Géographie ancienne de l'Arabie*, believes that these operations were very considerable.

³ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, vi. 26: . . . *quæ apud nos centuplicato veneant*. In this passage Pliny speaks only of the commerce with India, the principal objects of which the *Digest* (xxxix.

Yet the old harsh formula that the stranger is an enemy had not been forgotten. To sell iron, corn, or salt, to the barbarians was a capital offence, and the law sanctioned piracy in respect of peoples who had no bond of amity or alliance with Rome, or contract of hospitality. On the seas and rivers of the Empire the government kept armed fleets¹ to make traffic secure; the merchants were also protected against fraud by laws borrowed from the



Representation of a Ship serving as a Cup. (Piranesi, *Vasi*, ii.)

experience of the Rhodians,² and these decided questions of responsibility or of excuse in accidents by sea. Those who brought about a shipwreck, pillaged a stranded vessel, or plundered the shipwrecked, were subjected to the penalties declared by the Cornelian law against assassins.

Before landing the merchandise it must pass the custom-house, which was very strict. If the shipowner had put on board any contraband article the ship was confiscated; if the lading had taken place in his absence by the act of the shipmaster or a sailor

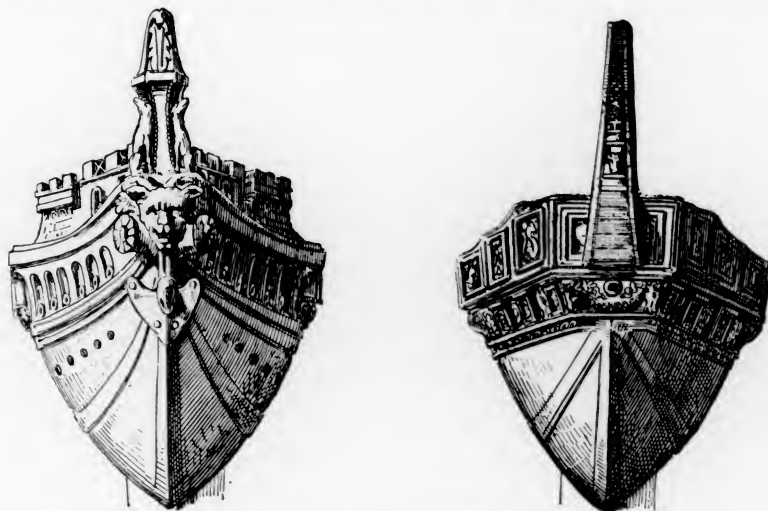
4, 16, § 7), in a curious enumeration, makes us acquainted with. The Romans also left much money with the Arabs, whom Rome styled "the richest people in the world," because the treasures of the Parthians and Romans came to their hands. "They sell the produce of their seas (pearls) and of their forests (odoriferous woods and incense), and buy nothing." (*Ibid.*, 32.)

¹ *Digest*, xxxix. 4, 11, § 2; xlix. 15, 5, § 2. *Cæsar . . . lusoriis navibus discurrere flumen ultro citroque milites ordinavit* (Amm. Marcell., xvii. 2, and xviii. 2).

² *Digest*, xiv. 2.

they incurred the penalty of death, and the merchandise was detained, but the ship was restored to the owner.¹

The cargo being cleared, the merchant sold his merchandise by auction, an ancient practice which is attested by the first convention between Rome and Carthage, by the tablets of the banker Jucundus, found at Pompeii, and by its existence in the whole



Details of a Ship. (Piranesi, *ibid.*)

Empire, where the words *vendere* and *venum dare* were synonymous.²

In order to insure fairness in the exchanges, standard weights and measures were kept in the Capitol and in the cities; frequently a decree of the municipal senate ordered the duumvirs or aediles to make unexpectedly an inspection of the measures used by the merchants. Finally, banks of deposit, of payment and of loan, kept by *argentarii*, facilitated business transactions,³ and bills posted in the streets told passers by what they were interested to know.

¹ *Digest*, xlvii. 9, 3, § 8; xxxix. 4, 11, § 2.

² Cf. de Petra, *le Tavolette cerate di Pompei*, and Caillemier, *Revue hist. de droit*, July, 1877. In vol. ii. of the *C. I. L.*, No. 2,029, mention is made of an imperial procurator charged with collecting the *vectigal auctionum*, or duty on sales by auction. We have given in vol. iv. p. 689, a facsimile of the tablets of Jucundus.

³ Amm. Marcell., xxvii. 9, and Cod. Theod., xii. 6, 19, and 21; Orelli, Nos. 4,342-4,350-*Digest*, xvi. 3, 8. M. Perrot, in his *Mémoire on le commerce de l'argent à Athènes*, has shown what an extent banking affairs in the Greek cities had. Three or four hundred years B.C. there were at Athens joint-stock companies and investors in the funds receiving dividends. The

In this connection, let us remark that, considered from an elevated point of view, commerce has at all times been one of the most powerful factors in the work of civilization. Not only is there an exchange of ideas at the same time with that of merchandise, but it introduces into legislation, much more than philosophies and religions, those notions of equity which modify the teaching of the jurists. In the past ages of humanity priests



Bill Posted in Pompeii.¹

and philosophers have established tenets thought out *a priori* and almost always exclusive, whilst commerce taken in the widest sense of the word, as being the relations between men of different states and races, has furnished facts from experience which have loosed the straitened bond of systems. Interested, for example, in causing good faith to prevail in contracts, it gives to the social relations rules more and more rational and just which, from the practice of business men, pass necessarily into the maxims of the juriconsults.

bankers made advances on the deposit of title-deeds and articles of value; they had their account books in which investments and withdrawals from the funds were entered, their agencies, and if not our bills of exchange at least the cheque. Without possessing an official character, the bankers were the depositaries of documents and contracts which our government officials now receive. They made loans to the cities, and guaranteed in some form State loans. Roman legislation subjected the cession of incorporeal rights to numerous formalities; Athenian legislation, being much simpler, was probably in full force in the whole Greek world. [Cf. the chapter on the Business Habits of the Greeks in my *Social Life in Greece*.—Ed.]

¹ Translation: "In the inheritance of Julia Felix, daughter of Spurius Felix, is offered to let, from the first to the sixth of the ides of August, for five years running, a bath called Venus's [ET NONGENIUM?], some shops, stalls, and superior rooms. They will not be let to any one exercising an infamous profession." For the explanation of certain difficult expressions in this inscription, see *C. I. L.*, vol. iv. p. 60, ad n. 1,136.

In our days, what has opened up Japan and China and will take civilization into Africa? What on that continent will destroy the slave hunting, the state of perpetual war, all the violent deeds and abominations which the slave trade calls forth? Commerce.¹ It has succeeded in places where preaching had failed.

The wealth of a people can be measured by the number of its travellers. They were then more numerous than ours were fifty years ago. The taste for travelling was dominant. "A quiet tranquil life," says a poet of the first century, "in the bosom of home, has no longer any charm. There is a love of visiting new cities, of sailing on unknown seas, of becoming a citizen of the world."² So, if Seneca is to be believed, one half of Rome's inhabitants, of the free cities and colonies, were simply strangers led far away from the land of their birth by some voyage of business or pleasure.³ How well does the emperor Hadrian, the unwearied traveller, serve as the representative of his contemporaries!

The public post instituted by Augustus and reorganized by Hadrian, always at the expense of the municipalities whose territory it traversed, was for the service only of agents of the government and of that small number of persons who, by special favour, obtained the privilege of using it from the prince. But private skill came to the aid of ordinary travellers, and arranged for their tastes and wants by furnishing the means of satisfying them. So that before setting out they could seek on maps, in itineraries and *guide books*,⁴ all the necessary information. At the gates of the principal cities they found the carriages and horses of the *vetturini*;

¹ At a congress of Orientalists (September, 1875) a clever merchant of Lyons, M. L. Desgrand, said: "The merchant among us knows that his contract when understood enjoins on him honesty. In Asia the native acts towards the European as if he were convinced that cleverness in cheating was sufficient to justify it. . . . So the European banks at last concluded to consider as null and void the signature of a native . . . it is requisite that drafts should be endorsed by a European to make their negotiation possible. If this commerce develops, certainly the Asiatic will change his way of looking at things and his civil life."

² Manilius, *Astr.*, iv. 509-13. The *Acta* of the martyrs of Lyons show how many foreigners, even Asiatics, there were in that city, and the travels of S. Paul, of the apostles, and the faithful who set up continued relations between the Churches, prove with what facility the longest expeditions were undertaken.

³ *Ad Helv.*, 6. He goes so far as to say, with his usual exaggeration, that in Corsica, in spite of its wild state, more foreigners were met with than natives.

⁴ See in vol. iv. p. 18, one of the vases or silver goblets found in the baths of Vicarello, on Lake Bracciano, in 1852. The Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem is a real *guide*, with geographical and historical information.

on the route, changes of horses, public hotels, *mansiones*, and inns, the proprietor of which was responsible for injuries suffered by travellers while in his house. An inn at Lyons bore this inscription: "Here Mercury promises profit, Apollo, health, Septimianus, good bed and board. He who will stop here will find himself well off. Traveller, take heed where you stay."¹

Thus therefore the merchant pursued his traffic, the centurion went to join his cohort, the administrator to his duties,² the invalid to the healing waters³ and the altars of aiding divinities: Æsculapius, Isis, and Serapis; the superstitious to renowned shrines⁴ and famous oracles; the idle to festivals and solemnities; the man of taste to places sacred in history or art, the architectural splendours of Rome, Greece, and Egypt, where he wrote his name [like a snob] on the Pyramids or the statue of Memnon. Every year the sun or the *malaria* drove the rich from the scorching city and the pestilential plain towards the shady mountains and their murmuring waters, or to villas built out into the waves of a peaceful bay.

Others travelled more economically: the student entered the great schools of Autun, Milan, Carthage, Tarsus, and Antioch, or those of Rome and Athens, Berytus and Alexandria, which eclipsed all the rest; the professor and the physician in quest of scholars or patients; the sage, the philosopher, and the illuminated, seeking knowledge in the schools or in the revelations of the mysteries;⁵

¹ *Colleg. Jumentariorum*. Cf. Henzen's *Index. Inst.*, iv. 5, 3. Orelli, No. 4329.

² In a multitude of inscriptions the *cursus honorum* of the functionaries shows how frequently they changed their residence. There were centurions who in their military career had made the tour of the Empire two or three times, and similarly as regards the imperial legates. Thus a citizen of Laodicea in Syria serves as a soldier, then as centurion in the *Xa Gemina*, stationed at Vindobona (Upper Pann.); in the *IVa Flavia* (Upper Mœsia), *XIIa Fulminata* (Cappadocia), *IIIa Cyrenaica* (Arabia), *Xa Fretensis* (Judæa), *IVa Afultrix* (Upper Pann.), and *Va Macedonica*, at Troesmis, where he died. (L. Renier, *Inscr. de Troesmis*, p. 36.)

³ Inscriptions and authors tend to show that almost all the waters to which physicians now send us were in those days known and utilized. The ancient physicians already advised a residence in Egypt for chest diseases (Pliny, *Epist.*, v. 16), ordered the drinking of milk in the mountains, and even a stay in pine forests. (See Friedländer, ii. 1-15.) Galen sent cases of phthisis, as we do, into warm moist climates, at an equal temperature, that is to say, to the coast of the Mediterranean.

⁴ See the *Syrian Goddess* of Lucian.

⁵ We know of many voyages made by Diodorus, Strabo, and Pausanias for history and geography; by Dioscorides and Galen for botany and medicine; by Apuleius to become initiated in the mysteries; by Apollonius of Tyana, the philosophers and rhetoricians whose wandering life Lucian and Philostratus point out to us, etc. The *Digest* (xxvii. 1, 6, § 1) speaks of grammarians, sophists, rhetoricians, and physicians as wanderers, *circulatores*.

the artist seeking wealth and renown; the charlatan who explained dreams or exhibited curiosities; begging priests who led about the villages their guardian divinity while stretching out the beggar's hand to the faithful.

In their travels the ancients were brought face to face with a nature as it were impregnated with divinity, and at every step they came across places full of mythological recollections which without putting much faith in them, they yet loved to recall. The grand phenomena of nature, which are to us the results of general laws, were still for the bulk of travellers acts of the divine will. They excited admiration, combined with a sort of religious terror and those pantheistic beliefs which kept their ground in spite of the increasing scepticism, those legends constantly revived by their poets, sent numbers of tourists through the pacified provinces. They had not our recent enthusiasm for "pleasing horrors," but all their literature shows how much they loved sweet smiling nature, the charming situations on the sub-Apennine hills, the fresh valleys, the forest filled with gloom and silence, and large sea views.

Travels were still then undertaken simply to please the eyes; some went even in search of the grand spectacles unfolded by nature. How many, following the track of Hadrian, climbed Mount Etna¹ and Mount Casius, just as we go to the Righi to see a sunrise! How many others imitated Sabinus, that friend of Lucian² who went to the very verge of the western provinces to hear "the hissing of the sun when it sinks below the waves,"³ or, what was easier to view, the powerful Atlantic tides! The bar of the Seine and of the Gironde must have greatly astonished these residents round a sea where the ebb and flow were imperceptible. The extensive remains of a Roman villa have been recently discovered in the Isle of Wight, where the nobility of England still seek out the charming situations which the contemporaries of Hadrian or Severus loved.⁴

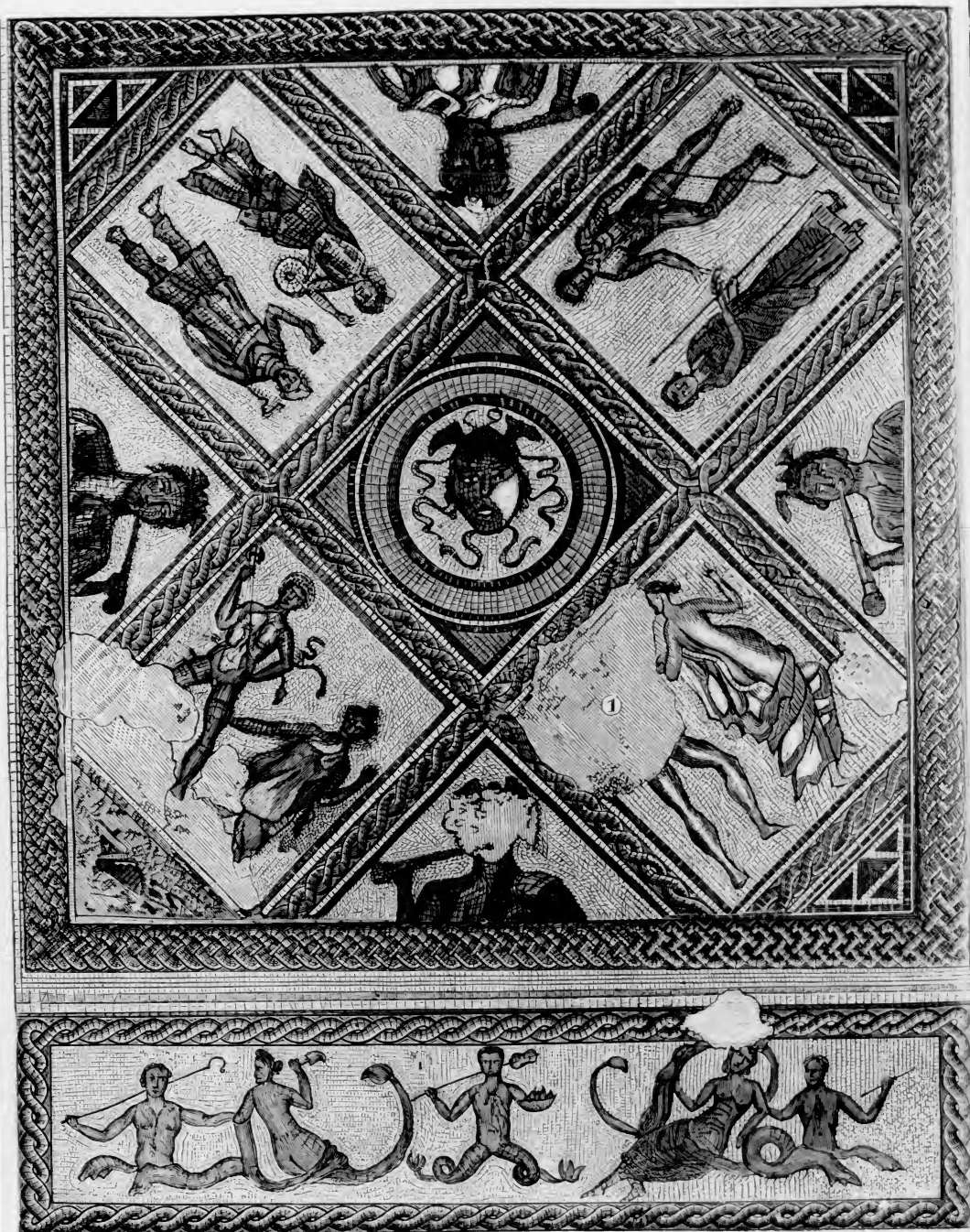
Those who wished to travel fast made from fifteen to twenty leagues a day; much more when the emperor permitted the use of

¹ The tower on Etna called the Philosopher's Tower seems to be a Roman ruin.

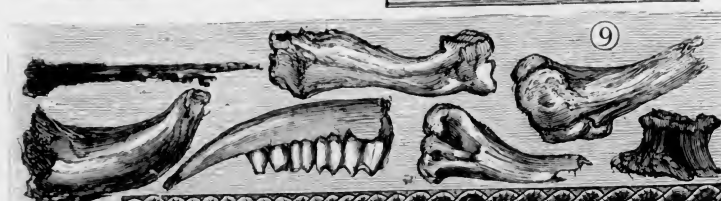
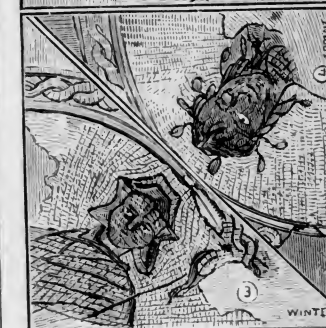
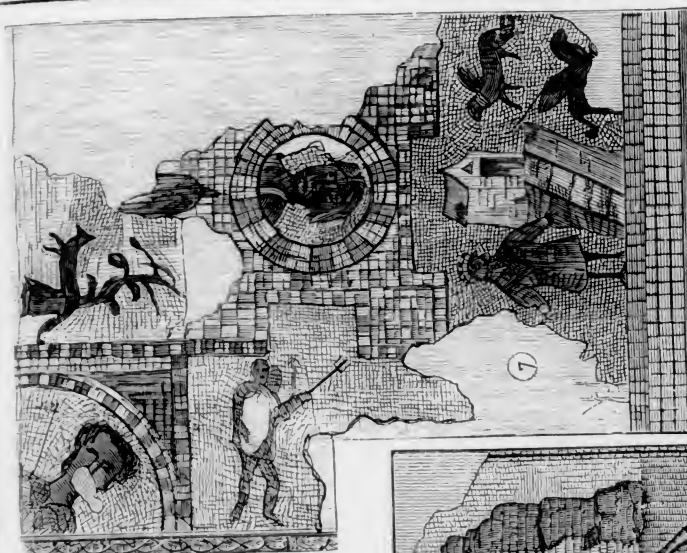
² *Apologia*, 15.

³ Juvenal, *Sat.*, xiv. 278.

⁴ At Morton Farm, near Brading (cf. plate on next page). Some coins of Victorinus (268) were found there.



PAVEMENT AND REMAINS FOUND AT THE RECENTLY



1. The Smallest Section of the Reception Room (Eastern End).
2. Perseus and Andromeda.
- 3 and 4. Two Corners of the Square of the Western Section of the Reception Room: Winter and Spring.
5. Summer.
6. Orpheus.
7. The First Portion discovered.
8. The Astrologer.
9. Bones of the Dwarf Wild Ox (an Extinct Animal), Piece of the Horn of a Stag, and a Roman Nail.
10. The Foundation Stones of the Arch separating the Two Sections of the Reception Room.

DISCOVERED ROMAN VILLA AT BRADING, ISLE OF WIGHT.

the public post. Thus it was possible to go from Antioch to Byzantium (nearly 700 miles) in less than six days,¹ which gives a speed continued day and night of nearly five miles an hour; but more if time taken up in stoppages be counted in.²

By sea with a favourable wind the distance from Ostia to Fréjus took three days; to Cadiz seven; to Carthage two. It took six or seven days from leaving the Straits of Messina to reach Alexandria.³ But from November 11th to the 5th of March navigation was suspended, and the keels were drawn up on shore, unless the prince was in a hurry to send an order to a province across the sea, or a prisoner to his place of banishment.⁴

The customs officers were then detested, as they are now. "We owe them a grudge," says Plutarch, "for rummaging our baggage to make sure that we have no merchandise concealed in it, and yet the law prescribes it. If they did not do it they would have to rue it."⁵

In spite of the organization of municipal police and of the military precautions taken from time to time by the emperors, and the severity shown to bandits, there was reason to fear, especially in mountainous districts, highway robbers.⁶ It was an endemic evil in the Taurus mountains, in Corsica and Sardinia, even in Italy. The ill-famed places in the peninsula were always the same: the Pontine marshes, the Gallinarian forest on the Cumæan coast, and Lower Italy. As is still the case, some of these bandits

¹ Friedländer, ii. p. 9.

² Tiberius did 74 leagues in 24 hours (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, vii. 20), and Cæsar often 100 miles (37 leagues) a day (Suet., *Cæs.*, 57). [Six miles an hour was considered pretty good travelling, eight miles an hour very fast.—*Ed.*]

³ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xix. 1; Vegetius, v. 9. There is a good number of examples of a speed of from 6 to 8 knots per hour; this is the average of our sailing vessels. Suidas (s. v. *ναῦς*) assigns to the largest merchantmen 220 feet of length by 50 of breadth, which gives a measurement of about 1,500 tons. [It should be remembered that in calm weather, when our sailing vessels lie idle, the ancients had slaves to row, and so exceeded our sailing speed.—*Ed.*]

⁴ Thus Cicero and Ovid when exiled were obliged to set out in the winter. On the suspension of navigation in winter, see vol. iii. p. 299.

⁵ Plutarch, *de Curiositate*, 71.

⁶ In dangerous parts there were permanent posts. There was found in 1865, on the bank of the Oued-el-Kantarrah, where two roads intersected, the following inscription: *Burgum commodianum speculatorium inter duas vias ad salutem commeantium* (*Annuaire de la Soc. arch. de Constantine*, 1866, p. 22). Another post overlooked the valley of the Adige at the point where a great part of the commerce between Germany and Italy passed. A number of small forts erected along the Danube stopped the smugglers, just as those of the Atlas mountains checked the nomads, and there was the same on all the frontiers.

were famous for their exploits, their stratagems, and their generosity. A story which Dion relates is similar to that of the legendary *Frà Diavolo*.

Severus was a severe disciplinarian; yet in his reign a bandit, of the name of Bullas, for two years desolated Italy at the head of a band of 600 men, in spite of the presence of the emperors and of so many soldiers.¹ He knew what important personages were to be met with on the route from Brundisium to Rome, fell upon them unexpectedly, and released them for a ransom. If he found in their company any skilful workman, he detained him, made the most of his knowledge, then sent him back after having paid him more liberally than a Roman senator would have done.

To save the heads of his comrades he risked his own. Two of his people had been taken and condemned to the wild beasts; he went to the governor of the prison as if he were the governor of the country and effected the release of the condemned. On another occasion he went to the centurion, the leader of an expedition sent against his band, and offered to deliver Bullas up to him, if he would follow him. The officer agreed, and caught in the snare, found himself at the tribunal at which the bandit presided, and condemned him to have his head shaved. He then sent him back to Cæsar with these words: "Go and tell your master: feed your slaves that they may no longer rob you." This bravado of Bullas cost him his life, for Severus, ashamed, after so many victories, of being fooled by a bandit, directed more forces against him and especially a cleverer man, who in his turn entrapped him. A woman, who is always essential for a dramatic incident, was not wanting here. Bullas, betrayed by a Delilah of low degree, was taken while asleep. Papinianus asked him: "Why are you a robber?" He replied: "Why are you a prefect?" This insolent reply did not save him from the arena, where, although Dion does not state it, we may believe he put on a bold face before the Alpine bear and the African lion.

"Robbery," says the same writer in another place, "is in the nature of man, and robbers there will always be;" we may add,

¹ Dion, lxxvi. 10.



Ruins of the Theatre of *Emerita Augusta* (Merida).

in perverse natures. Unfortunately, such natures are to be found at all times. The Empire had therefore its share of them, and every year some merchant was ransomed, some traveller carried off and sold as a slave.¹ But the general progress was not stayed. These were isolated accidents to which the State and the cities gave no more attention than they give in free America to that which only affects the individual.

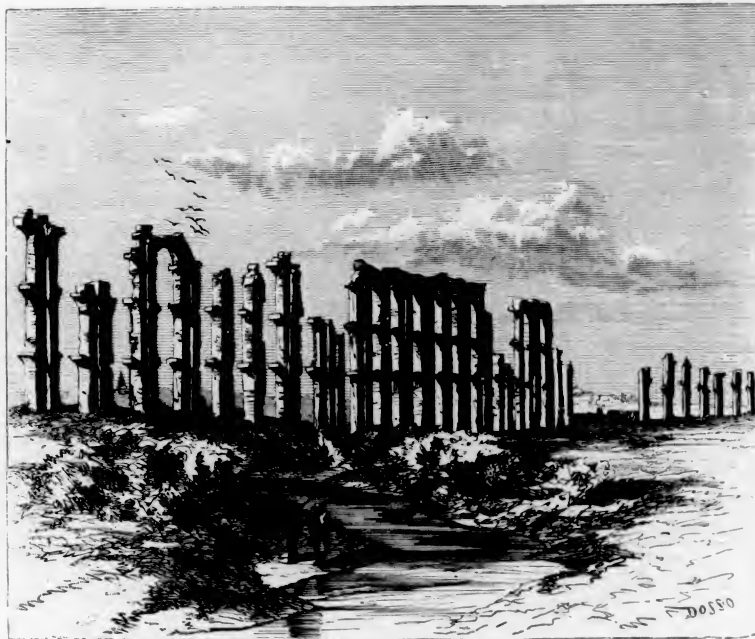
There are some nations of which there is no occasion to take any account, as there are periods which might have been omitted from history without humanity losing by it. But suppose for a moment that the Roman Empire had not existed, what a void in the world! Outside its frontiers barbarism was agitated by sterile convulsions, or the peoples lived a miserable life. In its provinces, on the contrary, just laws, order along with what a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius was near calling *all necessary liberties*; labour, well-being, a security such as the world had never yet known, although still insufficient; and, lastly, no envy or hate between the different classes—all things which singularly increased the happiness of existence.

If the picture which we have just sketched be compared with that which the state of the provinces after Actium represented, we shall recognize the extent of the progress actually made. Better still, if we consider the ruins left by these peoples; for example, let us go to the banks of the Guadiana and in imagination build up again the ancient *Emerita Augusta*, colonized with veterans by Augustus. We see its circumference of twenty-four kilomètres, its theatre, its naumachia, its temples to Mars and Diana, its High Street, which terminated with two triumphal arches dressed with white marble and richly sculptured frieze. Two aqueducts, whose gigantic ruins by their imposing grandeur bring out in bolder relief the wretchedness of the modern city, bring pure water from the mountains. Crowds crossed its two bridges, one of which, wholly of granite and supported by sixty arches, is 2,800 feet long, and the other is still covered with the stout flagstones which the Romans laid down. An inscription found in the ruins of the theatre seems to say that the great Agrippa had a hand in these gigantic works.

¹ Among the causes of legitimate hindrances from being at a certain place at a fixed time, Septimius Severus admitted the *incurrus latronum*. (*Digest*, xxvii. 1, 13, § 7).

In the neighbourhood of *Emerita* were some natural baths magnificently arranged by a mother out of gratitude for the health of her daughter, which was restored by them. The spring is continually flowing as abundant and health-restoring as ever, but the Romans are no longer there, and it is almost lost in a muddy sewer.

In the rest of the province, imposing ruins such as the

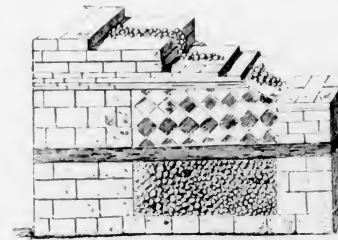


Ruins of the Great Aqueduct of Merida (*Emerita Augusta*). Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*.

triumphal arch of Caparra, which now rises in a desert, the remains of a temple at Talavera *la Vieja*, or the bridge of Alcantara, show that flourishing cities, whose very names are lost, arose where are now nothing but poor villages or miserable *posadas*.

Let us pass to the other extremity of the Empire. We will not speak of Palmyra, or of Baalbec, or of cities now dead yet formerly so active, which are dotted along the route from Damascus to Petra, in the province of Arabia. Let us stand on the arid plateau of Asia minor, towards the source of the Rhyndacus, and

we are stopped by immense ruins, a theatre, a race-course, tombs, two marble bridges, three temples, one of which has colossal foundations, another of them, of the Ionic order, is the most beautiful which has been found in the Asiatic peninsula. On these remains may be read fragments of imperial letters and this phrase of a governor of the province: "The emperor Hadrian has in his decision taken into account justice and humanity." We look into the historians for the name of this city and do not find it. Accustomed to see so many prosperous cities, *Ezani*¹ did not seem to them to deserve special



Specimen of *opus reticulatum*.

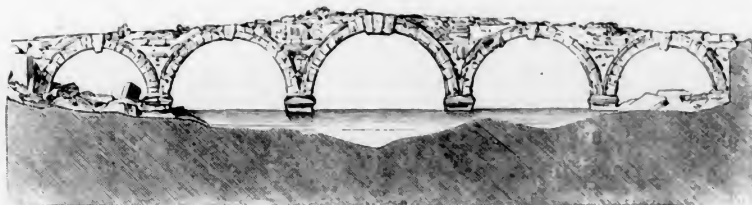


Ruins of the Theatre of *Ezani*. (Lebas and Waddington, *Voy. archéol.*).

mention. But we, looking at these magnificent remains left behind by Rome at the extremities of her Empire, admire the activity which she knew how to stimulate in those places where for centuries nothing but silence has reigned.

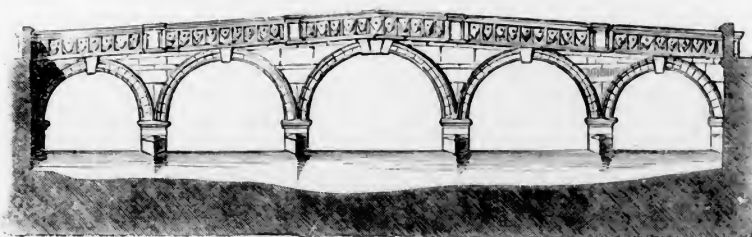
¹ We only find in Strabo the name of the canton, *Ἀζανίτης* (xii. 8, 11), and in Stephanus of Byzantium the name of the people, *s. v. Ἀζανοί*. The ruins are near the Turkish village called Tchafder-Hissar. Not all the ruins left by Rome are so fine nor composed of such valuable materials, and here and there are to be found remains of buildings which are not worthy of this royal people. The cities used to build according to their means, often in great haste, in order to please the prince's taste, and cheaply to husband the municipal resources. Plenty of mortar was used, which was not always of the best quality: the stones found at hand were buried in it, and they faced coarse masonry with the *opus reticulatum* which had some satisfaction for the eye but little solidity. See de la Blanchère, *le Port de Terracine*, in the *Mélanges d'archéol.* of the *École française de Rome*, vol. i. p. 347. There existed, at least in the following centuries, corporations of lime-burners, *calcis coctores*, who were obliged to burn the lime required for public buildings. (*Code Theod.*, xiv. 6, 1-5.)

Macaulay has remarked that the English, not having seen, since the revolution of 1688, a hostile flag floating on British soil, or an outbreak force the gates of Whitehall or Westminster, the public weal had in less than two centuries grown at an incalculable



Ancient Bridge at Ezani. (Present state. Lebas and Waddington, *ibid.*)

pace. During a longer space of time the same phenomenon had taken place in the Early Empire. Its peaceable provinces had increased a hundred-fold in wealth. On the evidence of Strabo,



Ancient Bridge at Ezani. (Restored. Lebas and Waddington, *ibid.*)

the prosperity of Egypt, already so great under the Ptolemies, was nothing compared to that which the country enjoyed under the Romans; and the Gauls, whose contribution was raised, in the middle of the fourth century, to an enormous sum, blessed Julian for only asking of them twelve times as much as they paid to Caesar.

V.—THE JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN OPPOSITION.

Unhappily all the inhabitants of this immense empire had only one common bond, the "Roman peace;" it was an interest, it was not an idea, and a nation is created only by community of ideas. There were even found provincials who made their protests heard against this well-being and their threats against this prosperity.

Whilst the greatest peoples were resigned to the loss of their independence, monotheism, under the two forms which it had received at Jerusalem, refused to subject the external life of its adherents to the gods of the Capitol, and in spite of their small number the faithful were armed against Rome with the sword to fight and the mouth to curse. On two occasions the Jews had held in check the forces of the Empire, and the Christians had brought upon them merciless judges. Their heads, the bishops, certainly preached obedience to the established authorities, but in the heart of the new society was fostered the implacable hatred of Isaiah against idolatry, and some fierce sectaries forgot the mild Galilean Master for the terrible Jehovah of the *Exodus*, the God of love for the God of vengeance. An apostle had given the example. Since the days of Nero, St. John had hurled at Rome his voice of malediction. Twenty-nine years later a Jew revived, in the interests of Israel, the Christian Apocalypse of the year 68.

He said: "Thy rule hath been by terror and not by truth. Thou hast destroyed the meek, thou hast hated the just, and loved the men of lies. Thy oppressions have come before the throne of the Almighty: he hath consulted the times and hath seen that thy measure is full. Thus thou shalt disappear that the world may breathe." It was after the fall of the Flavii, when Nerva trembled in the presence of the revolted praetorians, that a seer, hidden under the name of Esdras, believed that the hour of the great destruction was at hand. But Rome did not disappear; Trajan, on the contrary, adorned it with fresh glory—an insolent good fortune which turned Jehovah's promises into derision. So the Jews are ready to fall into despair: "Labourers, cease sowing the land," exclaimed a new prophet, "and thou, O earth, to bear harvests; what avails, O vine, the abundance of thy wine, since Sion is no longer? Ye betrothed, renounce your rights; ye virgins, adorn not yourselves with crowns; ye women, pray not to obtain children. Henceforth it is for the barren to rejoice and for mothers to weep; for why bring forth children in sorrow to bury them in tears? Priests, take the keys of the sanctuary; cast them towards heaven, restore them to the Lord, and tell Him: Guard now Thy house. And you, virgins, who spin the linen and silk with the gold of Ophir, take it and throw it into the fire that your enemies may

not enjoy it. O earth, have ears, and dust, take a heart to make known in *scheol* and say to the dead: How happy are ye in comparison with us!"

When those checks occurred which darkened Trajan's last days, the Pseudo-Baruch believed that Jehovah had at last heard Israel's cry. To his view the Roman Empire was a forest which covered the earth with its deadly shade; towards it flows a peaceful spring, an image of the Messianic kingdom. On approaching the forest the spring is changed into a furious torrent which uproots the trees and mountains. A cedar alone remains standing, it is the emperor in the midst of his exterminated legions. But in its turn it is overturned, and the vine says to it: "Is it not thou, O cedar, who art the rest of the forest of evil, thou seizest what doth not belong to thee, and holdest in thy snares whatever draws near thee? Lo, thy hour is come; follow the fate of the forest and let the dust of both lie together." The chief in chains is led to Mount Sion, where the Messiah slays him. The vine then spreads in all directions, the earth is clothed with flowers which do not fade, and the Messiah reigns till the end of the perishing world.¹ The vision of the seer of the year 117 was not fulfilled; but his threats and hopes doubtless assisted to prepare the great revolt which Hadrian crushed fifteen years later.

The Sibylline oracles being more dangerous because they were popular, fomented in the bosom of the Judæo-Christian communities hatred against the Empire, and we have seen (p. 414) doctors of the Church interdicting public functions, even military service, to the faithful. These oracles did not satisfy themselves merely with attacking pagan society with loud reprobation, but they would have aimed at destroying it. Put together according to the circumstances of the moment, they answered to ideas which ruled the extreme parties. These short, spirited compositions in verse, to be more easily remembered, and which circulated privately,²

¹ This fragment and the preceding form part of the same apocalypse, which can be assigned to the year 117, and which was found about 1866 in the Ambrosian library of Milan. Cf. Renan, in the *Journal des Savants* for April, 1877.

² These oracles were so widely spread and seemed so odious to the Pagans that the possession and reading of these books was prohibited under pain of death: *Sancita mors est in eos qui legunt Histaspis aut Sibylle aut Prophetarum libros . . . , quod quidem in perpetuum efficere non potuerunt, impavide enim non solum illos legimus, etc. . . .* (S. Justin, *Apol.*, i. 44). It

performed the functions which have in our days been played by certain journals and pamphlets inspired by the spirit of destruction. They formed the Radical opposition of those days. Their invectives against the rich, their threats against the society which they devoted to eternal flames, show an intensity of hate which foretells how terrible will be the war of creeds and the shock of these hostile peoples.

was, say the Benedictines (Preface to the works of S. Justin, cap. vi. p. 84), the law *que futurorum curiosam inquisitionem prohibebat*. S. Justin does not the less on that account declare to the emperor Antoninus that the Christians constantly read them.

¹ IEPA BOYAH. Figure representing the senate. On the reverse, AIZANEITON. Cybele seated. At her feet a lion. (Bronze.)



Coin of Aezani.¹

CHAPTER LXXXV.

GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION.

I.—THE EMPEROR AND THE NEW NOBILITY.

IN relating the history of the Empire from Augustus, we have exhibited this government in actual operation, and have shown the very simple parts of which this immense machine was composed. A few words will therefore suffice to sum up the details scattered throughout our narrative.¹

The Romans were by no means theorists, nor would they at all have understood our treatises on the social contract. The city, the State, or as the ancients termed it, the Republic, had been organized at its origin for the purpose of mutual defence against external enemies, and not with the desire of assuring the greatest independence to each member. This was the case also in the family and tribe in which the father and chief respectively disposed of everything. The first want is subsistence, and in ancient times subsistence was not procurable apart from strict discipline in the family and the city. More than any other people, the Romans were forced, by the historic surroundings of their national existence, to establish this energetic discipline and to preserve it. The citizen had therefore to give up every right to the State in exchange for security, or rather he found himself naturally subjected under the Republic to the absolute power of the magistrates, even as regards his private life into which the censor penetrated, just as under the Empire he was subject to the absolute power of the prince. It seems that in the former case liberty existed because it was able

¹ Dion Cassius, who was consul in 229 A.D., has left us a picture of the Roman government at the beginning of the third century. It is the discourse in which Mæcenas recommends to Augustus all that was done after him, even the orphan institution of Trajan (lil. 14-40). Dion is unable to imagine a better condition than that which he had under his own eyes, and the little that he adds to it, viz., his sub-censor, a project perhaps of Alexander Severus, does not disturb the representation of the imperial constitution in the time of that prince.

to move freely among those various annual magistrates who, being always two at the least in the same office, with the right of *intercession* against one another, preserved equilibrium. This was, in fact, what was the case in the best days of the Roman Republic. But these magistrates, equal in authority, could also come to a secret understanding instead of being a mutual check; this took place indeed after the Gracchi, when a close aristocracy annulled all the public offices, even the tribunitian veto. This deviation from the constitutional principle became the law of the Empire. The prerogatives, formerly divided and given for a short time, were, after Caesar, united and given up to the prince during his whole life, in such sort that no one was permitted to veto an act of one who had no colleague, and that his decisions as judge were unchangeable, since the *provocatio ad populum* was impossible against the perpetual tribune, who, as representative of the entire people, acted in their stead. The suppression of the double right of *veto* and *intercessio* constituted absolute power, and this was the sole difference between the republican and imperial systems. At bottom, the idea of the complete sovereignty of the city or of the State continued, in the one as well as the other, to be represented at the period of the Catos by several, at the time of the Caesars by one only. Thus the Empire seemed at first only a form of the Republic, just as our fathers believed the same for a short time when they read on the coins the double inscription: République française, Napoléon empereur.

Yet, however small the difference seemed to those then living, it was profound. A writer of the second century, Appian, says of it in his preface: "Caesar preserved the name and forms of the Republic, but robbed it of all its power, and his successors have kept what he took. They were called imperators: in fact they had the authority of a king." The juriconsults had even spared the prince all hesitation respecting his omnipotence by furnishing him with legal formulas derived quite logically from the principle of national sovereignty,¹ and which constituted the individual reason

¹ *Nec unquam dubitatum est quin id (constitutio principis) legis vicem obtineat, cum ipse imperator per legem imperium accipiat* (Gaius, i. 5). In virtue of the *ius majoris imperii* (Cic., *Cat.*, iii. 6; Plutarch, *Cic.*, 19; Livy, iii. 29; v. 9; Dion Halic., x. 25), he had the right of deposing any or all of the magistrates, even in the senatorial provinces.

of one man to be the collective reason of the entire nation, and the will of the prince to be the law of the people. "The prince," said they, "is not bound to observe the law;"¹ and the law is his good pleasure, quite as much as justice, for he quashes judgments and he revises them.²

Even heaven itself cannot disturb his designs, for he is chief pontiff and he can make the gods speak according to his will.³ A decree, an edict, a letter, a word, suffice, and he is not only absolute master over the law, *dominus legum*,⁴ he is so also of the property and persons of his subjects.⁵ Lastly, every year on the anniversary of the prince's accession, the governors make the soldiers and people renew the oath of obedience to this will without reservation and to this power without control.⁶ Caligula had already uttered the equivalent of the famous expression: "*L'État c'est moi!*"⁷

The emperor's relatives had no special privilege, except the Caesar or heir presumptive of whom we are going to speak. The empress was simply the head of the matrons, and to connect in her the majesty of rank with purity of life, the

¹ *Digest*, i. 3, 31: *Princeps legibus solutus est*. He had legally even the right of altering a will, at least those in favour of cities (*Digest*, i. 8, 4); and it was an old Republican right, for it was anciently necessary, in order that a testament be valid, for it to have been accepted by the people in the *comitia calata*.

² As perpetual tribune and invested with proconsular power, the emperor heard appeals from the whole empire (Suet., *Oct.*, 33; *Digest*, xlii. 1, 27 and 33; xlix. 1). The ancient appeal to the tribunes or to a colleague *paris majorisve potestatis* had only a negative effect. The judge of appeal could quash the decision, but he did not alter it. The emperor, or the judge whom he appointed, *quashed and amended*. This right considerably increased the number of cases in the emperor's courts and centralization increased.

³ All the religious difficulties which arose in the Empire were decided by the two colleges of the pontiffs and quindecimvirs *sacris faciundis*, of which the emperor was chief. When he was unable to preside his place was taken by a *pro magistro*. From the day of his accession the emperor was a member of the sacerdotal colleges.

⁴ *Digest*, i. 1, 2, § 11; *Instit.*, i. 2, 6; and Gaius, *Comm.*, i. 5: *Constitutio principis est quod imperator decreto vel edicto, vel epistola constituit*.

⁵ See Theophilus on § 4, *de jur. nat.*, in the *Institutes*: *Cæsar omnia habet*. Cf. Seneca, *de Benef.*, vii. 6; cf. vol. iv. p. 266, notes 1 and 2, and Orelli, L. 114: *Legum domino, justitiae æquitatisque rectori*.

⁶ *Digest*, i. 1, 4; Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 60. On January 3rd solemn prayers were offered in the temples for the preservation of the emperor (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 101).

⁷ *Νόμον ἡγοῦμενος ἑαυτὸν* (Philo, *Legatio ad Caium*). Under the Republic the edicts of the prætors and consuls only were in force during the time of their office; the emperor being perpetual consul, his rescripts were in force for the whole of his reign, and kept the force of law after his death if, in proclaiming him *dignus*, the senate had consecrated his acts, which could only be altered by the contrary act of a successor.

Augusta was seated, at the theatre, in the midst of the Vestal Virgins.¹

The emperor, who was styled Your Eternity,² or Your Holiness, wished to be obeyed even after his death. If he had a son, the latter succeeds him. If not, he obtains one by adoption, who is called Caesar and prince of youth, that is to say, chief of the knights, whom he invests with the consular and tribunitian powers, and to whom pass without difficulty on the day when the *Eternity* dies the remains of titles and powers. These are given him by a *senatus-consultum* and that decree of the Patres which is called the Royal Law. In fact, whilst there are any children, that is, natural heirs or by adoption, the heredity exists under the guarantee of the *donativum* to the soldiers and with the formality of the senatorial assent.³ In law, election is the constitutional principle, and this principle is applied by the senate, but more frequently by the legions, which, entirely composed of citizens, seemed to represent the true Roman people; once even, in the case of Gordian III., it was so by the populace of Rome. But this election, the result of a surprise, of violence or corruption, was always the work of enterprising men and never that of the nation, which had no means of intervening in the choice of its master, either actually of itself, since it was scattered over the whole surface of the Empire, or by its representatives, since it did not appoint any, and which besides was partial to the imperial authority, without even caring to know who possessed it.

Tacitus remarks, when speaking of the delays of the corn

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 16: Faustina bore the title of *mater castrorum* (Dion, lxxi. 10, and *supra*, p. 207). The expression—the imperial throne—which is so often used, is quite erroneous, the emperors of the first two centuries having only used the curule chair of the consuls. This is especially the case as regards the Antonines, who professed to be unwilling to wound republican equality. In speaking of his accession to empire, Antoninus said: "On the day when it pleased the gods to intrust this post to me." *Quo me sumere hanc stationem placuit*. (Letter to Fronto, 6.)

² Trajan allowed Pliny to swear by his eternity. The modest Antoninus called himself *mundi dominus* (Rescript to Eudem. Nicom., *Digest*, xiv. 29), and Fronto, speaking of this prince, wrote: *περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀρχόντος γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης* (*Ep. ad Marc.*, ii. 7). Elsewhere (*Ep.*, 8) he calls Antoninus *Sanctissime Imperator*. Wine and incense were offered to the statues of the emperors; as regards the word *dominus*, Pliny, under Trajan, still applies it only to the prince; but under Marcus Aurelius, Fronto bestows it on everybody. Whatever might be his descent the new emperor was at his accession admitted a member of the patrician order.

³ The fact of Maximin having reigned, *sine decreto senatus*, seemed extraordinary.

ships, that the life of Rome was at the mercy of the winds and waves. So can it be said of the whole Empire, that its repose and security depended on the twofold hazard of circumstances and men. This far-seeing people under the Republic had under the Empire no need of foresight, and 100,000,000 of men intrusted their lot to the "blind divinity." "We have raised a thousand temples to Fortune," says Fronto to Marcus Aurelius, "but not one to Reason."¹

What, moreover, would this reason have counselled? Doubtless many things which history perceives, but which the men of those days did not see. If a few, under the first emperors, had regretted the Republic, that is, the absolute power of 200 senatorial families, their opposition had not been popular. Even Tacitus did not demand a fresh organization of power, and he almost blamed Thræsea for his useless sacrifice.² Philosophy reproduced Plato's thesis, viz.: that the best government was that of a man, representative of the gods on earth and ruling everything with wisdom.³ What charmed Aristides in the Empire, as it did all the provincial writers, was the part which the emperor fulfilled of chief justice, *δικαστὴς μέγας*, protecting the fortune and honour of each and all.⁴ Philo had said since Caligula's time: "It is not fitting for the power to belong to many." Bossuet in Louis XIV.'s time speaks similarly. It is because, in certain respects, the two powers are alike. As our kings took the place of the feudal lords, so the emperors took that of the Republican proconsuls: a revolution which, at both periods, was thankfully received by the people. The provincials knew well enough that absolute monarchy also has its dangers, and in the third century they will seek separation from the Empire, which was no longer able to defend them; but up to the present they have regarded it as the best guarantee of their interests.⁵

¹ He calls Fortune: *dearum præcipuam* (letter 5). See the passage in Pliny the Elder (ii. 5) on Fortune, "that in every place, and at all times, she is invoked or accused . . . who, according to men, alone regulates the active and the passive, and she who is the very negation of God is made God . . . *ut sors ipsa pro Deo sit qua Deus probatur incertus.*"

² *Sibi causam periculi fecit, ceteris libertatis initium non præbuit* (Ann., xiv. 12).

³ *Optimus civitatis status sub rege justo est* (Seneca, *de Ben.*, ii. 20) . . . *electus qui in terris deorum vice fungeretur* (*de Clem.*, i. 1).

⁴ He still calls him *ἀρχοντι καὶ κοσμητῇ*, he who commands and co-ordinates the collective life of all parties. (*De Roma*, p. 213)

⁵ Ἡ πολιτεία πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετακοσμήθη (Dion, liii. 19. Cf. *id.*, xlv. 2, and Tertullian, *de Pallio*, i. 2).

Thus this government had no need, to secure obedience, either of soldiers in the cities or of numberless agents in the provinces. Its armies were on the frontiers, facing the enemy, and we shall see by-and-by how few in number were its functionaries.

The Empire will therefore possess the life it merits: a succession of revolutions, not of political doctrines, but of persons. The happy intercalation of the Antonines was a lull which will not be again produced, because one cannot count a second time on such a miracle as a succession of superior men, who by their wisdom will impose that moderation on themselves which the institutions did not enjoin upon them. Thus the convulsions which had preceded the reigns of Vespasian and Trajan will re-appear after Marcus Aurelius with a more disastrous force; on the accession of Diocletian, out of forty-nine emperors, without speaking of the thirty tyrants, only eleven or twelve can be reckoned who had reached the natural term of their life.

Who could have averted these disorders? Was it the senate? This assembly had been remodelled by the Flavians and Antonines. The old Roman families, decimated by many causes, were rapidly disappearing. The second triumvirate had alone cost the life of 300 senators and 200 knights. So much for civil war! Under Claudius, thirty senators and 300 knights perished. But how can one count the victims of Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and the murderous anarchy of the years 68 and 69? From the days of Augustus and Tiberius there was a failure of patricians for religious functions, and in almost every reign the emperors were obliged to create new ones. In order to fill up the gaps in the depopulated curia, Claudius opened it to the Gauls and Vespasian to the nobles of the whole Empire. It was not at all from caprice, but from necessity, for the equestrian and senatorial orders, the two whence proceeded all the servants of public administration, did not at that time amount to more than 200 *gentes*. In order to reconstitute the exhausted aristocracy the first of the Flavii summoned to Rome from the provinces 1,000 municipal families.

What Vespasian did for the chief administration was needed to be done for the judicial office. At Rome the five decuries of judges, composed of knights and duenaries, were reduced like the senate; they were filled up by provincial knights. Pliny, an old

Italian who neither understood this necessary policy nor that historic law that close aristocracies do not last, exclaimed with grief (xxix. 8): "Now-a-days a man is summoned from Cadiz or the Columns of Hercules to judge an affair of only a crown."

In this way, 128 years after Actium, the provincials had completely invaded even the supreme power, and not a single Roman by descent will enter as master into the palace of the Julii and Claudii. Cicero had said before the entire senate (*Philipp.*, iii. 6): "How many are to be found among you who are not sprung from Italian municipia?" It is of all those who were of any consideration at Rome and in the Empire of whom it could at this time be said: "How many are there who do not come from the provincial cities?" *Sic vos non vobis*: Virgil had not foreseen that "the Romulidae" would so quickly have their subjects as heirs.

These Spaniards¹ and Gauls, laying siege to the Palatine, continued the policy of the prince who had made their fortune. Trajan gave the consular toga to a Mauretanian chief, Lusius Quietus; Hadrian to the descendant of a tetrarch of Galatia;² Marcus Aurelius to several Africans.³ Two Numidians, Fronto and Proculus, received the province, viz., Asia,⁴ which was regarded as the leading government of the Empire. The proconsulate of Africa was the second: about the year 146 it was given to a Paphlagonian, who took as assessor or member of his council a decurion of Amastris, his native city.⁵ From this same province of Africa were to proceed one after another three emperors and a great jurisconsult.

Great distrust was felt of the Egyptians and Greeks, who had a bad name at Rome, and entered the senate much later: "the former did so in Caracalla's time; the latter under the

¹ The second personage in the Empire under Trajan, viz., Licinius Sura, was a Spaniard like himself, a native of Tarragona or Barcelona (*Martial, Epigr.*, i. 50, and *C. I. L.*, Nos. 4,282 and 4,536-48).

² Waddington, *Fastes des prov. asiat.*, p. 218.

³ *Alii quoque plurimi sunt in senatu Cirtenses clarissimi viri* (Fronto, *ad Amic.*, ii. 10).

⁴ Fronto's bad health prevented him from taking possession of his government. Proculus was from Sicca.

⁵ L. Renier, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1874, p. 200.

⁶ Appian, who was of Alexandria, was invested with an important office in Egypt which the word *ἐπιτροπείων* does not clearly indicate, but he did not become a Roman senator.

Antonines, princes themselves half Greek who purposely were surrounded by those whose language they spoke. Arrian, Herodes Atticus, the Quintilii,¹ Quadratus of Pergamus, and many others besides obtained the consulate about that time. Dion Cassius's father, a Bithynian, governed Cilicia and Dalmatia; the father of Avidius Cassius, a Syrian, held the prefecture of Egypt, which a Jew, Tiberius Alexander, and a descendant of the kings of the Commagene, Balbillus, had held;² and finally, Marcus Aurelius gave one of his daughters to a knight of Antioch. Thus was effected the mixture of nations.

Martial and Juvenal, forgetful of their obscure birth, complained bitterly of the invasion of "these knights hastening to Rome from the depths of Syria, Cappadocia, and Bithynia: sons of slaves, who left neither room nor wealth to the genuine descendants of Numa."³ What would they have said if they had seen the Illyrian region furnishing later on its contingent of generals, conscript fathers, and emperors? Thus, by a fatal law which the spread of Roman civilization around Italy, and as the result of the general prosperity, produced, a time arrived in respect to each province when the men whom the control of municipal affairs had trained or whom commerce had enriched, were naturally called upon by the State for its various employments. In the second century this new nobility filled the senate at Rome; in the army, the praetorium, and everywhere the chief places in administration. Their manners were better, their ideas more just: they did not regard the Empire as a usurpation of their rights, and the wishes of their great interpreter, Tacitus, only extended to asking the gods to give the world such princes as Trajan.

Rome, in the time of the Antonines, no longer practised, as under the Caesars and Flavians, those continual intrigues against the emperor, those stranglings of inept conspirators or of innocent victims. The new aristocracy did not form conspiracies except at wide intervals, and from a remnant of habits learnt in the traditions

¹ The Quintilii were of Alexandria Troas, and were consuls under Antoninus (Waddington, *Fastes des prov. asiat.*, p. 229). For Quadratus, see *ibid.*, p. 219.

² Respecting this Jew, cf. L. Renier, *Conseil de guerre de Titus*, and about Balbillus, Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, ii. 350. The great architect, Apollodorus, was of Damascus, Galen of Pergamus, Ulpian of Tyre, and Papinian of Phoenicia.

³ Martial, *Epigr.*, x. 76; Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii. 81; vii. 14.

of those whom it succeeded. At the very most it circulated little scandals respecting Trajan's suppers, Hadrian's friendships, or the pride of the two Faustinas. Seneca says that Egypt set its wits to work to commit no end of rude acts against those who governed it.¹ Rome in this matter was not behind with Alexander. This idle talk which the fault-finding spirit of great capitals hawks about daily from house to house is the tribute paid by power, beauty, and virtue, sometimes the punishment of vice, and this tribute is paid by intelligent princes without feeling annoyed. Sprung from the ranks of the new nobility, the Antonines understood it thoroughly, and knowing that they had nothing to fear from it, they did not distrust it and showed a respect which preserved a cordial peace between the palace and curia.

But in the heart of this nobility was a germ of corruption: freedmen had slipped into it in a great number. Curtius Rufus, a consul under Tiberius, was son of a gladiator; Vitellius was reported the grandson of a slave, and from Nero's time it was said that many of the senators and the majority of the knights had no other descent.² When some old Romans, from wounded pride, objected to the low extraction of one of these parvenus, the emperor replied: "He is the son of his deeds."³ That was the motto of the new policy. Unhappily, even if, from among these former slaves who, by dint of intelligence and sometimes also by unworthy means, attained liberty and wealth, some were found capable of being excellent administrators, yet very few were able to found one of those families in which traditions of virtue and of self-respect prepared good citizens for the State. They understood business matters and conducted them well, but their sentiments were rarely raised with their fortunes: to mental flexibility corresponded their pliability of conscience, and the moral sense, the anxiety to keep up personal dignity, were often wanting in men who, having as their paternal heritage the remembrance of the humiliations of servitude,

¹ *Ingenium in contumeliosum praefectum provinciae (ad Helium, 17).*

² Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 27: "... plurimum equitum, plerique senatoribus non aliunde originem trahi. In the time of Pliny the praetor Largius Macer was the son of a freedman—a fact which did not prevent him from treating his slaves so harshly that they killed him (*Epist.*, iii. 14). The emperor Pertinax was of the same condition (*Dion.*, lxxi. 22). Under Caracalla a former slave was made a senator (*ibid.*, lxxviii. 13).

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 21.

were, like the Rufus of Tacitus, "cowardly flatterers of the powerful and haughty towards their inferiors." We see how the senate of the Antonines, politically more honest than that of the last days of the Republic and the first century of the Empire, but tainted with impure elements, had at one and the same time so much experience in affairs and so much meanness as regards the prince.

II.—THE SENATE AND THE KNIGHTS.

To judge but by appearances the senate occupied an important place on the political scene, and its members seemed so indispensable for the right conduct of affairs, or rather their residence in the provinces appeared so dangerous, that they could not leave Italy without the permission of the prince. It nominated to offices and gave legal decisions;¹ it administered and legislated; it watched over religion and the public treasury, *ararium*; it exercised the most minute police control and political duties of the gravest consequences: at one time receiving foreign ambassadors or declaring Decebalus a public enemy and beginning a serious war; then authorizing some individual to establish a fair on his lands,² or interdicting advocates from taking anything from the two suitors. The senators used to assert in a low voice that they were the inheritors of the national sovereignty, that they possessed more prerogatives than the republican senate, that, in fine, they were the source of all authority, even for the emperor, *lex regia*. They saw the prince seek from them the confirmation of his title, sit side by side with them as a colleague, and take a title which signified only the first of the senate: *princeps*. They divided with him the royal right of coining money. If the prince had reserved to himself the privilege of issuing gold and silver coin, the bronze pieces were struck by the senate and bore its signature, S. C.³ Lastly, at the

¹ All was so little fixed in this constitution that the senate believed it had the power, even in the course of a law-suit, to change the law, the application of which was the point in question: thus in the suit of Bassus (*Pliny, Epist.*, iv. 9): *Senatus licet et mitigare leges et intendere.*

² *Pliny, Epist.*, v. 4. There is another example in the *Epistolarum epigr.*, vol. ii. fasc. iv. p. 271, of a similar *senatus-consultum* of the year 138 found in 1875 in Tunis. Cf. *Pliny, Epist.*, v. 14 and 21.

³ Yet we have seen, at p. 408, that a number of cities in the Eastern provinces had kept

death of the emperor, the Patres either decreed his passage to heaven or to the *gemoniæ*; they proclaimed him either a god or a tyrant, and either quashed his acts or confirmed them. The curia was besides the great school for the officials of the Empire. To be placed at the head of a legion or of a province one must belong to the senate. Certain commands had even been reserved for the consulars, and this was one of the reasons which now obliged the creating yearly of eight or even twelve consuls, designated by the emperor and nominated by the senate, who gave them the curule chair and the ivory wand.¹ The terms of ancient politeness produced official titles, and "the Magnificent Order" was now composed of their illustrious personages, "the *Clarissimi*." Their children, even the daughters, were thus addressed.²

What pomp in the forms employed! What splendour in the externals! And how the Roman senator would consider himself a powerful personage who took it in a serious enough way not to laugh, like the augur, on his meeting with a colleague! But the senate is only a suitable machine, and Pliny, who styles the most respected of the old magistracies a vain shadow, *inanem umbram et sine honore nomen*,³ has portrayed, in his liberal emperor, an absolute master even of his subjects' property.⁴

However, let us enter the curia for a moment and see these men who bear such a grand title actually at work: the Official Journal of that time allows us to be present at a sitting. We are in the year 222. Elegabalus has just been murdered, dragged through the streets of Rome, cast into the Tiber, and the soldiers have proclaimed Alexander:

"Extract from the proceedings of Rome, the eve of the nones of March." The assembly is numerous; it invites the prince to

the right of coining silver money (*aestophori*) and copper. This right of the senate and the cities was important, "for it prevented the emperor from uttering coin of a fictitious value." (Mommson, *Hist. de la monnaie rom.*, vol. iii. p. 12.)

¹ L. Renier, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1873, p. 105. and *Hist. Aug., Aurel.* 13.

² Orelli, No. 922, for the times of Severus; *ibid.*, No. 3,717: *clarissimi pueri*, and No. 4,911: *clarissimus juvenis*.

³ *Epist.*, i. 23.

⁴ See vol. iv. p. 782. Had the *senatus-consulta* the force of law? One could hardly doubt it, says Ulpian (*Digest*, i. 3, 9); it is a question, replies Gaius (*Inst.*, i. 4), a purely theoretic question, for in fact the emperor was the master.

be present in the house, and on his entrance, salutes him with this cry:

"Virtuous Augustus, may the gods protect you!

"Emperor Alexander, may the gods protect you!

"The gods have given you to us; may the gods preserve you!

"The gods have snatched you from the hands of a lustful man; may the gods watch over your years!

"You have suffered like ourselves under a wicked tyrant; the gods have exterminated him; may the gods protect you!

"We shall be happy under your rule; the Republic will be happy; may the gods grant long life to Alexander!"

The emperor having thanked the assembly, it cries out afresh:

"Antoninus Alexander, may the gods protect you!

"Antoninus Aurelius, may the gods protect you!

"Antoninus Pius, may the gods protect you! We beg of you to take the name of Antoninus.

"In you is our safety, in you our life, in you our happiness!

"Long life to Antoninus Alexander! For the sake of our welfare let him bear the name of Antoninus!

"Let an Antonine consecrate the temples of the Antonines!

"Let an Antonine triumph over Parthians and Persians!

"In you, Antoninus, we possess all; by you we obtain all!"

The prince resists; seven or eight times, the senators, without ceasing, repeat in chorus the same acclamations, and not being able to triumph over the honest obstinacy of Alexander to refuse taking a name which seemed too hard to bear, they suddenly adopted another manœuvre, which was carried out with the same harmony, in order to compel this young man who as yet had done nothing, but whose name happened to be Alexander, to take the title of *Great*, given to the Macedonian hero after the conquest of Asia. The cries uprise again; I do not repeat them, for the modern reader would find these litanies of insipid flattery insupportable. The prince persisting in not yielding, they for a last time reply in boasting of his moderation, and on this continue for a long time, "according to usage," says the historian, *ex more*.¹

¹ Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.*, 6-12. Yet the historian has a reason for saying *ex more*, for these acclamations were a very old usage, which was followed at festivals, assemblies, the theatre, and at public lectures. What seems ridiculous and vulgar to us was then a national

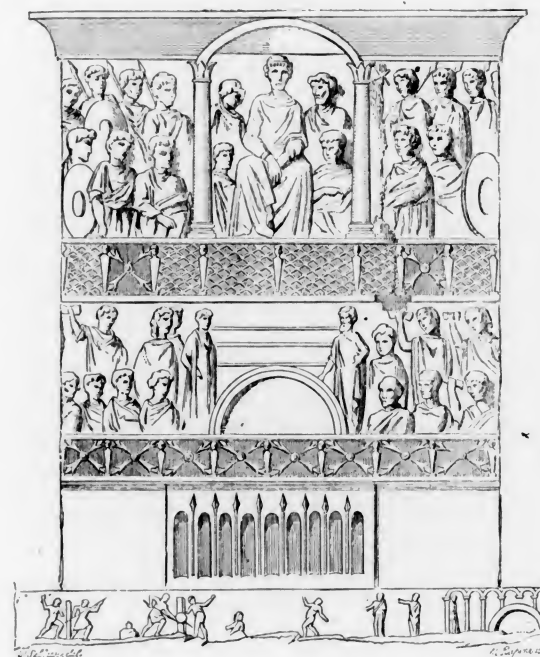
It might be urged that the senate of Alexander Severus had passed such an ordeal that it ought to have lost all dignity of character; but let us look at the senate which Marcus Aurelius had left his son—the senate of the Antonines. The witness who speaks is a consular:¹ “The games lasted fourteen days; the emperor took an active part in them. All of us senators did not fail in taking a part along with the knights. The aged Claudius Pompeianus alone was let off. He indeed sent his two sons, but he never came himself: he preferred being punished for his absence by a violent death than to see the chief of the Empire, the son of Marcus Aurelius, giving himself up to such sports. As we had received the order, we made different acclamations and kept repeating unceasingly these: ‘You are our master, the first rank belongs to you! You are the most fortunate of men! You are conqueror! You shall be so! From time out of mind, you alone are conqueror, O Amazonius!’” And a little further on: “The emperor did something else which seemed to presage certain death to the senators. Having slain an ostrich, he cut off its head and advanced towards the places where we were seated. He held the head in his left hand, in the right his sword still covered with blood, the point of which he directed towards us. He did not utter a word, but shaking his head, and opening his mouth wide, he made us understand that he would serve us as he did the ostrich.” There was reason for trembling with fear. Yet some of the senators, less struck with the danger that they ran than with the grotesque appearance of this vanquisher of a peaceful bird, whose head he was carrying in triumph, so far forgot themselves as to smile. “The emperor would have killed them on the instant with his sword, if I had not induced those who were near me to pluck some laurel leaves from their chaplet and to chew them, as I was doing mine, in order that the continual movement of our

custom and a serious affair. There was in it a certain cadence with a kind of musical modulation. Suetonius says of Augustus: *Reperentem ex provincia modulatis carminibus prosequantur*. Nero regulated these acclamations, the number of which was given in advance by a master of ceremonies: *ἐπεβώμεν τὶ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκλινομένη* (Dion, lxxii. 20), and they were so much in use that one meets with them in the Church (St. Augustine's *Letters*, No. 213), in the councils, at that of Ephesus in 431, for example, and they still existed at Constantinople in the tenth century.

¹ Dion Cassius, lxxii. 29. See another scene, lxxvi. 8.

mouth would prevent him from being quite sure that we had laughed.”

There is no need of other evidence to attest the servility of the senate. On the other hand, one could easily cite, on the part of several princes, a number of respectful words, and acts of external deference, towards this exalted assembly. It was a simple matter



Acclamations at the Circus in the Presence of the Emperor.¹

of politeness! The most courteous of the emperors did not renounce any of their valuable rights. In reality, under the Empire, the senate played no political part, or at least it had that only which the prince was pleased to give it.

Some learned men, who unite in themselves much imagination and much knowledge, have endeavoured to see in the history of the Empire a struggle for three centuries between Caesarism and

¹ Bas-relief of the pedestal of Theodosius's obelisk at Constantinople. (*Diet. des Ant.*, fig. 36, p. 19.)

the senate, till the reform of Diocletian. This is giving more importance to formulas than they deserve. The senators often conspired against the emperors, but between them and the prince there never was a political struggle.

If the political insignificance of the senate and its dignities is only too easily shown, if baseness of character was an heritage which many of the conscript fathers of servile origin had obtained by hereditary succession, yet this assembly must be regarded as the grandest school of administration which has ever existed. At eighteen, when he entered public life, the young noble who selected the highest offices for his career, betook himself to the army, where he passed the passionate years of youth in the *equestrian militia* to receive military instruction;¹ then he entered the vigintivirate,² and completed in the courts his legal education, which he had commenced with some juriconsult of renown. After this twofold training gained in the Forum and the camps, he is nominated to one of the twenty places in the quaestorship and enters the senate. He is only twenty-five years of age, and yet he already knows a good deal of practical life: he is well instructed in the civil law and military regulations; he has obeyed and he has commanded. As quaestor to the emperor, he carries his messages to the senate-house and listens to the discussions which arise on them; as quaestor to one of the consuls, he becomes like a son to him, receives his counsels, and listens to his opinions regarding war or administration; as quaestor to a proconsul, we see him a financial agent, in case of need a judge, and he takes a large share in the government of the province. Later on he becomes an aedile with

¹ They were called *tribuni militum honores petitori*, or *tribuni laticlavii*. (See vol. iii. p. 728.) Those who had no military ambition were satisfied with a *semestrial tribunate*: thus the younger Pliny had as service in the army of Syria to keep the accounts, which left him plenty of time for receiving the lessons of philosophers, whilst Trajan, led on by his military tastes, had followed the soldier's calling very seriously (*Panegy.*, 15). M. L. Renier (*Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 239) is the first who has unfolded the true nature of the *equestrian militia*, or grades of prefect of the auxiliary cohort, of legionary tribune, and of prefect of an *ala* of cavalry through which the young nobles passed. These grades and that of *primipilaris* conferred the gold ring on those who obtained them without belonging to the equestrian order. From Hadrian's time the young nobles had to enter public life by the vigintivirate; fifteen inscriptions collected by Wilmanns prove this.

² The vigintiviri (see vol. iii. p. 728, n. 5) formed but one college; they were therefore of the same rank, the first grade of the official scale, and this permitted them all to aspire, when the military stage was passed, to the magistracy immediately above—the quaestorship. (Cf. Dion, liv. 26.)

the oversight of the streets, markets, and public baths of Rome, or a tribune of the people, with the right of moving resolutions in the senate or opposing his veto to the decrees of the curia.¹ What precocious maturity must be developed by this continuous application of the mental powers to such very diverse services! When thirty he gains the praetorship, and at thirty-three he can obtain the consulship; these are the great magistracies, the highest honours. But the State does not yet release him from public duties. Between these two offices he has had to command a legion² or administer a province, and after his consulship, some other government, or an army, has been intrusted to him, without speaking of sacerdotal functions and the most important prefectures or guardianships to which he can be called.³ His life thus passes away, one half in councils, where affairs are discussed, and the other half in functions by which they are carried out. Juriconsult and judge, administrator and general, as engineer making roads or building bridges over the rivers, he is all these sometimes in succession, sometimes at the same time, and on a changing stage whose scenery enlarges every time he is elevated another degree.⁴ At all events he learns one of the secrets of a skilful

¹ Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiii. 28) points out that in the time of Nero the tribunes still possessed some important judicial prerogatives.

² The command of the legions was given only to *praetorii*. (Cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, vol. iii. p. 152.)

³ Besides the highest offices there were many guardianships: *curatores viarum, aquarum, alvei Tiberis, riparum et cloacarum urbis, operum locorumque publicorum*, etc., *praefecti frumenti dandi, alimentorum, aerarii Saturni*, etc. These offices, formed out of the dissolution of the censorship, were intrusted to permanent officials. The provinces of Asia and Africa were assigned by lot among the ex-consuls. But in the time of Trajan the turn of each came only twelve years after quitting office. (Waddington, *Fastes des prov. asiat.*, p. 716.)

⁴ Here is subjoined Hadrian's *cursus honorum* to the year 112, five years before he became emperor: decemvir *stlitibus judicandis*, prefect for the Latin feriae, sevir of the Roman knights, tribune successively in the legions *Ila Adjut.*, *Va Maced.*, *XXIIa Primigenia*, secretary for the senate's proceedings, quaestor of the emperor and *comes* of the prince in the Dacian expedition, tribune of the people, praetor, legatus of the *Ia Minerv.* legion, legatus propraetor of the emperor in Lower Pannonia, *sodalis Augustalis*, VIIvir of the Epulones, and finally consul. (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 550.) See also the case of Agricola. At nineteen Agricola served in Britain as military tribune; at twenty-five he was quaestor of the province of Asia; at twenty-seven, tribune, and consequently he took a seat in the senate to which the quaestorship gave him admittance; at twenty-nine he was praetor; at thirty-one he commanded the XXth legion in Britain, where he stayed three years; at thirty-five he acted for three years as governor of Aquitania; at thirty-eight he attained the consulship; at thirty-nine he returned to Britain as consular legate and stayed seven years; at forty-six he declined the government of the province of Asia. Mommsen (*Étude sur Pline*) advances the magistracies of Agricola by one year.

administrator: "Never get into a rage, speak little, but listen much,"¹ and some profited by the advice.

This is the career that almost all the senators passed through, and which their children will follow. These dignities are in fact as if hereditary in the senatorial families, first of all because the conscript fathers are hardly numerous enough to supply all the State offices, then because the prince can only present to high functions those who wear the *laticlave*, except the two prefectures of Egypt and of the *prætorium*. So he is often obliged to call to a place among the *questors* and *prætors* out of office, citizens who have held neither the *questorship* nor the *prefecture*,² and who in their turn will form a stock for public functionaries. But with this prerogative the emperor had the means of keeping places for merit: this was our free nomination which, when properly done, remedies the inconveniences of advancement by seniority.

We shall notice besides that the arbitrary will of the prince was singularly restrained by this system, which allowed every senator, according to his rank, to attain the great dignities of the State and the government of the senatorial provinces. The emperor at least could not disturb the regular order of the *cursus honorum*, except only for grave reasons which an intelligent prince carefully avoids provoking.

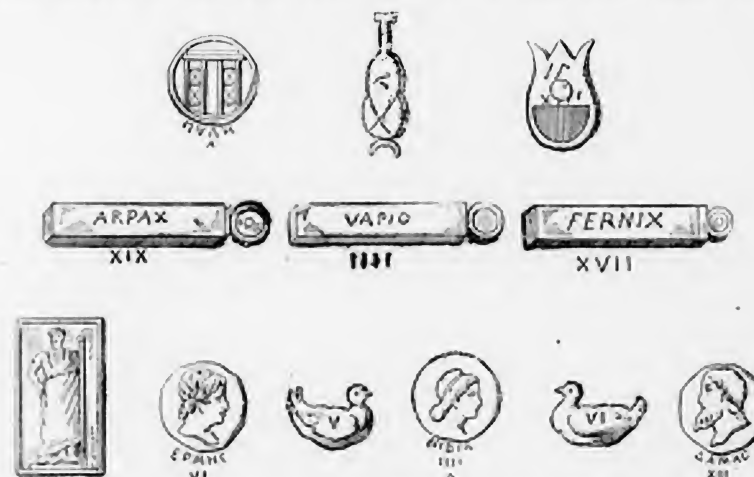
Modern society starts from another principle: the division of labour and speciality of duties. This is an excellent plan for producing quantity in the working of each function. The Roman system was more suited to form eminent administrators, and it did form such. But the political institutions of the Empire were not adapted for forming citizens or making their characters; this is why this senate, which was so rich in experience, was so deficient in courage and true dignity.

In the equestrian order we see the knight by descent and the knight of fortune, the old hereditary estates and the recently

¹ A proconsul to whom the emperor had just intrusted the command of several legions and the government of a great province asked Demotax the best method of conducting affairs. The philosopher made him that reply. (Lucian, *Demotax*, 51.)

² *Adlectus inter questorios, prætorios*, etc. An inscription (Or. Henzen, No. 6929 and 7,000) represents Antoninus recompensing a father who was not a senator by giving his son, a child four years old, the decorations of the conscript fathers, which insured him entrance into the senate when he reached the proper age.

acquired fortunes of bankers, merchants, usurers, contractors for public works, or farmers of indirect taxes, of all those in short who have known how to employ profitably their brains and capital. The former, especially since Hadrian's reign, filled the administration;¹ the others wanted to follow them and reach honours after having gained wealth. Tiberius had even exacted from citizens who aspired to the gold ring some proofs that their father and



Ivory Tesserae used at the Theatre.² (Naples Museum.)

grandfather had both been free born and had possessed the necessary income. But Pliny the Elder said already: "At present only one leap is necessary from slavery to the equestrian order."³

To obtain the gold ring, the *angusticlave*, a reserved seat at the theatre or the solemnities, and to possess, if one had the taste for them, the right to all sorts of impertinences, it sufficed to have gained, be it in the vilest employment, enough to buy the

¹ We have seen above, at p. 106, the importance of this reform.

² Tesserae or "checks for the theatre" found at Pompeii and Herculaneum. "There are some of them which represent a portrait on one side and on the other the number of the place and a name such as we have indicated below each ticket. Others have only the name and on the reverse of the same ticket the number of the place. Those in the form of a pigeon should be noted, as they served to designate the highest row in the theatre, the *paulterer*, now at Naples the *picconaria* [in Dublin "the gods"]. These last have only numbers." (Münzer, *le Musée nat. de Naples*, pl. 126, and p. 23.)

³ *Vidimus Areliaum Fuscum notum equestri ordine ob insignem calumniam* (Hist. nat., xxxiii. 81).

freedom of Rome. There was no lack of complaisant protectors who would procure the concession and prevent any inquisitive questions as regards descent; then by virtue of the 400,000 sesterces the new citizen was raised to the rank of knight.¹ Still, a dishonourable action, a judgment at law, a reverse of fortune, would compel a descent from it. "From having given gold rings to the young girls," says Martial to a profligate, "you have lost your own." Claudius, during his censorship, deprived 400 of it who had acquired it illegally, and he had the freedmen who had usurped it sold as slaves.² Some veteran soldiers who had by merit reached the first centurionship of their legion or the military tribunate,³ sometimes also, after the *honesta missio*, obtained the gold ring, with a money grant which gave them the income required of the knight.

But these parvenus of fortune or the army who were so disdainful of the plebeians were objects of the same disdain on the part of the knights of high birth, of those who, having received the horse of honour, *equum publicum*,⁴ from the prince, formed a class apart in the order, that of "*illustres*." "It is neither gold nor military service which made me a knight," says Ovid.⁵ In this "splendid militia" were to be found the candidates for the dignities of the curia, the offices of the palace, the provincial procuratorships, and the different prefectures, the most important of which was that of the annona, to which was added the civil jurisdiction over all corn affairs, the vice-royalty of Egypt, and, above all, the prefecture of the praetorium, which was soon to become the highest post of the State. The senatorial order belonged exclusively to Rome and Italy, where the senators must fix their abode and have the third or the fourth of their landed property; the equestrian

¹ *Quadrigenarii* (Henzen, No. 6,469).

² *Epigr.*, viii. 5. *Senatoriam dignitatem recusantibus, equestrem ademit* (Suet., *Claudius*, 24 and 25).

³ This was the *militia* called *caligata* (*Digest*, xxxii. 1, 10, *proem.*, and Orelli, No. 3,465), in opposition to the *militia equestris*.

⁴ See above, p. 113. They might be called State knights, in opposition to those whom the inscription of Narbonne called knights of the plebs.

⁵ *Amor.*, iii. 15, 6, and *Trist.*, iv. 10, 7. It is hardly needful to add that the prince did not always take into account this distinction for nomination to lucrative employments (*procur. centenarii, ducentarii*, etc.). See in L. Renier, *Mel. d'épigr.*, p. 88, the curious *cursus honorum* of L. Valerius Proculus.

order, on the contrary, formed the provincial nobility. Each large city had its knights, and this character is well indicated by an inscription of Narbonne which, speaking of three wealthy colonists of that city, calls them *equites Romani a plebe*. The provincial knights could be summoned to Rome to sit in the decuria of judges.¹

But by the invasion of freedmen and men of business, the order, even at Rome, lost its consideration daily. This is already seen by a rescript of Hadrian which speaks of *libertini* having received the gold ring;² Septimius Severus will soon give it to all the soldiers, and under Constantine there will no longer be any doubt on the point.

III.—THE PEOPLE.—DISTRIBUTIONS AND GAMES.

As in speaking of the State they still talked of the Republic, as there were meetings of the comitia,³ the outward show of elections, and the shadow of the old Republican magistracies, as in short one read everywhere the old formula: *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, nothing prevented the Romans from always believing themselves to be the sovereign people, lord of the land and of themselves. But no illusion existed about the royalty; it well knew where the strength lay, and submitted without a murmur. Yet its number had remarkably increased, for it included all the inhabitants of Rome and of the Empire possessing municipal freedom. Each of them was enrolled in one of the thirty-five tribes, a simple formality, for if the citizens dwelling at Rome had no longer political rights, those who lived beyond the mountains and seas had not even the advantage of utilizing their title by being amused and fed by the emperor and the rich. Yet they preserved an important privilege, that of acquiring for their property the nature of an Italic domain, that is, exemption from certain imposts.⁴

¹ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxix. 8. On the equestrian order under the Empire, see the *Hist. des chevaliers romains*, by M. Belot.

² *Digest*, ix. 10, 6.

³ See vol. iii. p. 709, n. 2, and vol. iv. p. 280, n. 1.

⁴ Italic landed property had a partial immunity at least from taxes and the character of Quiritary property, so that the holders of these estates had over them the *dominium*, and not simply, like the provincials, enjoyment, *pos sessio*.

Day by day the idea of Roman citizenship was becoming feebler, deadened by the rich developments of municipal life. The Gaul, the Asiatic, who had the *jus civitalis*, belonged nominally to a Roman tribe; in fact they were citizens of a provincial municipality.

The city tribes only continued organized and living, not for political rights, for we have seen what Augustus and Tiberius had done with them, but for some advantages secured to the poor of Rome. The emperors had changed into a permanent institution the usage, often interrupted under the Republic, of selling corn every month to the citizens from the State magazines at a mock price. There were even given gratuitously to the very poor, tickets which were similar to the bread tickets of our charitable boards, and it ended in everybody having them. In the year 58 B.C. Clodius had established the wholly gratuitous character of the distributions.¹ As there were found in the city citizens belonging to the thirty-five tribes, the poor who had obtained the *tessera gratis*, which were doubtless numbered for more regularity, according to the order of the tribes, formed thirty-five new corporations. These divisions preserved the ancient glorious name which formerly designated the entire Roman people, and which, by a strange change of fortune, was henceforth only applied to the most wretched classes. As used by Martial and Statius,² the words *tribulis* and *pauper* have become synonymous, and in that society which had so much respect for gold those who bore either name were the objects of the same contempt.

The plebs nevertheless possessed its millionaires, as Martial shows us, its contractors for works, for transport and funerals, the town criers, farmers of certain imposts, and manufacturers of every sort, who had speculated on the vices or lived on the pleasures of the rich. The law declared any of these occupations to be base, and on these fortunes there rested a stain, even in the eyes of some of the poor. But these parvenus felt little concerned about esteem or contempt, being almost all of servile origin;³ for some

¹ Cic., *pro Sestio*, 25, 55; cf. Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 21, and *Acad. des inser.*, new series, xiii. p. 23.

² Martial, *Epigr.*, viii. 45, and Statius, *Sile.*, iii. 10.

³ . . . *Minore in dies plebè ingenua* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 27 et seq.).

centuries the population had been recruited from strangers, so that there were no more Romans at Rome than there are Parisians at Paris.

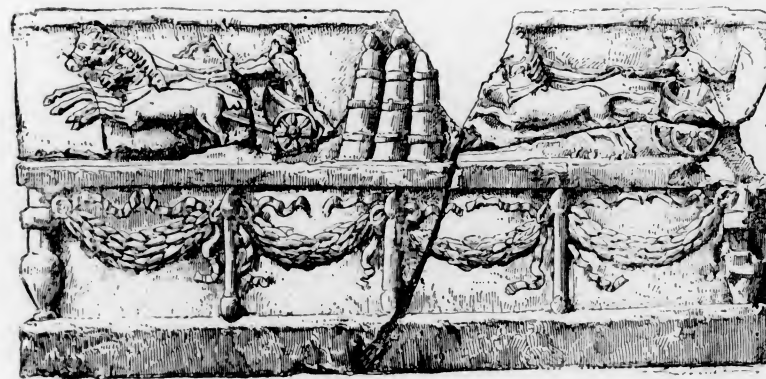
We were just now present at a sitting of the senate: let us become acquainted with the people.



Tessera used at the Circus, in lead, found in the Saône.¹ (Musée de Lyon.)



Here is a letter which Aurelian wrote to them after having in Egypt overturned the usurper Firmus: "Aurelian Augustus to the Roman people who adore him, health! After having pacified the universe, we have also conquered, taken, and put to death the Egyptian robber, Firmus. You, the worthy children of Romulus, have therefore nothing more to fear. The



A Race at the Circus. (Bas-relief found at Lyons in 1874.)

corn of Egypt, which this brigand stopped, will reach you without the loss of a grain, if you live in peace and good friendship with the senate, the knights, and the praetorians. I am able to preserve Rome from all disquietude; go then to the shows; go to the circus: the public needs are our business; pleasure is yours."² Thanks to those who look only at the surface of things,

¹ *Gazette archéol.*, 1876, p. 31. The bas-relief is also published by the *Gazette archéol.*, *ibid.*, pl. 10.

² *Vacate ludis, vacate circensibus. Nos publicae necessitates teneant, vos occupent voluptates* (Vopisc., *Vita Firm.*, 5). Juvenal had already said (*Sat.*, x. 78-81):

. . . qui dabat olim
Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
Continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem et circenses;

and Fronto (*Princ. hist.*): We lead the Roman people by two things: *anxiis et spectaculis*.

we have done this people the honour of believing that it had played some sort of a part in the foundation and support of the Empire. The people performed their last act of sovereignty when, in the Republic's vigour, but under the pressure of the first triumvirs, they gave Caesar the proconsulate of the Gauls; dating from that day, thirty years before Actium, the soldiers did everything, and they did what their victorious leader desired. What part did the people take in the accession of Tiberius and Claudius, in the death of Caius and Nero, even in the struggle between the Vitellians and Flavians? That of onlookers at the duel between the prince and the aristocracy, or the murderous rivalries of the emperors, with as much pleasure and coolness as at the gladiatorial combats in the arena.

As evidence of the popular sovereignty being still alive, we have said that the deserted Forum and the silent rostra had been replaced by the circus and the theatre, where sometimes clamour arose. Certain popularity-hunting emperors did in fact sometimes yield to the random wishes of the crowd assembled in the theatre; but others responded to them by a haughty disdain, and if the clamour continued brought in the soldiers and pikes, and immediately all became quiet.¹

We have already explained at length² the justice of the corn distributions, according to the ancient notion of a sovereign people.

If in Algeria we had imposed on the Arabs a tax in kind, instead of a tribute in money, the corn they would have given would have served to support our African army, as the cattle taken in the razzias serve to improve the ordinary rations of the troops. Now at Rome, when the Republic fixed for a permanence distributions of corn, the army was still the people: therefore, even after Augustus, only the citizens *pleno jure* were permitted to take a share. The *vigiles*, for example, who had very important duties at Rome, but who were recruited from the freedmen, obtained only after three years the corn *tessera*. In these acts of liberality therefore we must see only the benefits gained by victory and secured

¹ Cf. Suet., *Dom.*, 10 and 13; Dion Cassius, *lxi.*, 6; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, *xix.*, 14; Plutarch, *Gaius*, 17. There were soldiers at the gates, and even inside (Suet., *Nero*, 21, and the *Digest*, *i.*, 12, 1, § 12).

² [Vol. ii. p. 425; iii. pp. 737 *sqq.*]

by the inheritors of the conquerors. Under one form or another that has been done in all time and will continue to be, so long as there are conquerors and conquered.

We have seen that Augustus had determined the quantity of corn required for the consumption of the palace, the soldiers, and the 200,000 citizens,¹ and that the annual expense, for the gratuitous distributions and the sale at a low price, could reach eleven or twelve millions of francs² (about half a million sterling). Yet a fifth must be deducted from this total for the corn supplied since Nero's reign to the soldiers in Rome and the suburbs which the State had the duty of feeding, so that the expenditure for the poor was at least 10,000,000 francs. Whatever doubt there is as to the amount, we must admit that these gifts were neither culpable on the part of the donor nor shameful for those who received them.³

¹ *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 747. Cf. *Digest*, XXXII. i. 36 pr., and Hirschfeld, *die Getreideverwaltung in der Röm. Kaiserz.*, p. 6. There were still 200,000 people receiving under Septimius Severus; but the *civiles* had been reduced to 160,000, because 40,000 shares were reserved for the soldiers of all kinds who were in Rome or the environs, in garrison or provided for. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* there is reference only to the *plebs urbana* (ὄχλος), and Fronto (*Princ. hist.*) distinguishes the corn-receiving plebs, who were kept by *congiaria*, from the entire people who were amused by spectacles, at which all classes were present . . . *congiariis frumentariam modo plebem singillatim placari ac nominatim, spectaculis universam*. Appian says (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 120): τὸ τε σιτηρίσιον τοῖς πένησι χορηγοῦμενον ἐν μόνῳ Ῥώμῃ, and Dion Cassius, *xlili.*, 21: σιτοδορούμενος ὄχλος. Cf. Pliny, *Pan.*, 25. These recipients of the annona were therefore the city poor, and at Rome as at Paris these poor were assisted without their moral conduct being taken into consideration. (Seneca, *de Ben.*, iv. 28, 2.) But it must be noted that they received less than our soldiers, whose daily ration is 950 grammes of bread, 300 grammes of meat and a little vegetable; that consequently a family could not live, without doing something, on a corn ticket.

² At the death of Septimius Severus (Spartian, *Sev.*, 7 and 23), the State magazines had enough corn for seven years at the rate of 75,000 modii a day. The corn warehoused by Severus would therefore have sufficed for distribution to 456,000 citizens and not to 200,000. What remained in store, after the delivery to those having the right to the 60 modii according to regulation, was sold at a low price. While supposing that on these 256,000 other shares the State had lost half the price, the total expenditure would still have hardly reached the total which Hirschfeld gives (*op. cit.*, p. 68)—4 millions to 4½ millions of thalers; but it is probable that the total of 60 modii annually had been increased. At Constantinople, Constantine raised the distribution to 80,000 modii per diem. (Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, ii. 13.) Spartian also speaks (*Sev.*, 18) of a provision of oil for five years made by Septimius Severus and distributed gratuitously. An inscription of Orelli makes us acquainted with a *procurator ad oleum*. Respecting the sale of corn at a reduced rate see Suet., *Oct.*, 41; *Mon. d'Anc.*, xv.; Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 39; Dion, *lv.*, 26; and on the gift gratis of the ordinary *frumentationes*, Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 72; Suet., *Nero*, 10; Hirschfeld, pp. 12-13. There were also sometimes distributions of wine (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, *xiv.*, 14), of salt (*ibid.*, *xxxi.*, 7), of meat (Lamprid., *Alex. Sev.*, 22, 26), etc.

³ I have told, in vol. iii. p. 748, what Paris expended on the poor in 1875. For 1881, 125,000 persons are entered on the lists of the charitable boards; and if there are counted the sick received into our hospitals, the infirm maintained in the hospitals, the 60,000 sick or women

In the Middle Ages, and even in 1830, the people, on certain festivals, had also their distributions of victuals; fountains of wine flowing in the streets, loaves, sausages, hams, thrown in the thick of the crowd, who with loud cries rushed into the mud to secure a piece. These coarse bounties proceeded from another principle and were not repeated so frequently. Yet I cannot help saying that I prefer the strict silent arrangement of the Roman *annona*.¹

To the distributions of food were added from time to time those of money. Antoninus gave at the rate of 135 sesterces per head per annum. Under the Cæsars, from the Dictator to Claudius, this rate had been only forty-three. In truth, the latter was not worth the trouble of stretching out the hand to take; but we know that in that society no one refused, no matter how small the present, nor how high the condition of the recipient.²

Altogether, the distributions of corn and money to the Roman plebs came annually to perhaps fifteen to sixteen millions of francs.

The public games were less burdensome to the State. According to a document of the year 51 A.D., there was paid out of the treasury almost yearly, for the most important, a sum total of £20,000.³ We give 800,000 francs to the Opera alone, which is

in confinement attended at their homes, and the necessitous temporarily assisted, it will be found that the protection afforded by public aid extends to nearly 400,000 persons. We must add to these charities that the city does not deduct anything on the small quantities of articles which pass free of octroi, and that it gives 10,000,000 francs towards free primary education. The boards of relief of the twenty arrondissements find besides annually, in private liberality, a resource which in certain arrondissements exceeds 200,000 francs. These are some millions added to our relief fund.

¹ But recently a souvenir of the *frumentationes* existed even at Rome. The cardinal governor of the city had, on the evening of Shrove Tuesday, to offer a supper to all the attendants at the Opera; it cost him from 20,000 to 30,000 crowns, according to his doing it stingily or grandly.

² See above, p. 411. By reckoning all the *congiaria* of which we know from Cæsar to Claudius, we find that in a century there was distributed to the 200,000 *frumentarii*, 216,950,000 denarii, say, 2,169,500 francs (£86,800) per annum, and about 11 denarii per head. (Cf. Marquardt, II. i. 2nd part, p. 110.)

³ Namely, for the Roman games, which lasted sixteen days, 760,000 sesterces; for the Plebeian games (fourteen days), 600,000; for the Apollinarian games (eight days), 380,000; for the Augustal games, 10,000. (Cf. Mommsen, *C. I. L.*, according to the *Fasti Antiatini*, p. 377b, and Friedländer, vol. ii. p. 164.) To these public games, for which the State made a grant, must be added those of Ceres, of the Great Goddess, or Megalesian (Martial, *Ep.*, x. 41), of Flora, which cost 20,000 (*id.*, *ibid.*), and of Sylla's triumph. The number of games varied with the time: many under the Empire were successively created and abolished; the six ancient games lasted down to the fourth century. (Cf. Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, 6.)

not open to the poor, whilst in the Circus Maximus 385,000 spectators were admitted gratis. It is true there must be added to this expenditure the sums spent by the magistrates who provided the spectacle, and the sums given by individuals who wished to glorify their name or their fortune.¹ As vanity played its part and there was emulation amongst these givers of spectacles, some of them ruined themselves. It was a large fortune which became divided in passing into other hands; by this the State simply lost the profit that these millionaires might have made by a better employment of their money. But the ancients considered that in spending it in this way it was well expended. It appeared to them that the rich possessed wealth for the benefit of the public service, and those who possessed it shared in this idea. The *liturgies* at Athens, the *munera* in the Roman cities, were onerous obligations imposed by law and custom on those who solicited honours or public consideration. As we [French] have changed these usages, we do not understand functions which *cost* instead of *gaining*. Yet one must quite admit a question of fact to which all antiquity deposes, and accept that rule of historical criticism and of strict equity which implies that in judging ancient matters we must take account of ancient ideas.

Besides, in their origin, the spectacles, scenic games, even the gladiatorial combats were, like our old mysteries, religious acts, *auto da fe*, and in the pagan empire they officially preserved this character: at some of them the statues of the gods were always carried in procession. Under Domitian even, the law *Genetiva Julia* imposed on the *duumvirs* the charge of the games of the circus and of the religious banquets, under the same category as the inspection of the sacred buildings.² Moreover, patriotism, which was then confounded with religion, never hesitated before any sacrifice, so that these festivals were celebrated in a manner worthy of the gods and the city.

¹ When the games were well done, there were spent on them in three days 400,000 sesterces. (Petron., *Satyr.*, 45.) The gladiatorial combats given every five years at Pisaurum, by virtue of a legacy, cost only 150 or 180 sesterces, according as interest was reckoned at five or six per cent. Orelli (No. 81), who reckons it at 12, as being in the province, doubles the last figure. But there were gladiators at all prices . . . *Dedit gladiatores sestertiariorum jam decrepitos, quos si sufflasset, cecidissent* (Petron., *ibid.*).

² Cap. exxviii.

On the anniversary of his birthday Hadrian gave free games;¹ there were some therefore which were not so. It was a widely spread form of industry which cost the State nothing. We knew of it from Tacitus, Petronius, and Dion; and some inscriptions give us assurance of it.²

The result of these usages was that the citizens did all, while the State had scarcely anything to do. We see what must be meant by *panem et circenses*, and in what proportion it is proper to reduce the sacrifices demanded of the community by that crowd who wanted, it is said, to be amused and fed at the expense of the Empire.

Yet, if the sum entered in the official budget for popular pleasures imposed on the treasury, *avarium*, be only a small charge, the prince's treasure, *fiscus*, or what might be termed his civil list, bore a much heavier burden. Subjected by precedent to the same obligations as the magistrates and rich citizens, the emperor gave entertainments which the pontiff's calendar did not mention, and often aided his friends and relations³ to do things liberally when they had to offer a show to the people. The bad princes thus ruined themselves, the good knew how to spend only their superfluous income. Augustus had given them the example of these liberalities which custom made necessary, but which only a wise firmness could keep within just limits.⁴

At the commencement of the Empire the public games occupied sixty-six days in the year, sixteen of which were for races in the hippodrome, forty-eight for scenic representations, which few people attended,⁵ and two for feasts which succeeded sacrifices. We have yearly fifty-two Sundays; by adding to these the public holidays, we shall reach nearly the same total of days of public rest, without counting all those which our workmen take of them-

¹ *πρωϊκα* (Dion, lxi. 8).

² A statue was erected to Caracalla from the proceeds of the places let at the amphitheatre of Cirta.

³ Thus Hadrian received 2,000,000 of sesterces from Trajan for the games it was his duty to give during his pretorship; Valerian gave 5,000,000 to Aurelian for the festivals of his consulship. (Spartian, *Hadr.*, 3; Vopiscus, *Aurel.*, 12.)

⁴ See in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, vol. iv. p. 163, the enumeration of the festivals given by Augustus.

⁵ The medals record buildings and the games of the circus and amphitheatre; they never refer to theatres nor scenic representations.

selves. Official statistics give for the whole of France an average of only 226 working days.¹ In addition our cities have amusements every evening; Paris alone possesses thirty-eight theatres or circuses and a number of other pleasure haunts. We are certainly more amused, or think ourselves so, than the Roman people usually were: at least we have the right to expect it, for in fact we do more work.

In course of time the Romans of Rome and the Greeks of Constantinople multiplied the games until they amounted to 175 holidays in the year. That is the total given in a document dated 354; but at that date we are in the regular Byzantine empire, and in spite of the horror of the Church for shows they were more liked than in Trajan's time. More, even, was spent on them: 2,000 pounds² of gold for the consular games alone.

In imperial Rome the people's pleasures were full of partisanship, without danger truly, yet scandalous. This feeling, having no longer great objects, attached itself to small ones. At the circus the Blues and the Greens divided the spectators, and the disputes raised on these occasions agitated the whole city. A man, the voluntary victim of a vulgar passion, threw himself on to a funeral pile which consumed the body of a famous jockey,³ and Juvenal dared to write: "If the Greens were beaten Rome would be in the same terror as after the defeat of Cannæ."⁴ From Rome this passion reached Constantinople, where it became more keen and survived the invasion of the barbarians.⁵ The Christian empire was still less wise respecting the *circenses* than the Pagan empire had been; and the moderns, in certain respects, have outdone the ancients, and this ought at least to lead us to show indulgence to the latter. Could not they say, as do serious folks amongst the hundred thousand spectators at our races, that the victors in the

¹ In pursuance of a rule of Marcus Aurelius (*Capit.*, 10) the courts were to be open for 230 days yearly. Besides the annual games Rome had some extraordinary holidays, which its princes or private individuals gave it; in the year 80 there was a festival of a hundred days for the inauguration of the Coliseum; in 106, for the conquest of Dacia, 123 days of show, etc.

² This is the figure given by Procopius (*Hist. secr.*, 26) under Justinian.

³ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, vii. 54.

⁴ *Sat.*, xi. 197. Lucian (*Nigrinus*, 29) does not like this mania for horses. Yet he acknowledges that it is shared by a large number of very respectable people.

⁵ The last king of the Goths of Italy, Totila, in 549, even had some chariot races in the Roman circus. (Gregorovius, *Hist. de Rome au moyen âge*, i. 436.)

circus furnished good horses to the army and improved the breed of horses used in commerce?

How many things have to be re-examined in this old history which is only beginning to be studied in our days, no longer with the forms of ancient rhetoric or of political passion, but with the severe scientific methods which look at facts amid the associations whence they sprung, and which seek the truth, indifferent to the results to which this truth may lead.

IV.—OFFICIALS AND DEPARTMENTS.

The Republic had no liking for multiplying the offices of State, and it had possessed only a very small number of temporary administrators. As it farmed out the levying of the taxes and the execution of public works, all left for the senate to settle was what sum it wished to receive from the provinces, and what it intended to spend on works of general utility. The *publicani* brought the former into the treasury, after their expense for collection had been deducted; the other was placed at the disposition of the contractors by the censors or the conscript fathers. In a word Republican Rome governed but did not administer, except in the case of its own affairs. Thus for the accounts of the *ærarium*, for the distributions to the people of the city (*annona*), for the coinage (*IIviri monetales*), and the maintenance of its streets (*IIviri viarum curandarum*), it certainly had permanent offices.

The Empire acted similarly at first. For a long time the State functionaries were few in number; in the provinces, forty-five governors,¹ the legates of thirty legions, some procurators, administering districts with the *jus gladii*,² others for the collection of

¹ The emperor was invested with proconsular power in the imperial provinces, his lieutenants having in them only the title of *legati pro prætoribus*, even when they had been consuls. In the senatorial provinces the governor was styled proconsul, and attained this post only after having held the consulship of the two consular provinces of Asia and Africa, and the prætorship for the others. The imperial legate had five fasces, the proconsul six. The provinces were drawn for by lot among the candidates nominated by the emperor. At the time of the Antonines admission to the allotment of the two consular provinces of Asia and Africa was granted only twelve years after having held the consulship. On the preparations which a consul had to make before setting forth, see Fronto's curious letter, *Ad Anton. Pium*, 8.

² See above, p. 490. Tacitus says (*Hist.*, i. 11): *dum Mauretania, Raetia, Noricum, Thracia et quæ alia procuratoribus cōhibentur.*

the revenues of the imperial treasury; at Rome, the prefectures of the prætorium, of the city, of the *annona* and the watches, the duties of the vigintivirate and those whose holders had seats in the senate.¹ All these functions were temporary or of short date,² except the urban prefectures. The prefect of the city often kept his office till death, and the command of the prætorians and of the watches so long as he kept the prince's confidence.³ So, even in the first century of the Empire, Rome rejected the thought of forming a great body of permanent officials.

But little by little the servants of the prince became public functionaries; the offices (*officia*) increased and administrative centralization began. It was like a new empire when it received its true character from Diocletian, but had its main principle implied from the first in the Empire.

The first public administration, in the modern sense of the word, dates from Augustus, who organized the postal service, with its numerous messengers, the *tabellarii*. This service, although performed by the cities, required a central office, and perhaps already, in the provinces, inspectors (*curiosi*) to insure its regularity. The second was the water supply of Rome, instituted by Agrippa; he first employed for it his personal fortune, and constituted a whole *familia* of 240 *aquarii*, slaves who, at his death, passed to the service of the State.⁴ To collect the tax of a twentieth on legacies, heritages, and manumissions, and that of a fortieth on admissions;⁵ for the recruiting of the legions and

¹ See above, p. 516.

² As a rule, the proconsulships were annual; it was the same for all the old Republican offices which had been kept, except for the consulship, now held for three or two months. All the offices which were held directly from the prince had no other legal term than his will and pleasure. Yet the imperial legations lasted on the average only three or five years. (L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 124.)

³ The prefect of the city was at first only charged with keeping in check slaves and disorderly persons. (Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 11.) His civil and criminal jurisdiction became later on very extensive (*Digest*, i. 12). The prefect of the prætorium had, moreover, at the first only the command of the guards (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 1 and 2) and ended by being the second person in the Empire (*Digest*, i. 11). The prefect of the watches charged with directing the nightly rounds to prevent or check fires (Suet., *Oct.*, 30) acquired besides criminal jurisdiction over incendiaries, thieves, and vagabonds (*Digest*, i. 15, 3). Thus the prerogatives of the prince's agents increased in proportion as those of the *magistratus populi Romani* diminished.

⁴ Frontinus, *de Aquæd.*, and Daroste, *des Contrats*, pp. 94, 110, etc.

⁵ *Procurator XX hereditatum, quadragesimæ, ad alimenta, ad bona damnatorum*, etc. Cf. Or-Henzen, in the *Index*.

the boarding institution of Trajan, the administration of the prince's domains, that of the property of those attainted, etc., there existed special permanent agents, whose jurisdiction often comprised several provinces.¹

These officials received a salary of 60,000, 100,000, 200,000,



Bronze Plate, relating to the *Tabellarii*.² (Naples Museum.)

and 300,000 sesterces [75,000 francs];³ the proconsuls, an indemnity of 1,000,000⁴ and travelling expenses, with allowances of different sorts to meet their numerous expenses. The republican principle had been gratuitous public services, except an indemnity

¹ Thus Tib. Cl. Candidus was *procurator XX hereditatum per Gallias Lugdunensem et Belgiam et utramque Germaniam* (Orelli, No. 798, and many others).

² This bronze plate, the foot of which had to be fixed in a support, had a different notice on each of its faces. On face No. 1 is read: "(Office) of Thoas, (slave) of the emperor Tiberius, put in charge of the table couches;" on the other is engraved, in the third century perhaps, the following words: "Withdraw from the office reserved for the messengers provided with the diploma of the emperor's (postal service)." (E. Desjardins, *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études*, vol. xxxv. pp. 72-3).

³ *Procurator sexagenarius, centenarius, ducenarius, trecentarius*. Cf. the *Index* of Orelli. The inscription, No. 946, gives to the *procurator rationis privatae* a salary of 300,000 sesterces.

⁴ *Salarium proconsulari solitum* (Tac., *Agr.*, 42). Dion (lxxviii. 22) gives the grand total as 250,000 drachmæ or 1,000,000 sesterces (£10,000), without reckoning the corn of which the

for expenses incurred by the magistrate in the interest of the State. The principle of the imperial government was, on the contrary, remuneration by means of annual pay for the services performed by the official. The two systems were concurrently adopted: gratuitous service by those who were still styled "the magistrates of the Roman people," and fixed pay for the agents of the prince. But the latter were indefinitely increased without any addition to the number of ancient republican magistracies, and soon there will exist no longer, with the exception of the consulship, the praetorship, and the quaestorship, any other honorary offices in the Empire than those of municipal officers.¹

On this subject there is another remark to make. The example of Cicero, an honourable man nevertheless, who, during his governorship of Cilicia could put by 2,200,000 sesterces, shows the effects of this republican unsalaried system. It was possible under the Republic to make a fortune, in public offices, by exactions to which the senate shut its eyes; this was no longer possible under the Empire, because the prince, a much more inexorable judge of those guilty of being bribed, was interested in preventing his subjects from being subject to extortion.

The centre to which all affairs converged was the prince's palace; it had been from an early date encumbered with a multitude of slaves and freedmen, some charged with domestic duties,² others forming administrative departments where the accounts of receipts and expenditure were kept, dispatches received and examined, replies sent and certain matters arranged for reporting to the senate, to the Privy Council which Augustus had constituted, and to the court where the emperor heard appeals and reserved cases.

governor had need for his house, *frumentum in cellam*. His lieutenants, the quaestor, the praetorian cohort, the included assessors, also received *cibaria* (Cic., *Verr.*, i. 14, 36), or the *congiarium* and the *salarium*, i.e., at the beginning, wine and salt (Fronto, *ad Ant.*, 1, 2, and Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxxi. 41; *Digest*, i. 22, 4).

¹ The inferior agents of the municipal and public administration were paid; those of the State received *mercedem et cibaria ex avario*, i.e., a salary and allowance of food (Fronto, *de Aqued.*, 100).

² Their titles consequently varied infinitely. A great number of them will be found in chap. ix. of Orelli, which contains 254 inscriptions relating to the slaves and freedmen of the palace. Under No. 2,974 Orelli has given a summary of the titles which accompany the proper names in the *columnarium* of the slaves and freedmen of Augustus and Livia, in which were more than 300 names.

At the head of all the departments were freedmen who rapidly gained great influence. Under Augustus and Tiberius these freedmen had been kept within bounds and in the background; but from Caligula to Vespasian they governed the palace and Empire. Helios, in Nero's absence, condemned even senators to confiscation, banishment, and death. Remitted to obscurity by the first two Flavii, these freedmen under the third regained their power, and Pliny the Younger could say: "The majority of our princes, those masters of the citizens, were the slaves of their freedmen. They understood only by means of them, they spoke by them, and by them were given the praetorships, the offices of priests, the consulships."¹ Yet the singular respect which he himself showed towards Trajan's freedmen, whom he declared in a crowded senate to be worthy of the senators' regards,² show the credit which they sustained under the best princes. They formed a sort of permanent body in which were preserved the traditions of the skilful policy by which a master was made captive. The emperor died, the freedmen did not, or at least their influence was perpetuated. They were transferred with the furniture to the service of the successor. Claudius Etruscus had served ten Caesars.³

It is a poet, Statius, who, in the eulogy on this Etruscus, gives us the most exact information respecting some of the offices filled by the freedmen of the palace. "To thee alone were intrusted the sacred treasures of the prince, the riches dispersed among the nations, and the tribute which the world pays to us. What Spain derives from its gold mines, and what glitters in the Dalmatian mountains, the harvests of Africa, the corn that the Egyptian crushes on his threshing-floor, the pearls which the diver seeks for in the depths of the Eastern seas, the fleeces brought from the pasturages watered by the Galæsus, the transparent crystal, the citron from Mauretania, the ivory of India, in fine, what the winds from south, east, and north, waft to us, all was intrusted to thy watchful care. Thou didst estimate what was daily needed

¹ Dion, lxi. 12; Pliny, *Paneg.*, 88.

² *Tanto magis digni quibus honor omnis præstetur a nobis (ibid.)*.

³ Statius, *Silv.*, iii. 3. He died at the age of eighty, under Domitian. The Alexandrine rhetorician Dionysios (Suidas, s. v.) was, from Nero to Trajan's time, set over the libraries, the correspondence, the embassies, and rescripts. On Royal Secretaries among the ancients, see M. Egger, *Mém. d'hist. anc.*, pp. 220-259.

for the legions and the people; thou wert acquainted with the expenditure for the temples, for the dikes which kept back the high flood, and for the military roads. Thou hadst the accounts of the gold which glittered on Caesar's ceilings, of that which formed the statues of the gods or the coinage marked with the image of the prince." Etruscus, the treasurer (*a rationibus*), held what we should consider to be four ministerial departments, viz., of trade, public works, finance, and the prince's household.

The same poet makes us acquainted with another freedman, named Abascantus, who had charge of the dispatches (*ab epistulis*). "To send to all parts of the earth the orders of the master of Rome; to know what laurels reach us from the North, what standards are floating on the banks of the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Rhine; how far the confines of the world have retreated before us towards Thule at the limit of the roaring waves; these form some of his duties. Is there need to call together trusty swords: he points out the one most capable to command a cohort or 100 horsemen, him who deserves the glorious title of tribune, or who will best lead the swift squadrons. What does he not do besides? He ought to know whether the Nile has inundated the fields, or if the Auster has watered sandy Libya with its fertilizing rains. Less active is Juno's messenger: less prompt is Renown on her rapid chariot."¹ It might be said that the secretary of dispatches acts the part of a minister of war, of the home department, and of foreign affairs.

His offices, in which intelligent slaves were at work, whom liberty awaited as the reward of their services, were divided into two divisions: one for Greek-speaking countries, the other for the Latin-speaking.² To these were attached wise and learned men able to do honour, by their learning and style, to the imperial government. We possess the works of one of them, and they have a right, from their precision of form and propriety of expression, to take rank among the best of Latin literature—I mean, of course,

¹ Statius, *Silv.*, iii. 3, 86-105: v. 1, 85-105.

² An inscription (Orelli, No. 823) mentions even a *librarius Arabicus* (*Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. 1. p. 316), established doubtless in the *scrinium litterarum* at the time of the formation of the province of Arabia, and this leads to the supposition that there were others for other languages.

the biographies of Suetonius.¹ Not only was the style of the Latin or Greek careful, but also the writing itself: the dispatches were models of calligraphy.²

The secretary of petitions (*a libellis*) and inquiries (*a cognitionibus*) had to hear a crowd of petitioners and complainants, to read the applications of those who from all parts of the Empire asked for a place, a title, a favour, and who appealed to the justice or clemency of the prince. He was supposed to render an account of every matter to the emperor, who decided it. The secretary of inquiries, probably first appointed by Claudius, drew up the preliminaries of affairs which the emperor himself ought to try or refer either to the senate or to ordinary magistrates.³

These four secretaries, viz., of accounts, correspondence, requests, and inquiries, recall to mind the ministerial organization which France had a long while, under the ancient monarchy, with its four secretaries of State, whose duties were as embarrassing as those of the Roman secretaries, and that it was the principle, at Versailles as at Rome, to make a choice from men without birth, nor did this prevent these people of low rank from becoming sometimes great men. The two governments had been led by similarity of circumstances to act alike, and doubtless they derived similar advantages from this similar mode of action. In spite of the bad name of the imperial freedmen, I believe that if we had the best information we should find that all were by no means harmful to their prince or useless to the Empire.

I remark that they had not given themselves up to a spirit of clique, which is so dangerous in public duties. The provincial administration was not carried on by slaves or freedmen: out of the eighty financial procurators with which the inscriptions acquaint us, only eight freedmen are to be found, and these all belong to

¹ Suetonius, the son of a legionary tribune and the friend of the younger Pliny, was Hadrian's secretary, as well as the rhetorician Avidius, who was prefect of Egypt and father of the usurper Avidius Cassius. Titinius Capito, whom Pliny considered one of the best writers of his time, had been Trajan's secretary. C. Vestinus, a preceptor and then Hadrian's secretary, became keeper of the libraries of Rome, high-priest of Egypt, and the curator of the Museum of Alexandria. (*C. I. G.* 5,900.)

² Plutarch, *de Pyth. Or.*, 7. Cf. Egger, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

³ Narcissus, under Claudius, had been *ab epistolis* (Suet., *Claud.*, 28); Epaphroditus, under Nero, *a libellis* (*id.*, *Dom.*, 14). The functions *a libellis* and *a cognitionibus* were often separated; cf. Cuq., on the *Magister sacrarum largitionum*.

the early days of the Empire.¹ Yet for the high offices of State it was better to have men more respected by public opinion and not proceeding from the imperial household. We have seen Hadrian effecting this change by intrusting the secretariates to members of the equestrian order. Several emperors had forestalled him in this direction without making this reform, as he did, a regulation of government. His successors followed it, and the administration became the better for it; but it was the beginning of that hierarchy which, followed out to the minutest detail, shackled society with so many bands that it became motionless and lifeless; so that in the most brilliant period of the Empire must be placed the germ of those institutions which diminished its strength and prepared its fall.

The slaves and freedmen of whom we have just spoken lived in the palace, to which men of free birth came daily to counteract their influence. Under the Republic the great opened their houses to a number of persons professing to be their friends, and who, in every case, were their clients for the *sportula* and their partisans in any bold attack. The general with the army, the governor in his province, had also his band of young men attached to him, and the friends who formed his council, carried his orders or supervised their execution. Caius Gracchus and Livius Drusus had introduced the practice of giving a certain order to this retinue. They had friends of the first, second, and third degree, whom they treated accordingly: the last awaiting in the street a haughty salute, the second admitted to touch the patron's hand, the first to live on intimate terms with him; a curious proof of the facility with which the Romans submitted to subordination and discipline. The emperors kept up these usages as they did so many others of the Republic; they also had their friends of different degrees, from intimate friends living with them, without title or duties,² to those who, simply agreeable, were scarcely distinguishable from domestics, unless they were learned men, artists, and eloquent or highly gifted personages, with whom Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius delighted to converse.

¹ Starting from the Flavii, the *procuratores augusti* are true public officials taken from the knights (*Tac., Agr.*, 4). The procurators of the early emperors were stewards like those belonging to private persons mentioned in many inscriptions. Cf. Henzen, *Index*, p. 187.

² Seneca, *de Ben.*, vi. 34; *de Clem.*, i. 10.

Under a personal government, some of these friends of the prince, the companions of his travels or of his festivities¹ and frequenters of the palace, gained great influence.² Augustus had selected from them the members of his privy council,³ a genuine governmental council which examined matters, on Caesar's orders, referred to them by the secretaries of state. For his judicial functions the emperor called to his assistance any whom he judged fit. An example of these imperial sessions was given in the chapter on Trajan,⁴ and this dispenses us from further comments.

These friends of the prince, the palace freedmen and slaves as well, these frequenters of the imperial ante-chamber, were not always discreet persons. Some of them sold their real or pretended influence, and the news, true or false, which they had heard behind the door or pretended to have told in the ear of the prince. "The emperor is sold," said Diocletian angrily; and Alexander Severus caused one of his servants to be suffocated who had made gain of the credulity of petitioners. During the execution a herald proclaimed: "Thus shall perish by the smoke he who has sold smoke!"

V.—THE ARMY.

There is no occasion to speak further of the activity put forth by the whole Empire for public works: the municipal monuments, temples, circuses, amphitheatres, sometimes equalling those of Rome

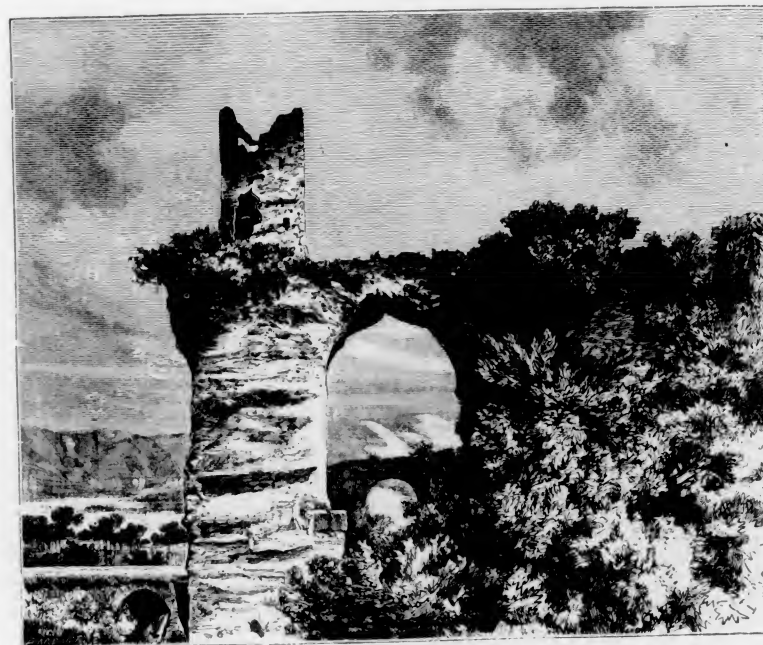
¹ *Comites and concivtores*. They had their special servants at the palace, the chief of whom had the title of *procurator a cura amicorum*. While travelling they formed the prince's retinue, and their expenses were paid by him. Augustus one day gave to those of Tiberius, who was satisfied with boarding them only, 600,000 sesterces for the first-class friends, 400,000 for those of the second, 200,000 to the third (Suet., *Tib.*, 46).

² *Nullum majus boni imperii instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse*, said Helvidius under Domitian (Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 7). Homulus, under Trajan, thought the same. This title of *the prince's friend* came to be attached to certain duties; it became even a sort of title of honour which was inscribed on a man's tomb after mentioning the consulship. The prefects of the city and of the praetorium were of right "friends of the prince," as the marshals, peers, and cardinals were with us "cousins du roi." Under the Merovingians, "the king's *convive* or companion," whose *wearyeld* was double that of the other great vassals, was doubtless the successor to the prince's friend. This custom had existed besides in all the Oriental courts.

³ See vol. iii. p. 716, and Suet., *Tib.*, 55. The consuls and high dignitaries of State formed part of it. These councillors had also a stipend of 60,000, 100,000, and 200,000 sesterces. (Orelli, No. 2,648.)

⁴ Vol. iv. p. 783.

in beauty, and even in grandeur,¹ the bridges over rivers, the canals in the plains,² the aqueducts above the valleys,³ the roads across mountains, the lighthouses on the promontories, and finally, the huge network of military roads, the principal of which were developed to a length of 77,000 kilomètres.⁴ The preceding



Arcade of the Aqueduct called *Anio Novus*.

chapters have exhibited this great work of civilization which the moderns have surpassed only in our own days.

This brilliancy of civil life would have been soon extinguished but for the army. Under the Antonines it was formidable, and we ought to speak of it with some detail, for of the two great

¹ The amphitheatre of Capua was almost as vast as the Coliseum of Rome.

² The ancients did not understand locks, but they made weirs . . . *cataractis aquae cursum temperare* (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 69).

³ Rome alone had as many as fourteen aqueducts of an extent of 400 kilomètres, 80 of which were on arches. Three only which are still in use are sufficient to make Rome the city best supplied with water in Europe.

⁴ It has been computed that the itinerary of Antoninus names 372 great roads, which united would have made a long route of 77,000 kilomètres or more than 50,000 miles.

originations of Rome, its law and military organization, the latter remained a very long time incomparable.

Under the Republic, when war was over the soldiers were disbanded; but after rivalry between Marius and Sylla, there was always some chief who found the means of keeping an army together. Octavius succeeded to all these forces; on the day after



Legionary soldier, *XII^a* *Gemina* legion. (From the Mayence Museum.)

Actium he was at the head of seventy-six legions. He dismissed all but twenty-five. Vespasian had thirty, a total at which they were kept for a long while.

Augustus declared these twenty-five legions permanent, and he stationed them in the provinces of the frontier, under the orders of legates nominated by himself and dismissible at will. To provide their pay he created new imposts, and established by the side of the public treasury a military chest, which regulated all the receipts and expenditure required by the army.

According to the list of the forces of the Empire presented to the senate by Tiberius, the twenty-five legions were located in the following manner: eight along the Rhine, three in Spain, two in Africa, two in Egypt, four on the Euphrates, and six on the banks of the Danube or the Adriatic coasts.¹

Thus all the military forces, except the garrison of Rome, were established permanently between the Empire and the barbarians, far away from the cities where discipline becomes relaxed. The camps, the fortified posts which connected immense lines of defence, served as a base of operations; and as there was no difference between a peace footing and that of war, as the legions were within reach of their magazines or arsenals, and as behind them extended their principal recruiting² ground, they were always ready for action.

¹ In the time of Dion Cassius, the efforts of the barbarians being directed upon the Danube, there were no more than four legions on the Rhine.

² In general the legions were recruited in the neighbourhood of the countries where they

The conception was grand and novel, and it was a marvellous spectacle to see this Empire armed in so formidable a manner on its frontiers and yet governed in the interior without a soldier.

Yet many of the provincials were so many vanquished of yesterday who still preserved the remembrance of lost liberty. But the Romans were not pre-occupied with a thought which is very strong with us, that of public order. They distinguished what belonged to the general interest from that which was only local or personal. It was quite possible that not all the roads were safe nor all the cities at peace; it occurred even in the commencement that through municipal rivalry, private wars sometimes broke out between two cities; the government was very little concerned about it, but left those interested to extricate themselves. But woe to the adventurer or the city which compromised the general order, or which rose up in arms against the Empire! Some cohorts were dispatched from the nearest frontier, and the repression was as prompt as terrible.



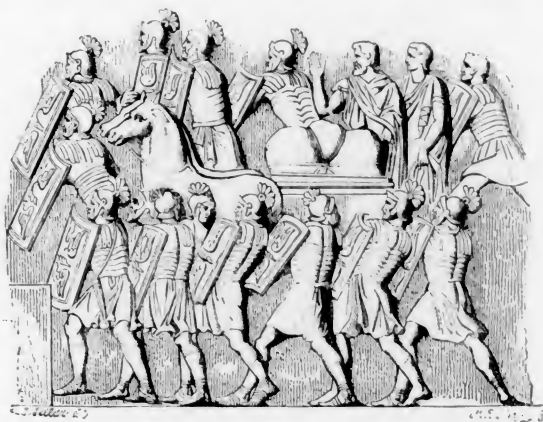
Legionary Cavalier. (Musée de Saint-Germain.)

We who have for so long a time been accustomed to expect the State to guard and act in our stead have multiplied indefinitely the small garrisons which destroy the military spirit, but are of great advantage to the cities which receive them. So we station soldiers everywhere, at the risk of the army being crumbled to pieces and its discipline relaxed. The Romans did nothing of the sort, and only stationed them in

stayed; but when a cohort or auxiliary squadron was levied it was a rule habitually followed to send this cohort to a distance from the places where it had been raised. There was no general law respecting recruiting. When those who volunteered were not sufficient the emperor ordered a levy in such or such a province.

the face of the enemy. Their legionaries had one duty only—war, one mode of life—that of camps, and this is why they became the best soldiers in the world.

Therefore it was quite exceptional that they were stationed in certain cities. When it was noticed that at Antioch, in the midst of that vain insolent population, equally incapable of being without a master and of keeping one, it was quite impossible to keep a soldier three months without his becoming effeminate or seditious,



Infantry escorting Baggage.

the garrison in that city was removed, although it was an important point for the defence of Syria.

According to Vegetius, the first cohort, which carried the eagle and the emperor's images, *divina et presentia signa*, had 1,105 foot soldiers and 132 horse; the nine others counted only 555 foot soldiers each and sixty-six horse. Total for the whole legion: 6,000 foot and 726 horse, which gives, for the time of Vegetius, a very much larger proportion of horse than in the ancient legions.

The Italians were exempt from military service;¹ yet there were some of them who wished to follow the career of arms. For them and the citizens who could not gain admittance into the legionary service special corps were created, *cohortes civium Romanorum*. The service in these was less severe than in the legions, the arms less heavy, the pay less tardy. Provincials, not being

¹ Herodian, II. ii. and iii. 7. Levies took place there only under very grave circumstances.

citizens, and allied kings or peoples furnished the *auxiliaries*, the number of which, varying according to need, was nearly equal to that of the legionaries. These squadrons (*ala*) and auxiliary cohorts habitually bore the name of the province or people who had furnished them.

Each legion, amounting with its auxiliaries to 12,000 or



An Auxiliary Horseman.¹ (Châlon-sur-Saône. Cast at Saint-Germain, No. 20,325.)

13,000 men, had its line infantry and its light infantry, which answers to our *tirailleurs*; its own cavalry and engines for hurling darts or demolishing ramparts, *i.e.*, field and siege artillery. It was a complete army, and our divisions are still organized in the same manner, though with different means. But it is worthy of

¹ The inscription, which contains many orthographical errors due to the stone carver, should read thus: ALBANUS EXCINCI F(ilius) EQVES ALA(e) ASTURUM NATIONE VBIVS STIP(endiorum) XII AN(norum) XXXV H(ic) S(itus) EST (instead of F carved by mistake) RUFUS FRATER ET AIRA (for *heres*): Albanus, son of Excincus, horseman of the wing of the Astures, Ubian by descent, having served twelve years and lived thirty-five, lies here—Rufus, his brother and heir.

remark that the Roman army was always in divisions, since the only formation it was acquainted with was the legion, which represents a French division.

The golden eagle which served it as a standard was the symbol of country, duty, and honour, and the soldiers paid it real worship. "The eagles," says Tacitus, "are the gods of the legions."¹

The smiths, *fabri*, whom we call the engineering corps, did not form part of the legion. They were divided amongst the military provinces, under the superior authority of the general who was their chief, *praefectus fabrum*, so that if the legion had no smiths to construct its engines and works of defence or attack, a corps was found in each military government, and these governments included all the frontier provinces where the armies were stationed.

This organization deserves attention. As every evening, in an enemy's country or in the neighbourhood of an enemy, the legions themselves formed their camp, with ditch and palisaded rampart, were it only to pass a single night there, they did not need special men to open a trench or dig a mine. This is a characteristic distinguishing the Roman soldier from ours.

The former was ready for everything, because he had been taught to do everything, even works of civil utility when war was at a stand. In this way Marius had, 2,000 years ago, by the *fossa Mariana*, set right "the incorrigible mouths of the Rhone," and we have recently scarcely repeated the undertaking by making the Saint Louis Canal, which up to the present time does less service. To turn Germany by the North, the soldiers of Drusus threw a part of the Rhine into Lake Flevo, and the *fossa Drusiana* has become the Yssel; Corbulo's soldiers dug a canal between the Meuse and the Rhine to render the inroads of the ocean less dangerous; Rufus opened up mines; one of Nero's lieutenants planned cutting the plateau of Langres to unite the Moselle and Saône by a canal, which was not completed till eighteen centuries after the idea had been entertained by a Roman. And I do not speak of roads and bridges constructed by the whole Empire, nor of harbours formed on all the seas, nor of marshes

¹ . . . *propria legionum numina* (*Ann.*, ii. 17).

drained and hill sides planted with vines by their hands, nor of those immense fortifications with which they had covered 2,000 leagues of frontier.

These unceasing works, of which history and inscriptions furnish a thousand proofs, were the great disciplinary means used by the Romans; the generals dreaded the inactivity of the soldier to such a degree that they ordered them to do useless works. Thus Frontinus, the author of the *Stratagemas*, praises the consul Nasica for having, during a winter, employed his legions in building a fleet of which he had no need.¹

The Roman army was called *exercitus*, i.e., the men who did work, and it has conquered the world as much with the pickaxe as with the sword.

To sum up, the most military people of antiquity had been led by the experience of centuries to lay down the following principles:

1. No small garrisons.
2. The union of soldiers of all arms into twenty-five or thirty *corps d'armée*, each of which was made up of a legion and its auxiliaries.
3. The stationing of the legions on the frontier, in face of and near to the enemy, in entrenched camps, the sites of which had been so well selected that many of these camps have become important cities,² and this army of 360,000 men was able, for three centuries, to make an immense frontier impassable, though bordered by greedy barbarians and even by powerful kingdoms.
4. Unintermittent works of civil or military utility imposed on the soldiers to keep up their physical strength and prevent inactivity and weariness, with the loss of discipline which is the consequence.
5. Lastly, a daily increasing importance of what we are

¹ They used to build even temples, porticoes, basilicas, and we read in the *Digest* that a proconsul was permitted to employ soldiers in the construction of public buildings in the provincial cities (*Digest*, i. 16, 7, § 1). In this case the cities provided the money spent. Thus a torrent swept away the road in the vicinity of Abila, near Damascus; the legate of Syria ordered the 16th legion to open up a new route in the mountain, *impendiis Abilenorum* (De Sauley, *Voy. en Syrie*, vol. ii. p. 596). The *legio IIIa Gallica* similarly cut through a mountain to make a road in Syria above the Lycus (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. 206, and many other examples).

² Respecting the *castra* originating cities, see L. Renier, *Inscr. de Troesmis*, p. 22, and the Memoir of M. Robert on the *Emplacement des armées romaines*.

obliged to call the siege and field artillery. It has been observed that "among the Romans the use of engines became more common in proportion as personal valour and military talents disappeared in the Empire; when it was no longer possible to find men, it was necessary to supply their place by instruments of a different kind." This observation seemed just in the time of Gibbon: now-a-days it is no longer so. Heroism in war changes its form without changing its nature, according as the struggle takes place hand to hand or at a distance, as happens with engines of war. With the latter the soldier needs qualities often harder to obtain than boldness and impetuosity. The progress of artillery among the Romans does not imply the decay of military spirit, but the progress of science as applied to warlike matters: the *Poliorcetic* of Apollodorus is the proof of this.¹

At Rome, in the grand period which formed the greatness of the State, military service was obligatory. It would not have been understood that what belonged to all should not be defended by all. The citizen having the full enjoyment of the freedom of the city was bound to arm and fight every time his country called upon him, and this obligation began as soon as the citizen had reached his seventeenth year.² The refusal to serve entailed the loss of property and liberty, sometimes death. Under Augustus a Roman knight who had mutilated his two sons to incapacitate them from serving was sold as a slave, and some refractory persons were executed.

The Republic had established another sanction: one might canvass for some public functions only after having passed ten years at least with the colours. The Empire for two centuries and a half kept to this principle, but by considerably reducing the duration of service.³

In the eyes of the Romans the army was so much the native land itself that the former was organized after the idea of the latter. The slave was not included as part of the civil society;

¹ See above, p. 21.

² Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, x. 28. In the second Macedonian war every man below forty-six was called out. (Livy, xliii. 14.) Under the Republic, therefore, military service was compulsory during a period of thirty years (17-46), so long as one had not made ten campaigns in the cavalry and twenty in the infantry.

³ See p. 242.

so also did he remain outside the military society, and any one who might be found in the ranks of the legion was punished with death. One class of citizens even were anciently excluded from the service, the very poorest, who, not paying taxes, had only illusory political rights. "That was quite just," says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, "for one ought not to intrust arms to citizens whose poverty offers no guarantee to the State." This condition fell to the ground at the beginning of the civil wars which killed the Republic, and Augustus did not again establish the exception or rather the exclusion to which the extremely poor had been subjected.

He preserved the distinction between the legionaries who had to be *citizens*, and the auxiliary corps composed of *peregrini*. In law, all who possessed the *jus civitatis*, except the Italians, were liable to military service, and the numerous cohorts¹ which they formed prove that volunteers were numerous enough, in ordinary times, to easily supply the annual vacancies in the legions.² As to the provincials, the government fixed, according to actual needs, how many soldiers each province ought to furnish,³ and as a basis was required for the apportionment, that was taken which was the chief administrative engine of the Romans, viz., the *census*. Recruiting became an impost which the proprietors had to pay in soldiers in direct proportion to their fortune. A rich man could be taxed in several recruits; several poor persons could be united to furnish one; even the women contributed.

This system arose from ancient customs. Before the Roman rule was extended beyond Italy the Italians were bound to arm a definite number of auxiliaries, and Polybius has preserved the total number of the quotas which were ready in 225 B.C. to join the Roman army to check the Gallic invasion. In the evil days of the Second Punic war the citizens were made chargeable, each in proportion to his property, for one or several soldiers, and Augustus twice had recourse to the same means. He compelled the rich of both sexes to set at liberty some of their slaves, so as

¹ We know the Thirty-second. (Or.-Henzen, Nos. 90, 512, 6,756.)

² This is not contradictory to what was said in vol. iv. n. 1, on p. 255. What Tiberius complained of was not a deficiency of volunteers but of efficient ones.

³ . . . *inductis per provincias tirocinii* (Amm. Marcell., xxi. 6).

to be able at once to enrol these freedmen in the cohorts.¹ The Republic had therefore left to the Empire the practice of levying soldiers from its subjects, and the means of rendering these levies less onerous by finding a general rule for them, *ex censu*. Augustus drew up without doubt a general rule to this effect. The State verified the age, the height, the bodily strength of the conscript: only the most vigorous were selected. Dion adds, "and the poorest."²

Religious service was represented by the victimarii and the aruspices; the sanitary service by medical men and veterinary surgeons. Each camp had an ambulance (*valetudinarium*).³

The pay was ten ases per day or 225 denarii per annum, 300 after Domitian, out of which clothing, arms, and tent, must be

¹ *Viri feminaeque ex censu libertinum coactae dare militem* (Vell. Patereulus, ii. 111). . . . *pecuniosioribus indictos et sine mora manumissos* (Suet., Oct., 25; Dion, liii. 31). Vitellius did the same (Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 58).

² . . . οἱ τε ἰσχυρότατοι καὶ οἱ πένιστοι (Dion, lii. 14). Dion well formulates this system: . . . τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἀνεν τε ὑπλῶν καὶ ἀνεν τευχῶν ζῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἱρρωμενιστάτους καὶ βίον μάλιστα θεωμένους καταλίγεσθαι τε καὶ ἀσκήν (lii. 27). Vegetius (i. 7, and ii. 4) says also: . . . *possessoribus indicti tirones*, and the *Digest* (l. 4, 18, § 3) reckons among the *munera* the *tironum productio*. Cf. Code of Theodosian, vii. 13, 7, and the Code of Justinian, xii. 29, 2.

³ Levies were made by the *dilector*, who acted in a more or less extended area, the *inquisitor*, who ascertained whether the recruit was fit for service, and the *legatus ad dilectus faciendos*, who centralized the work for a whole province and doubtless assembled the recruits there and sent them to their respective corps. (L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 86; Cuq, *Memoir on the Examinator per Italiam*, pp. 11-23, and the *Acta sincera*, p. 299.) Special commissions were given to legates (Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, vi. 1; *Bell. civ.*, i. 30), to senators (*ibid.*, i. 12). Cf. *C. I. L.*, iii. No. 1,457. *Missus ad juventutem per Italiam legendam*. Certain provinces supplied certain armies; e.g., in 64, levies were ordered in Narbonensis, proconsular Africa and Asia, to fill vacancies in the legions of Illyria in which many discharges had occurred. (Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 13.) As regards the total of the yearly recruiting, it can be determined in this manner: the thirty legions, with their auxiliaries, make up about 360,000 men. If the discharge had always been granted after twenty years' service, a twentieth of the effective force, or 18,000 soldiers, would have been discharged yearly, but for the reason I have given (vol. iv. p. 236) they dismissed the smallest number possible. Let us suppose that a third only was retained, there would be 12,000 vacancies to be filled up. But the annual losses by death, by retirement on half-pay, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 255), were doubtless the same as in our army, nearly four per cent., and rather below than above this estimate, because the soldiers never left at all what we should call their garrison. Now four per cent. on an effective force of 360,000 gives 14,400 dead, retired, etc. Let us put it at 13,000, and we shall reach the total of 25,000 annual recruits—a result reached by other calculations. Many inscriptions mention medical men as attached to the legions, auxiliary troops, the corps doing garrison duty in the city, and lastly to the fleet. They had the rank, pay, and rations of the petty officers, *principales*, and probably there was one for every 250 men. They were commonly Greeks. Each camp contained a *valetudinarium*, which Trajan and Alexander Severus found pleasure in visiting. There was even a *veterinarium* for the horses, and the ambulance had their attendants, *optiones valetudinarii* (Brian, *Du service de santé militaire chez les Romains*). An inscription of Lyons, No. 320, speaks of a *sacerdos castrensis*.

purchased and maintained. The State only furnished food, later on it also gave clothing and arms.¹ Each cohort had a savings bank administered by the *librarii* or accountants under the oversight of the tribune. The soldier invested in it the savings from his pay, his share of booty, and the *donativum* accorded by the emperor at his accession. The property of a deceased soldier without heir fell to the legion, as that of the decurion belonged to the curia. We have previously treated of the military colleges and their relief fund.

In the time of Polybius the centurion received only twice as much as the legionary and the tribune four times; in the second century the latter's pay was 25,000 sesterces, and we shall see Aurelian reach a much higher amount in this particular.

Under the Republic the military oath was taken in these terms: "In the army itself, or within a distance of ten miles, alone or with several, I will not take anything exceeding a sestertertius in value. Should I find outside the camp an object worth more than a sestertertius I will within three days deliver it up to the chiefs. Never shall fear make me quit the standard, and I will never leave the ranks except to pick up a javelin, strike an enemy, or save a citizen."²

Under the Empire they swore to carry out, without hesitation or fear, the emperor's orders, not to desert, and to die if it be necessary for the Roman people, and to do nothing contrary to the laws.³ This oath was renewed every year on the 1st January, and faithfully kept; for if we except the two years of anarchy (68-9), when the legions made three emperors, we shall find, in the space of more than two centuries, only three military insurrections, not



Centurion of Varus's Army (18th Legion). (Romm Museum. Cast in the Museum of Saint Germain.)

¹ Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.*, 52; Dion, lxi. 12. From the time of Polybius (vi. 39) the State gave 4 *modii* of corn per month, or 48 per year. The figure must have been raised and become the same as that of the distributions at Rome, viz., 60 *modii* per annum.

² Polybius, vi. 21 and 33.

³ Dion, lvi. 3; Vegetius, ii. 5.

one of which succeeded.¹ We must, be it understood, leave out the prætorians.

On reaching the camp the young soldier received a *signaculum* or medal, usually made of lead, which each soldier wore round his neck and which served to make him known, then he was handed over to the instructors and drill sergeants (*doctores armorum et lanistæ*). His armour was heavy; during the drill he used arms heavier than those used in warfare, and he was taught, says Vegetius, to thrust and not to cut. He was then practised in leaping, swimming, and even in a sort of warrior dance, which was thought suitable, by its rapid movements, to astonish and intimidate the adversary. He ought to be accustomed to clear ditches and hedges, to climb steep slopes, and to utter the war cry, that terrible *barritus*, "able of itself alone," says Cæsar, "to animate an army and frighten the enemy." The usual march was at the rate of six kilomètres (four miles) an hour, the quick march was thirty-six kilomètres (twenty-four miles) in five hours [which is incredible]. Three times a month they went out to march.

They practised drill as our men do; they had even what we call sham fighting. Josephus says, "They never suspend their drills; one might imagine them born with their arms." Even the name of the army, *exercitus*, told the soldiers as much.

But the great strength of the legions lay in their discipline, which Valerius Maximus calls "the most sacred discipline of the camps."² The soldier's obedience was absolute, and this respect for military law extended from the lowest of the legionaries up to the commander-in-chief. One day Trajan summoned a centurion to his tent, who later on became the next man in importance to the emperor. Some tribunes were collected at the entrance of the imperial abode waiting to be introduced. Instead of taking advantage of this favour, the centurion said to the prince: "It is a shame, Cæsar, for you to be in conversation with a centurion when some tribunes are standing and waiting at your door." This seems a small matter, but the spirit which it shows is admirable.

¹ Those of Scribonianus in Dalmatia against Claudius; of Antoninus in Germany against Domitian; of Avidius Cassius in Syria against Marcus Aurelius.

² Some gold coins represent Hadrian followed by soldiers bearing standards with the inscription: *Disciplina aug.* (Cohen, *passim*).

The disciplinary punishments were the reprimand, withholding pay, forced labour, degradation into an inferior service or grade, expulsion from the army. Thus Cæsar expelled a tribune who, in the expedition to Africa, had encumbered a ship with his baggage instead of putting soldiers into it.

Roman discipline admitted of corporal punishments, and very frequently the centurion's vine-rod fell on the shoulders of the legionary. There were frequent cases of capital punishment, which was pronounced without feebleness and executed without delay. The Romans knew that victory depends on discipline, and this on the rigorous observation of regulations, and that, to avoid having hesitating soldiers, *i.e.*, the certainty of defeat, there is need to place before those who fly the law with all its severities. The troop which had fled was decimated, and the coward was scourged or executed. The deserter was either thrown to the wild beasts or sent away with his hands cut off. Disobedience and treason received the same punishment.

By a strange inconsistency the Romans did not make the general's want of skill a crime; they believed too much in Fortune, Destiny, and Chance—divinities very obliging to human weakness, not to put down to the gods what proceeded from the incapacity of men.

Thus the Roman citizen, so free and proud under the Republic, whose hearth was inviolable and life sacred, who could not be scourged or put to death, even by the sentence of the entire people, was, in the interests of his country, placed under the severest military system.

I pass over the system of rewards. They were of two kinds. The soldiers were either given money, *donativum*, or arms, honorary collars, medals which recall our decorations, a very ancient usage, since it would have needed several men to bear those which had been given to Sicinius Dentatus, one of the victims of the decemvirs.¹

¹ Respecting the donations given under the Republic after every triumph, see vol. ii. pp. 11-13, and for Dentatus, vol. i. p. 181. An acephalous inscription preserved in the Capitol says that the person to whom it is dedicated, probably Sura, served under Trajan as legate propretor in the Dacian war, and there gained eight spears of honour (*hasta pura* or pointless), eight standards (*vestilla*), two mural crowns, two siege crowns, two naval crowns, two crowns of gold, and that the senate, at Trajan's request, decreed him the insignia of the triumph and a statue. Ordinarily a tribune could obtain only two spears and two standards; the legates,

Under the Republic the legionary could marry, because he was a citizen before all but a soldier by circumstance; but entrance to the camp was forbidden to women. Under the Empire this prohibition continued, and as the soldiers continued there all their life, or but little short of it, under arms, it entailed the prevention also of marriage, or at least of what the Romans called "lawful marriage," which alone had civil results and enabled a son to succeed to his father's rights. As compensation, Claudius accorded to the soldiers the privileges established by Augustus in favour of fathers who had three children. But nature asserted her rights and many illegal unions were formed and tolerated. Still it was only after having obtained his discharge that the veteran could exchange the *concubinatus* for the *justum matrimonium*, and that his wife became a matron and his children citizens.

The discharge from the legions was obtained only after twenty and, later on, twenty-five¹ years' service. Then the veteran received the sum of 12,000 sesterces, about 3,000 francs (£120): this was our retiring pension, which is such a heavy charge on the budget. He had the right to carry the centurion's vine stock, exemption from certain taxes, and from all the personal duties which were very numerous in the cities. If he was convicted he was allowed in the prison a separate and better place, he could not be put to the torture, condemned to be beaten with rods or thrown to the beasts in the amphitheatre.²

Instead of money, he was often on the frontier given a plot of land and a house, with the slaves and animals needful for its cultivation. We have done the same thing in Algeria, and we

governors of provinces, and generals, four; Sura had doubtless aided in the two Dacian wars in order to have gained a double reward. To these decorations, which were worn on holy days, were added collars, gold or silver chains, and bracelets; medals (*phalere*), which were objects of art, the mural, civic crowns, etc. For the general commanding the greatest military honour was the triumph. Orosius (vii. 9) reckons 320 of them from Romulus to Vespasian; there were about thirty more up to the last which was celebrated at Rome, that of Diocletian. (Eutropius, ix. 27.)

¹ *Quina et vicena stipendia* is the usual formula, but inscriptions mention soldiers who had served forty-five years (*C. I. L.*, iii. 266).

² These advantages were granted to those only who had obtained the *honesta missio*. We possess to this day seventy-three of these military discharges; the *honesta missio* assured the veterans of the auxiliary corps the *jus civitatis* and the *jus connubii*.—To complete what has just been said about the Roman army, see above, Hadrian's military reforms and his works of fortification on the frontiers.

ought to do it more generally. Many writers have wrongly seen in these grants the origin of fiefs. Sometimes the cities honoured these defenders of the Empire with a municipal benefaction. An inscription at Nîmes recalls the fact that the decurions have presented a veteran with a field near the walls, with fifty modii of corn to sow it, and free entrance to the city baths.¹

The legions with their auxiliaries represent the army of the line; the ten prætorian cohorts or imperial guard, under the command of one or two prefects, and the urban² cohorts, commanded by the prefect of the city, formed, as it were, its reserve. The prætorian cohorts were, at the beginning of the Empire, formed of volunteers come from Etruria, Umbria, Latium, and the most ancient Roman colonies; later on they were taken from the whole of Italy, the colonies of Spain, and those of the warlike provinces of Macedonia and Noricum.³ From Septimius Severus's time they were composed of the pick of the legions, who, we have seen, were recruited from all the provinces. Thus these soldiers, selected from the midst of the populations which had been the first attached to the fortune of Rome or which had proceeded from her midst, were, in the imperial army, the most Roman element; and as in their ranks were found the choicest of the legionaries, the legions themselves accepted them as representatives of the army, whilst they did not share with it either the rough work or the dangers. After Nero's death the legions of Germany had sent secret ambassadors to the prætorians with this message: "Choose an emperor whom we shall be able to accept." This right of election to the Empire exercised by the imperial guard as a delegation of the army did not hurt then, because, as the legions admitted none but citizens, it seemed as if the best part of the people was that which was under the standards.

The prætorians had three times the pay of the legionaries,

¹ Herzog, pp. 109-110.

² Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 5. Under Vitellius there were exceptionally sixteen prætorian cohorts and four urban, each with a thousand men (*id.*, *Hist.*, ii. 93); afterwards a return takes place to the total of ten prætorian cohorts with ten troops of cavalry. (Dion, lv. 24, and *Diplômes militaires* of M. L. Renier, Nos. 1, 2, 5 and 6, for the years 161, 208, 243 and 248.) The four urban cohorts of fifteen hundred men each were next in rank to the prætorians, as is proved by three inscriptions of Lyons, which mention a *XIIIa coh. urb.*

³ Dion, lxxiv. 2.

viz., two denarii a day, or thirty-two ases, in place of ten,¹ and a shorter length of service—sixteen years instead of twenty; but at first they did not get free rations. Nero gave these to them, and Domitian increased the pay of all ranks by one-third.² The pay of the urban guards was only half that of the praetorians. These troops protected the prince, Rome, and Italy, where several *stations* of praetorians have been recognized. Common opinion also ranked them above the legions; but the seven cohorts of guards,³ each containing 1,000



Ship laden with Troops, on a large Bronze of Hadrian.



Quadrirème, after the Reverse of a Bronze of Gordian III.
(Cabinet de France.)

men, perhaps 1,500, were ranked below, because they were made up only of freedmen.⁵ By uniting to these troops some veterans,

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, i. 17.

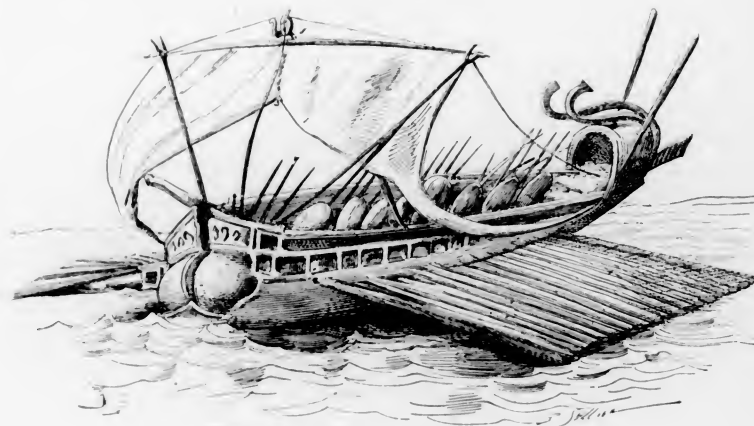
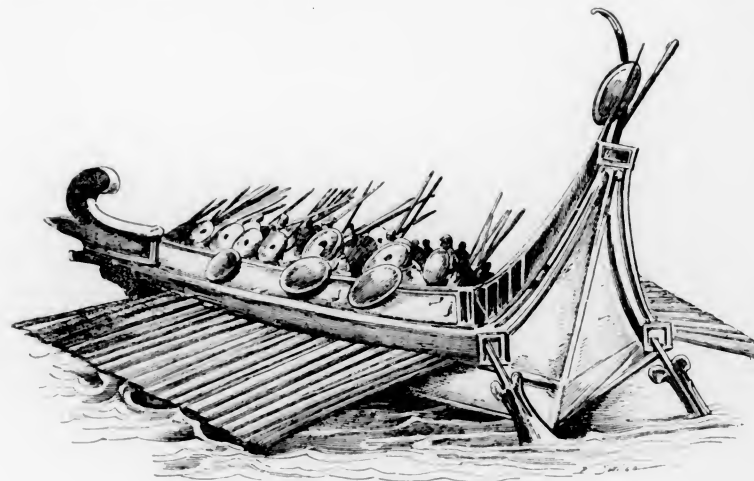
² Besides pay and rations the soldiers seem to have obtained in the third century uniforms also. Cf. Lampridius, in *Alex.*, and Vopiscus, in *Aurel.*

³ One for every two regions of the city.

⁴ This coin bears the inscription: TRAIECTUS AUG. (The crossing of the emperor). Cohen, No. 323.

⁵ By three years' service they could get the corn *tessera*, and consequently the full freedom of the city.

evocati, still remaining in the service; some German and Batavian horsemen, as the prince's body-guard; some *singulares* or the pick



Vessels of War.¹

of the auxiliary cavalry; some marines; some *frumentarii* granted to all the legions, and kept at Rome to fulfil different duties, we see that the capital of the Empire had a considerable garrison,

¹ Paintings of the temple of Isis at Pompeii, after Nicollini, vol. ii.

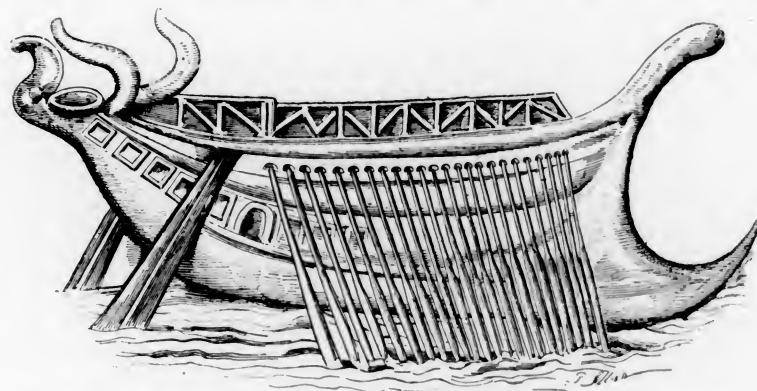
and a whole army ready to march to the Alps if any danger showed itself there.

The two prætorian fleets of Misenum and Ravenna guarded



Bireme. (Bas-relief of the Villa Albani.)

the Tuscan and Adriatic seas, and in case of need united their forces with two divisions of the imperial fleet, of which Fréjus



Long Ship with Fifty Oars, after a Mosaic found near Pozzuoli. (Jal, *Archéol. navale*, vol. i. p. 25.)

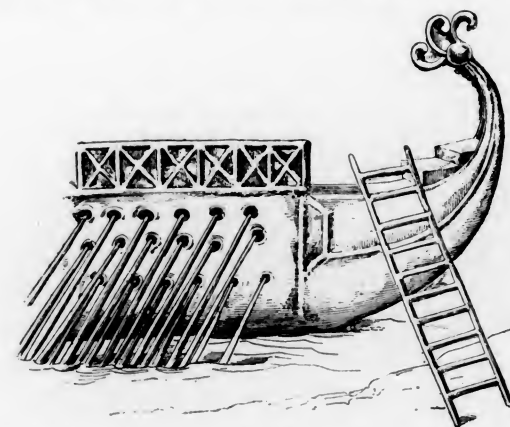
and Aquileia were the ports for equipment. The Euxine was guarded by forty vessels carrying 3,000 men; the Archipelago, the coasts of Syria and Egypt, the British Channel, by the fleets

of Carpathos, Seleucia, Alexandria, and Britain. The Rhine and Danube had powerful flotillas, and some light ships were stationed on the Rhône, Saône, Seine, even on the lakes of Como,



Bireme called the Imperial Galley. (Trajan's Column.)

Neufchatel, etc. The ships of the fleet were called galleys of three, four, and five banks of oars, *triremes*, *quadrirèmes*, and



Trireme (after an Ancient Painting of the Farnese Gardens; Turnbull, *Treatise on Ancient Painting*, 1740).

quinqueremes, according to the number of banks of oars or that of the men engaged in rowing. The rowing was done by gangs of freedmen and *peregrini*, recruited in the districts along

the sea and rivers, who got their discharge with the freedom of the city only after twenty-six years of service. These galleys had for rudder two large oars acting at the two sides of the stern,¹ and at the bows a ram. When fighting took place some legionaries came on board: their tactics were those to which our modern fleets are returning, viz., ramming the enemy.²

We shall see later on that this army, so long victorious, became unable to resist the barbarians. Already we can affirm that the separation set up by Augustus between civil and military society had had its inevitable consequences. First, it had been necessary to grant privileges to the soldiers as regards *peculium*, testaments, marriage, without speaking of the gratuities which changes in the succession procured them, as well as the adoptions, and all the great events in the life of the prince. In the second century they were already in the eyes of the rhetorician Aristides a special class, which he compared to that of the warrior caste under the Pharaohs. Juvenal mentions these advantages of military life, nor does he exaggerate when he points out "the man in a toga" asking justice in vain of the centurions against the soldier who has smashed his teeth or knocked out his eye. In Thessaly a legionary meets a gardener riding on an ass and addresses a question to him in Latin which the Greek does not understand. The former gets angry, strikes him, and throws him down, and then wants to seize his ass. This time the peasant regains his courage, makes a spring at the soldier's throat, upsets him, and thrashes him so soundly that he thinks him killed. He runs off to hide in a friend's house in the neighbouring town. But the soldier, having come to his senses, stirs up his comrades; they accuse the gardener of having stolen a silver vase; he is taken, condemned, and executed.³ This story, in which Apuleius wishes to picture

¹ The rudder is an invention of the Middle Ages. It is found for the first time on a medal of Edward III. (Marquardt, vol. iii. part 2, p. 396.)

² On the organization of the naval forces, see Ermanno Ferrero, *l'Ordinamento delle armate Romane*, pp. 23-65, and Corazzini, *Storia della mar. ital. antica* (Livorno, 1882). On the question so much discussed respecting the arrangement of the oars and of the rowers, the most recent work is that of L. Fincati, *le Triremi*, Roma, 1881. I do not profess to solve the problem, but Admiral Fincati seems to me to take an excellent starting-point when he says of the *poliremi antiche*, *le quali lentamente et successivamente modificate per gradi figliarono le veneziane, le siciliane, le genovesi del medio evo, che non ne furono, perciò nè poterono esserne se non una continuazione non interrotta ed una riproduzione fidele delle loro parti più importanti.*

³ Apuleius, *Metam.*, ix.

the insolence of the soldiery, must be as credible as Juvenal's representation. The same thing has taken place wherever the army has gained a preponderance in the State.

VI.—THE FINANCES.

Whence came the resources to build the monuments spread over the Empire? How were the expenses of the court met, and those of the administration and the army? We know whence the cities obtained their revenues, and their usual employment of the money; but we are not able to give the total of the receipts and expenditure. The State budget is as impossible to fix now as in the time of Augustus. We can simply declare that when the treasury¹ was not emptied by the senseless or shameful prodigalities of Nero and Vitellius it was rapidly replenished, and enabled the prince, after granting supplies for all the State services, to satisfy liberally the necessary expenditure for the splendour of the Empire.

We have already explained this financial organization; we shall need to return to it only at the period when the taxes, so light a burden for three centuries, will have become unbearable. For the early Empire it has no political interest, and from an administrative point of view a brief enumeration will suffice.

The services of religion cost little. The temples and priests were supported by foundations, the revenues from which covered the ordinary expenses of worship—the purchase of victims and the festivals. The State had only to furnish grants in aid to enable the solemn feasts to be more worthily celebrated, especially the public games, which in their origin were religious acts, and we have seen how light these grants were.

There was no body of judges nor diplomatic corps to pay, and the share of the State in the expenses of public education—an essentially municipal charge—was confined to the endowment of some professorial chairs and the support of the libraries of Rome and Alexandria. Private persons did the rest. The State expended more for the aid given by the *annona* and the *congiarii* to

¹ I say the treasury, for the emperor drew freely from three revenues: the *erarium publicum*, the *erarium militare*, and the *fiscus* (see vol. iv. p. 13), between which Dion declares (liii. 16) that there was no difference.

the people of the capital, and for the charity institution for the poor children of Italy. If it had not, as we have, a large sum of interest to pay on a national debt, it was compelled then, as now is the case, to set apart for works of general utility or embellishment, especially for the administration of the army, almost all the resources of the treasury.

Every prince considered it a point of honour to adorn Rome with some monument on which posterity could read his name, to carry out useful works in Italy, to aid provincial cities ravaged by any scourge, or to help them by a grant to the accomplishment of an enterprise.¹ Inscriptions furnish plenty of proofs. One of them even gives us, in reference to a grant by Hadrian for the repairs of a road, the cost of the work as 100,000 sesterces a mile.² From time to time the emperors made donations of another sort: Hadrian, on one occasion, gave up an arrear of taxes amounting to 900,000,000 of sesterces.



Temple of Rome, on a Coin of Hadrian. (Bronze.)

Even if we knew the total of the pay, and pretty nearly the number of soldiers, yet too many items are wanting for it to be possible to say what was the whole cost of the army. In our budgets they reckon about 1,000,000 of francs for 1,000 men with the colours; it is probable that the proportion between these numbers was about the same in the Roman Empire.³

The allowances or indemnities to the public functionaries of

¹ Friedländer has collected (vol. iii. pp. 122-127) a good number of figures showing the considerable sacrifices made by the emperors for this twofold form of aid. The Roman Republic had to pay for the transport of the corn which it farmed out to companies of publicans; under the Empire, especially in the later centuries, it transferred this duty to corporations of carriers by water, whom it paid by a grant of privileges and exemption from taxes; the corn from Egypt and the Oriental provinces was also conveyed to Constantinople by *possessores* who, in their native provinces, had not to furnish the *annonaria praestatio*. (*Code Theod.*, xiii. 5, 14.) The State thus gained the cost of transport, and lost nothing by it on the annona, the fellow-citizens of those exempted paying for them.

² Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 6287.

³ For regular pay alone we reach 1,800,000 denarii a legion. To this expenditure must be added the unknown sum needed for the double pay of a large number of soldiers; the allowances of the officers, which rose rapidly (25,000 sesterces to a legionary tribune); the donations to the veterans; the allowances in kind made by the State, and which will become daily more considerable (see Treb. Pollio, *Claudius*; Capitolinus, *Gordian III.*, 28; and Vopiscus, *Aurelian*); the repairs of engines, the body of workmen, the medical service, the *donativa*, only one of

every class must have required considerable sums.¹ What did the court spend? Less under good princes, more under the bad ones; but always a good deal, for the palace supported a whole body of servants and dependents, and we know that Claudius's physician received 500,000 sesterces as fees, and the preceptor of Augustus's grandson, 100,000.

The Romans asserted, as we do, that to provide the expenses of the common weal, the State had the right to impose a tax on anything that secured an advantage or a pleasure, and still more, that subjects owed the *tributum soli* for the ransom of the lands which victory had delivered up to their conquerors.² This was the theory of direct and indirect taxation. But whilst moderns derive their greater revenue from the latter, the Romans demanded it of the former. They levied this especially from landed property, which had to supply besides these contributions in money and forced labour, enormous payments in kind for the wants of the palace, the administration, and the army. Thus were they led to concede to the *possessores* privileges in exchange for the charges with which they were weighed down; so that the financial arrangements of this society became a new cause of separation between the classes of citizens.

1. *The Land Tax*.—The lands were divided according to their produce into different classes: lands of the first and second class, meadows, oak forests, ordinary forests, pasturage, pools, salt works, etc. On the roll, which was renewed every ten years, were inscribed the name of the domain, the names of the canton and city where it was situated, the number of acres of arable land; the number of trees, vines, and olives, which it contained; the extent of meadow and pasture land; the nation, the age, the employment of the slaves belonging to the property.³

The land tax was payable at three dates, 1st September, the beginning of the financial year, the 1st January, and the 1st May.⁴

which, that of Hadrian, after the adoption of Verus, was 300,000,000 sesterces, etc. I have already remarked that the *donativum* was a relic of the triumphal gold.

¹ See above, p. 530.

² Dion, lii. 28.

³ Ulpian in the *Digest*, l. 15, 4.

⁴ These were the dates on which, after Augustus, corn was distributed at Rome, and, after Domitian, the soldiers received their pay. (*Suet.*, *Oct.*, 40.)

The corn required for the *civic annona*, which supported Rome, and for the *military annona*, supplied to the army and State functionaries, was in reality only a part of the land tax. It was the same case also with the *cellaria*, or deliveries of wine, meat, oil, vinegar, wood, forage, and clothing.

The Romans settled in the provinces had to pay the *tributum soli* which was fixed on the land, not on the person,¹ but Italy did not pay this.

2. *The Capitation Tax.*—This, on the one hand, affected merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and all those who, not being landed proprietors, possessed capital or personal property; on the other hand, those who helped these in preserving their goods or increasing them, as the wife, the child of full age, the peasant labourer, the slave. For the first the capitation tax was proportional to their property; for the rest, it was only a personal payment. In Syria, according to a text in Ulpian, girls below twelve and boys below fourteen, old men over sixty-five, were exempt from this tax;² but, if Dion is to be believed,³ beggars had to deduct somewhat from their income for the *fiscus*. Doubtless the point in question regarding these beggars is that of which Lucian speaks, that in their wallets were found gold pieces, mirrors, perfumes, and dice.⁴

3. *The Twentieth on Inheritances and Legacies.*—This contribution was for Italy and the Roman citizens the redemption of the land tax and capitation charge. Moreover, when the succession of a citizen comprised a provincial domain, it is probable that his heirs were not liable, for this part of the heritage, to the tax of the twentieth, since it had already paid the *tributum soli*.

4. *The Revenues from the Domain Lands.*—The ancient *ager publicus* had been greatly reduced by sales and the foundation of colonies; yet the domains of the *fiscus*, which formed as it were the endowment of the crown, were still considerable, and these revenues were added to those which the prince's private fortune,

¹ . . . *in vectigalibus ipsa præsidia, non personas conveniri* (Rescript of Antoninus and Verus in the *Digest*, xxxix. 4, 7). So the heritor of property was liable for the frauds committed by his predecessor. *Fraudati vectigalis crimen ad heredem . . . transmittitur* (*ibid.*, 8).

² *Digest*, l. 15, 3, *proœm*.

³ lxxvi. 8.

⁴ Lucian, *Piscat.*, 45.

increased by that which his predecessors had left, gave to him.¹ Thus Augustus had taken in Egypt, as his share of the conquest, the royal domain of the Ptolemies. Almost all the mines, quarries, and salt works, belonged to the prince, and his procurators farmed out the working of them for ten per cent. of the produce.² The treasury found a resource of a certain importance by the sale of what remained in the warehouses of the corn paid as tribute, after the regular distributions, and in the coinage of silver and gold which had become a useful due. The emperors had left it to only a small number of Greek cities.³ In the legislation of the Early Empire there were never any exceptions for sacred things, nor for the public domain of the Roman people or of the cities,⁴ and the claims of the treasury were the first charge before all others; but we have seen on several occasions that these properties were not inalienable, as our [French] royal domain professed to be.

5. *Indirect Taxes.*—These were derived from the circulation of commodities or merchandise, the transfer of certain properties, and some acts of civil law. The principal were: the customs, which were habitually deducted at the State frontiers and in certain groups of provinces, both on entrance and exit, two and a half per cent. *ad valorem* on merchandise,⁵ even on eunuchs and wild beasts intended for the combats in the arena; one per cent. on everything sold, except on articles for consumption bought in the markets of Rome; two per cent. on the price for slaves; five per cent. on that of freedmen; dues charged on markets opened by the authorization

¹ Pliny (*Epist.*, x. 75) transmits Trajan a will in favour of Claudius, and speaks of legacies made to this prince as belonging to his ninth successor. The sources whence the treasury derived an increase of revenue were numerous. The *Digest* (xlix. 14, 1) enumerates fourteen of them, and does not include them all.

² Suet., *Tib.*, 49; *Code Theod.*, x. 19, 10 and 11.

³ Twenty-five cities are reckoned to have coined silver money, only one, Caesarea in Cappadocia, coining gold (Eckel, *Doctr. num.*, iii. p. 187). The Roman senate had bronze money coined.

⁴ Gaius in the *Digest*, xli. 3, 9. In 491 Anastasius admitted, for all public or private property, a prescription of forty years.

⁵ . . . *præter instrumenta itineris omnes quadragesimam publicano debeant* (Quintilian, *Declamatio*, ccclix.). The three African provinces must have been subjected to much lower rates of customs if the tariff of Zraia was that of the imperial customs. The *Digest* (xxxix. 4, 16, § 7) gives a list of the products of the East and Africa . . . *pertinentes ad vectigal*. All the indirect taxes, that is, those levied on things, or attaching to an act, were comprised in the *vectigalia*. (Cagnat, *des Impôts indirects chez les Romains*, p. vi.)

of the prince or senate,¹ and on bridges and roads;² a number of other imposts of small importance which often varied; lastly, property lapsed or fallen into escheat, testamentary legacies, the produce of penalties, confiscations, mines, quarries, and salt works owned by the State or individuals.³

6. *Coronary gold* offered by the cities to the emperor as a gift on some joyous event, or on the occasion of a victory, as under the Republic they offered such to the proconsuls. The good princes often refused it; the bad, on the contrary, invented, like Caracalla, triumphs over the barbarians to demand it several times.⁴

7. *Payments in kind* or the corn for the *annone* and the *cellaria*, which we have reckoned in the *tributum soli*, the horses and carriages for the public post, the entertainment of soldiers and functionaries travelling at the prince's orders, the maintenance of highways, the repairs of aqueducts,⁵ the cleansing of canals, the conveyance by land of victuals for the use of the army, etc.

No one can say what all these imposts amounted to. But it

¹ Wilmanns, *Ephem. epigr.*, ii. p. 271.

² *Vectigal quod in itinere præstari solet* (*Digest*, xxiv. 1, 21).

³ *si salinas habet pupillus* (*Digest*, xxvi. 9, 5). See in Hirschfeld, *Röm. Verwalt.-gesch.*, pp. 72-91, and in Flach, *la Table de bronze d'Aljustrel*, how wisely the working of the State mines was conducted in the Early Empire. The State, as proprietor of mines and quarries, worked them directly, as well as the quarries of Egypt and the mines of Carthage, by convicts or slaves, who were guarded and kept in check by a large body of officers and soldiers. Or sometimes it handed over the working of them to grantees, who attracted to the neighbourhood of the works, for the wants of the workmen, merchants and manufacturers of every sort. But these mines and quarries were such as were situated in desert and thinly-populated places, and free merchants could only be attracted thither by granting them important advantages. Thus, as appears by the curious inscription of Aljustrel, discovered in 1876, in a mountainous region of the district of Beja, in Portugal, shoemakers, fullers, barbers, bathers, schoolmasters, etc., admitted within the confines of the mine, had a monopoly of their calling, and were authorized to exact a penalty from every competing stranger, and even to seize for their own profit their business implements. This inscription belongs to the first century of the Christian era: the organization which it indicates, more profitable to the State than its own direct undertaking, must have existed in other concessions. Now, the mines and quarries, the property of the State, existed in large numbers. The monopoly, therefore, existed early for a multitude of businesses. There will be no need of astonishment if we see it later on invading the whole world of labour, with its inseparable accompaniment of minute regulations which will produce torpor and then death where free competition would have preserved life.

⁴ Dion, lxxvii. 9.

⁵ A senatus-consultum of the year A.U.C. 741, quoted by Frontinus, proves that dwellers near aqueducts were compelled to furnish, at the order of arbitrators, all that was required for the repairs of the aqueducts, and to permit, without compensation, ways to be made over their fields for the transport of the materials. The maintenance of highways was obligatory on the dwellers near them (*Code Theod.*, xv: 3, 1, *ann.* 319), and this obligation is the origin

is of little importance to know the exact total of the public revenue, because this total, which has only a relative value, is very small among poor nations and can be very high in a rich State. It is sufficient to affirm that, in the two centuries which we are considering, we find no serious complaint arising,¹ and this means that the imposts were not out of proportion to the resources of



Inscription carved on the Base of a Statue erected to Tiberius by the Augustales of Pozznoli.

the tax-payers, and that public wealth was developed under the numberless forms which it can take in a great civilized State. Finally, we know that an economical prince could in a few years make considerable savings. At an interval of more than a century Tiberius and Antoninus left in the treasury nearly the same sum, 745,000,000 francs.²

of our forced labour and payments. The magistrates were armed with the necessary powers for carrying out these works (Ulpian in the *Digest*, xlviii. 8, §§ 8, 17 and 25). The powers of our town magistrates in the matter of public roads, etc., seem based on those of the Roman magistrate.

¹ Men have cited, as proof of the contrary, the petition of the fishermen of Gyarus begging of Octavius a reduction of a third on their tribute of 150 drachmas. (Strabo, x. v. 3.) But Antony had just ruined Asia and Greece with imposts; therefore it is not astonishing that Gyarus should feel itself overburdened. The peoples paid less than under their national kings: thus the tribute of Cappadocia was reduced by one-half at the death of its last king (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 42 and 56), and the same in Macedonia. Besides, the Romans having for a long time kept to the terms of the ancient treaties, the depreciation of gold had of itself brought about a diminution of the tribute.

² Suet., *Cal.*, 37.

The financial system which has just been explained differs greatly from our own, although it has left us many usages. The taxes continued under the Early Empire what they had been under the Republic—a consequence of victory, a right of conquest. Thus the senate, then the emperor, had the free and absolute disposition of them in the interest of the conquering people, who for a long time constituted a privileged nation in the midst of the conquered. This explains how the Republic transferred to the Empire its double system of imposts in money and kind, established over the landed property of the provincials, whom it will in the end destroy.

Another difference: the modern State demands only money payments of its subjects, and with this revenue it performs all the public services, leaving but two of a personal kind: serving on juries and in the army. The Roman State took a good deal of money from its subjects, but it was part of the municipal usages of old Italy and of antiquity generally to have as a personal charge on the citizens a number of obligations belonging to the common weal, from certain public offices, from which soon there will no longer be liberty of exemption, to the payments and contributions of labour, which will become so multiplied as to change the Empire into an immense workshop of indolent hereditary workmen. This system will seem to simplify everything, while obliging every one to do the work and to furnish the supplies needful for the public wants and it will be thought very economical. On the contrary, it will cause extreme confusion, a frightful waste of strength and materials, a very unequal division of offices, and in a great degree the forfeiture of individual liberty.

At the period to which we are confining ourselves the financial system of the Empire had not yet had any evil results. Means were found of satisfying every want by taxes which did not ruin the taxable material by the extent of the burden, and the demands were not oppressive. In the provinces were prosperous cities; on the frontiers, a formidable army; the people willingly rendered obedience, and their veneration for Rome and the emperors was more sincere than was, in our ancient monarchy, the sacredness of royalty. Formed in the same manner by the substitution of the power of one for that of many, the two governments were terrible

to the great, mild to the humble, with the alternations, in the case of both, of good and bad princes. As regards the Empire, the good ones ruled for nearly a century; but madmen and weaklings will soon reappear and resume that absolute power which is so dangerous in the hands of the violent. In a few generations the free institutions of the cities will have been destroyed; the admirable war machine of the Antonines will be so deteriorated as to become powerless; the treasury will dry up the sources of public wealth; and when days of misfortune arise there will not be found in this wretched crowd either a soldier or a man. Then when contemplating this shattered colossus covering the world with its ruins, we shall recognize the fact that peoples, like individuals, are the architects of their own destinies, and that in the case of both good fortune is the product of wisdom and misfortune of improvidence.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

MANNERS.

I.—THE ECONOMICAL REVOLUTION PRODUCED BY THE CONQUEST OF THE WORLD; PERIOD OF THE GREATEST ROMAN LUXURY.

WE have just seen that this immense Roman Empire, considered as a whole, had many causes of prosperity: respect in the family, discipline in the city, industry and a relative wealth in the provinces; moreover, in the second century, prudent princes and a skilful administration in the government, which for the time neutralized the disastrous effects of absolute power.

But did not these fair appearances conceal a fatal or hideous evil? Was not this grandeur undermined by an insane luxury which destroyed private fortunes, and by a depravity of morals which destroyed the human soul?

Rome exercises over the human mind a sort of fascination which alters the proportions of men and things. Livy and Corneille have made the heroes of ancient days appear too great; we do as they did, but inversely by placing too low the Romans of the Empire. The fault arises from that scholastic rhetoric which took for the usual text of its declamations the merits of poverty¹ and the dangers of riches, the virtues assured by the former and the vices given by the latter: common-place observations which for our misfortune Rousseau took up again and which the multitude repeat.

First of all, neither vice nor virtue is of necessity attached to poverty or riches, for if misery and good-fortune are sometimes bad advisers, there are men who possess wealth without being at all held captive by it, as there are others whose poor abode has never sheltered an evil thought. Then, the manners of ancient

¹ This is the note which dominates in the whole of Latin literature, from Lucretius to Apuleius in his *Apology*. See the absurd letter of Seneca (No. 90) against the mechanical arts.

Rome were necessarily those of poverty, and by an inevitable change the new manners of the Empire were those of wealth or at least of competence. Lastly, if one puts aside some noisy exceptions, such as are always produced, this luxury was not more extravagant than ours, nor the fortunes of these days greater than those which among ourselves are worth titles and orders to their fortunate owners. In the present review we are not discussing a thesis of philosophy, but a question of social economy. We seek the truth and the political consequences of facts reduced from their legendary proportions to their real importance. When we have shown that this luxury among the Romans was confined to some cities, and this wealth to some families, even to a certain period, we shall be led to think that follies to which 100,000,000 of men remained strangers were not those which brought ruin upon the Empire.

The censors believed ancient and rude manners to be necessary to the Republic, and they would have been so if Rome had continued a city of labourers instead of becoming the capital of the world. They proscribed the growing luxury in dress and the table, the ladies' ornaments, the articles of gold, certain dishes, nay, the fattening of poultry, which seemed to them a public danger.¹ Even under Tiberius the ædiles wished to revive the



Vase in the shape of a Head forming part of a Roman Lady's Set of Jewels.

edicts fixing the price allowed to be spent on every dish and the number of dishes for each repast. At this news there was a great flutter in the city: "It was feared," says Tacitus, "that the prince, a man of antique frugality, might visit transgressions too severely."² With his usual wisdom Tiberius smiled gravely at the Spartan zeal of the ædiles; he pointed out to them that Rome required the provinces in order to live; that to destroy the established relations would be to upset the State; that, in short, it was dangerous to make laws which would so quickly be forgotten or despised.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, x. 71.

² *Ann.* iii. 51-54: . . . ne princeps antiquæ parcimoniæ durius adverteret.

In fact the commerce of the Romans had been extended with their conquests. They had soon learnt where the most precious marbles, the finest woods, the most supple textures, the most



Jewel Case of a Roman Lady. (Silver Box found at Rome in 1793).¹

delicate viands were found; and victory having given them treasures accumulated for centuries by kings and peoples, they found themselves all at once rich, as were the Spaniards after the con-



Ornamental Details of the Box.

quest of Peru. Then took place what has been seen under similar circumstances, viz., a desire to be better lodged, better clothed, and better fed. In the place of the stout tunic of coarse wool the descendant of Cincinnatus wore a fine Milesian stuff dyed in Tyrian purple, and the daughter of the strapping housewife, who pounded the corn and kneaded the bread for the family, covered her head, neck, and arms with precious pearls.² The small

¹ Blacas Collection. *Lettera di Visconti intorno ad una antica suppelletile d'argento scoperta in Roma nell'anno 1793*. Roma, 1822, in 4to.

² See the toilette of Lollia Paulina in Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, ix. 58.

the roe-deer of Ambracia, the pheasants of Colchis, and the peacock of Persia, the Egyptian flamingo, and the guinea-fowl of Numidia, in fine, a thousand things paid for dearly and brought from afar, yet not so far as we go to procure the tea of China and the coffee of Arabia, the sugar of America and the ivory of Central Africa, the silk of Japan and the diamonds of Brazil. Pliny feels annoyed at the preparing of cold drinks by buying from the peasants of Abruzzi their mountain snow to mix with the wine.¹ We have no right to share in this virtuous indignation, who, without believing ourselves blameworthy, obtain our ice from Norway and Canada and send it as far as India.

Let us allow, without attaching blame to them for it, the Epicurean Sallust, and Varro, and Seneca, and Pliny the Elder, to feel scandalized because land and sea were scoured to give some momentary pleasures to a few voluptuaries.² With the security which prevailed everywhere, industry and commerce necessarily promoted the distribution of a number of productions which might be enjoyed without disgrace. Many used them properly; some with excess, and therefore badly, and wasted gold in vain show, like that fool who, under Nero, spent, it is said, upon roses at a festival 4,000,000 sesterces, which naturally went to the peasants of Campania who had learnt the art of growing these roses.³ Has England ceased to be England because the descendant of those whose life was so needy and hard in the time of Queen Elizabeth crosses the sea in a pleasure yacht much more comfortable and finer than ever Cleopatra possessed, buys our statues and pictures at a very high price, and without being excited loses at the Derby £20,000 in a bet for or against a horse?⁴ This bet is a bad use of a fortune which passes from one hand to another without doing

¹ The ancients do not seem to have known our ices. (Daremberg, *Oribaze*, i. 625.) [But probably the Italian *granita*, made with snow and flavoured with fruit.—*Ed.*]

² *Vescendi causa* (Sallust, *Cat.*, 13); *epulas quas toto orbe requirunt* (Seneca, *ad. Helv.* 10); *insatiabilis gula* (*id.*, *Epist.*, 89), etc.

³ Suet., *Nero*, 27. We already knew of the twice blooming roses . . . *biferique rosaria Pæsti* (Virgil, *Georg.*, iv. 119, and Martial, *Epig.*, xii. 31). They were imported from Egypt; but this trade declined when roses in greenhouses began to be cultivated in Italy. Martial (*ib.*, vi. 80, and xiii. 127): "The rose was formerly a spring flower, now a winter one."

⁴ The Romans were also addicted to betting: *Quum sponsio . . . de Scorpo fuerit et Incitato* (Martial, *Epigr.*, xi. 1). Scorpis was a groom of the circus, and Incitatus, the name of Caligula's horse, refers probably to the race horses on which there was betting.

any good to the community in its passage; but this man, who has probably as many vices and virtues as his grandfather, has not the same manners because his surroundings are different. Wealth taking in his case the place of poverty, has changed the conditions of his existence; it has not necessarily degraded his nature, and as his country has gained in political liberty what it has lost in rudeness of manners, England has grown instead of becoming less. The Roman Empire would have had the same fortune if it had possessed similar compensations.

Antiquity twice witnessed the economical phenomenon which has occurred twice also in Europe, in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, when enormous quantities of the precious metals were suddenly put into circulation. Alexander set free the treasure accumulated in bullion by the monarchs of Chaldaea, Assyria, and Persia—more than £20,000,000 in hard cash. Western Asia was inundated with it, and its commerce and manufactures received a powerful impetus from this. A good part of this wealth came to the Romans by the conquest of Macedonia, Pergamus, Syria, and Egypt. Add to this all that the proconsuls found to seize in Sicily, Carthage, Spain, Gaul,¹ and what Caesar distributed among his legionaries when he had forced the doors of the *sanctius ararium*. It was the product of the labour of ten centuries which the pillage of the civilized and barbarian world had heaped up in the capital of the world, in the hands of the families which shared the commands.

The period of the greatest luxury at Rome reaches from Lucullus to Nero, or from the conquest of Western Asia to the Civil War which followed the extinction of the house of the Cæsars. Then were exhibited all the extravagances of a nobility who in the intoxication arising from their good fortune neither knew how to govern the provinces, their wealth, nor themselves. Lucullus and Cæsar under the Republic, Caligula and Nero under the Empire, represent this new position of the patriciate, the former, with the elevated tastes of great lords fond of arts and

¹ The pillage of Carthage brought into the Roman treasury 726,000 pounds of gold and 867,000 pounds of silver (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxxii. 17), or 750,000,000 francs. Marius brought from Numidia nearly 34,000,000 francs; Cæsar, from Gaul, more than ten times as much, etc.

letters, the two latter, with the insensate passion of tyrants who desired that nothing should appear beyond their caprices.¹

The greatest fortunes with which we are acquainted for these days and the whole Roman epoch belonged to the augur Lentulus, under Tiberius, and the freedman Pallas, under Claudius, viz., 300,000,000 sesterces; that of Narcissus, in Nero's reign, reached 400,000,000. This makes for the two former about 3,000,000 sterling, and for the third over 4,000,000. The property of the famous Apicius was only a quarter of what Narcissus possessed, that of Crassus only the half.² How many private individuals are there far richer than these in England, the United States, and even Russia? One of our bankers was ten times richer.³ But as the value of money was then much greater than now, whilst the mass of the population was much poorer, the distance between the

¹ We have seen (vol. iv. p. 61), Nero's Golden House: Vitellius found it to be unworthy of him (Dion, lxx. 4). Pompeius Paulinus, who had the command on the banks of the Rhine in 58, had transferred thither a service of plate weighing 12,000 pounds (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxxiii. 50). In 1868 there was found at Hildesheim, in Hanover, a treasure composed of sixty pieces of silver plate, some of which are very fine.

² Although a senatus-consultum had re-enacted the penalties of the *lex Cincia* against advocates who received money from their clients (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 42), Eprius and Crispus had, from the time of Caligula to Vespasian, gained by their eloquence 300,000,000 sesterces (*id.*, *Orat.*, 8); but there was included in their fortunes much gold from proscribed persons.

³ We have seen (p. 475, n. 2) that the intrinsic value of the denarius and sesterius has varied considerably under the Empire, but that their nominal value, instead of being represented by the quantity of silver which these pieces contained, was represented by the quantity of gold corresponding: 1 denarius and 1 sesterius meant less than $\frac{1}{25}$ and $\frac{1}{100}$ of the aureus. Now, the metallic value of the aureus varied but little in the two first centuries. By taking an average from Augustus, 26 fr. 87 c., to Marcus Aurelius, 25 fr. 08 c., we obtain 25 fr. 97 c.; and this makes the 300,000,000 sesterces, considering solely the metal employed, exceed £3,000,000. The fortune of the Rothschild family certainly exceeds a milliard, and it is asserted that the Duke of Westminster has two or three times as much. It is certain that the Duke of Buccleuch derives from his lands alone in Scotland an annual revenue of 4,603,550 francs (£160,000) (*Economiste franç.* of 23rd May, 1874). As regards the exchangeable value, that is to say, the purchasing power of money, this is difficult to fix. Luxuries were very dear, and things necessary to support life were low in price; and this means that the purchasing power of money was weak in respect of the former, which were rare, and great as regards the latter, which abounded. In France one can board, dress, and, away from great cities, be lodged at a cheap rate, while to live in luxury is very expensive; it must have been the same in the Empire. According to Martial (xii. 76) the amphora of wine cost 20 ases, and the modius of corn 4; but these prices are absurd, which the poet employs to sharpen the epigram against the drunken labourer and the gourmand who eats and drinks his harvest instead of selling it. Yet we are authorized in concluding from a number of known facts that bread and wine were cheap. See *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 790, n. 4. Varro says (*de R. R.*, iii. 2) that the best meadows paid a rent in Cæsar's time of 300 sesterces an acre, or about 75 francs: this is still the price at which an acre of meadow land is let in France. Papinianus fixes the legal price of a slave at 20 aurei (*Digest*, iv. 31, and xl. 4, 47); it is now 750 francs in the bazaars

condition of the latter and that of a few seemed much more considerable. Hence the wonder and the scandal. Yet the distance rapidly diminished. Born of pillage, this fortune derived from chance could not be renewed at the expense of subjects, under a government which caused their property to be respected, nor at the expense of strangers, because Rome having, during the time of the Republic, subjected all the rich nations, had under the Empire to fight only with poor nations. Instead of taking from these latter their gold, it was Rome who gave them its own by commerce¹ and the pensions paid to their chiefs.

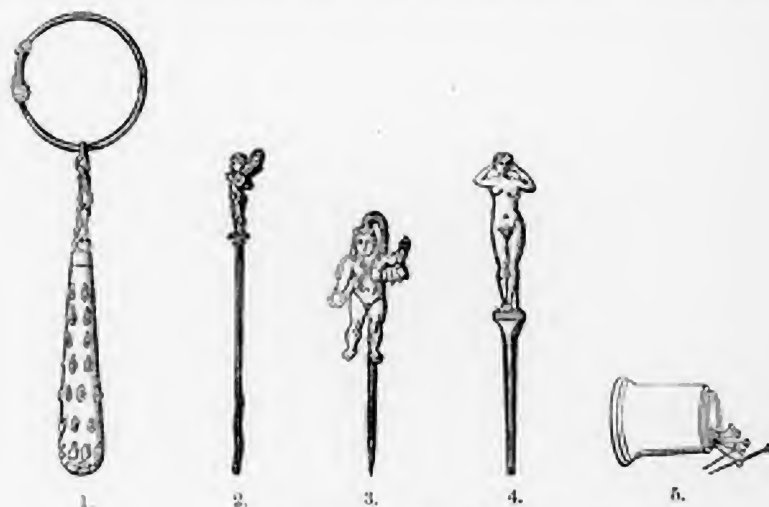
The sources whence the gold was obtained being closed, and those by which it flowed out being widely opened, riches by degrees escaped from the hands in which victory had placed them. Some were ruined by luxury and debauchery, others by confiscations. A part of the senate had already been pensioned by Augustus, and Tiberius, as we have seen, was obliged, in spite of his parcimony, to come to the aid of several noble personages. The grandson of Hortensius, who had obtained 1,000,000 sesterces from the first emperor, was still a beggar under the second, who gave 200,000 sesterces to each of his four children. The hand was outstretched without shame. Verrucosus begs the prince to pay his debts; others hand in to the senate the list of their creditors to gain the sympathy of the assembly for their misery. Some refuse magistracies because they cannot meet the expenses which those demand; others are glad that Claudius turns them out of the senate because of their poverty. Augustus and Tiberius had previously carried out a similar measure. There is scarcely an emperor who has not had to endow many senators with the 1,200,000 sesterces required for sitting in the senate. When Vespasian came to power the two first orders were all but destroyed; he was obliged to form a new nobility out of provincial families. Yet not all families

of Constantinople and Cairo. The price of saddle-horses in Numidia was in the fourth century 400 denarii. For the price of houses in the cities, even in the neighbourhood of Rome, and respecting what is understood as a small competency, see below, pp. 508 *et seq.*, the paragraph relative to the smaller industries.

¹ One day, says Pliny, Nero sent a Roman knight with a large sum of money to buy up all the amber that he could find on the coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic. The Germans also did a large trade with Rome in flaxen hair. Roman coins circulated among the Germans, and even in Scandinavia. There have been discovered in Scania 550 silver denarii, the series of which begins at Nero and ends at Septimius Severus. (*Revue numism. belge*, series v. vol. iii, p. 325.)

could find the means for cutting a fine figure at Rome, if we can believe Juvenal when showing us praetors, tribunes, descendants of illustrious houses, begging for the sportula at the gate of some rich freedman, and who calculate at the end of the year how much their scanty income has been augmented by this daily allowance.¹

The emperors themselves, and I refer to the best, were not always free from embarrassment. They were rich when the treasury was administered with the strictest economy or when con-



Articles of a Woman's Toilette.²

fiscations filled it. But those who confiscated were those also who squandered. We have seen that Caligula and Nero were hard up, and they deserved to be so. But Galba was economical from necessity as much as by nature; on the accession of Vespasian the government was quite at a standstill. Nerva passed through a like crisis, and Marcus Aurelius was obliged to sell the jewels, the furniture of the palace, and even the wardrobes of the empresses.

¹ . . . *Ipsos Trojagenas . . . da praetori, da deinde tribuno* (l., 100-101).

² 1. Case and gold bracelet (half-size), found at Panticapaea. (St. Petersburg Museum.) 2. Gold pin surmounted by a Cupid playing a flute. (Louvre Museum.) 3. Gold-headed pin, found at Pompeii. (Naples Museum.) 4. Ivory pin in the Naples Museum. 5. Pin box found at Pompeii. (Naples Museum.)

A phenomenon then took place which has not been sufficiently noticed. From Lucullus's time to Nero the gold got from conquest remains in the hands of a few, which allows therefore all sorts of follies; then it becomes divided and scattered, and by a natural bias goes, according to the needs of luxury, to those who produce or import what luxury requires.

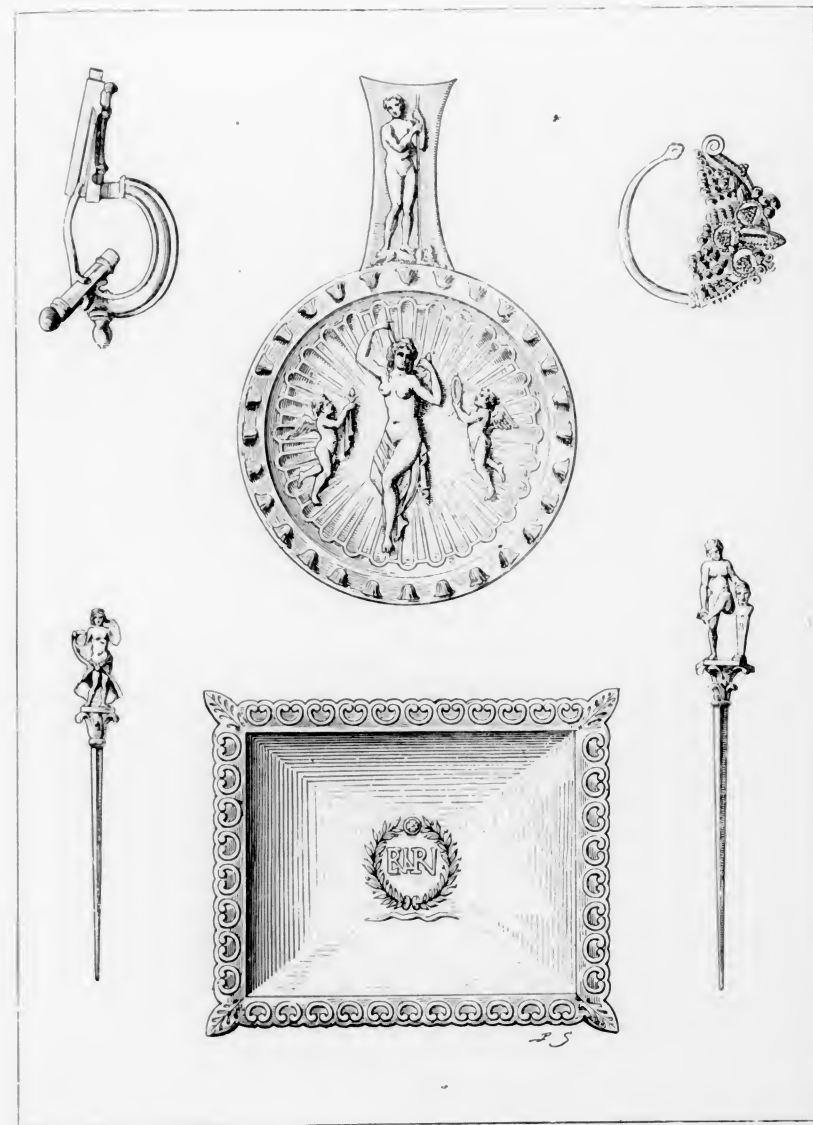
"When the kitchen is fat," says Franklin, "the testament is lean." Where did the millions of Apicius and the consular fortunes of the first period go to? To those who had helped to devour them by furnishing the expensive objects. Octavius buys a grey mullet for 5,000 sesterces: he does a piece of folly at which Tiberius mocks; but the fisherman makes a good thing of it, which for a whole year gives comfort to his cabin. Let the poor devil get the benefit of a number of like follies, and he will at last find a fortune in his nets—one at least which formed then, as at present, the competency of the small tradesman, 20,000 sesterces of capital, or £200 of income.¹

Not only is wealth displaced by being divided amongst the mass of the population in proportion to the labour or skill of each, but it diminishes in quantity. The conversion of much gold and silver into objects of art, jewellery, and ornaments, keeps down to that extent the total of the quantity in circulation. Simply for the gilding of the Capitol, Domitian used 12,000 talents. Commerce with the East caused the disappearance of another part; 50,000,000 sesterces went yearly to India, and probably as much to Arabia, whence they never came back;² and lastly, the ocean kept what shipwrecks had given it, and the barbarians restored no part of the pensions or presents made to their chiefs.³

¹ One of Juvenal's characters (ix. 139) desired so much only, with a few small silver vases and two strong slaves to shelter his old age from want and care, *quo sit mihi tuta senectus*.

² Pliny (*Hist. nat.*, vi. 26 and 32) says of the Arabs: "They are the richest people in the world, for the treasures of the Romans and Parthians flow to them. They sell the products of their seas (pearls from the Persian Gulf), and of their forests (scented woods, incense), and buy nothing." He also speaks of their gold mines, doubtless the gold which they drew from Africa.

³ It would be necessary also to take account of the wearing out of coin, which obliged Trajan to make a fresh coinage of all the consular coins. (See vol. iv. p. 750, n. 4.) M. de Laveleye estimates the loss by the uttering at a quarter or a half per cent. per annum, and at £11,200,000 yearly the manufacture of gold and silver bars into objects of luxury. These totals are exaggerated; we believe they might be reduced by three-quarters for ancient times.



Objects of Luxury taken from the Jewel Case of a Roman Lady, found in 1793.
(Cf. p. 568, n. 1.)

Could the mines repair all these losses? Those of Spain, which were the richest,¹ yielded annually 20,000 lb. weight of gold, say £900,000. The silver mines, greater in number, but in other ways difficult to work, could not yield much more, since all the silver ore actually produced by the whole of Europe, aided by the most perfected processes, does not reach £500,000. The mines of Laurium were just then abandoned, and they were only just beginning to obtain some from those of Transylvania. Therefore Spain continued to be the great workshop for the production of silver.² But the Carthaginians and the Roman Republic must have exhausted many of the veins, for in Polybius's time 40,000 men were working in the mines of Carthagera alone, which, however, yielded only 25,000 denarii a day, or two and a half sesterces for each miner. The metal workings did not therefore return the Romans much more than the equivalent for what they lost yearly. Moreover, the specie was not abundant, as the rates of ordinary interest show, viz., six per cent. in Italy, where there was more capital, twelve per cent. and higher in the provinces. In the reign of the second emperor there was a monetary panic. Its disastrous results could only be avoided by his constituting from his hard cash a fund of 100,000,000 sesterces, which was lent out for three years without interest, on the condition of security being given for double the amount on the lands. This clause proves that the crisis especially affected the wealthy class. It had really been brought about by the rigorous new application of a law of Cæsar, which forbade any one keeping more than 60,000 sesterces in specie. A similar law which was never abolished—Trajan and Marcus Aurelius applied it to the senators—obliged those who did not desire to remain at the discretion of an informer to turn into real property, in houses and lands, the larger part of their fortune. The result of this was that landed property gained daily in importance, being very different from what takes place in modern society, where personal and industrial wealth tends to take the lead over territorial wealth.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxxiii. 4.

² Gold was in proportion more common in the Empire than silver, for the ratio between the two metals was then as 1 to 12, and it has been a long while with us as 1 to 15. The Roman pound equals 32743 of a kilogramme; the kilogramme of gold is worth at present 3,445 francs. A Roman pound of gold was worth then, as metal, 1,127 francs 99 centimes.

Now the latter does not fail, in societies where it dominates, to make an aristocracy of the proprietors of the soil, and this it is towards which the Empire must tend.

To sum up, with its restricted capital, its insufficient industrial implements,¹ and with processes of labour which entailed an enormous expenditure of time, men, and money, the Roman world was poor compared with our modern societies, and this relative poverty gave frightful proportions to isolated excesses. Besides, as it was surrounded by a barbarism which furnished it with scarcely anything, it was obliged to live from itself. Riches, being unceasingly destroyed by use, were not unceasingly renewed and increased by production. For the great Roman families the peace established by Augustus had been less profitable than war. In two or three generations they lost under the Empire what they had gained in the time of the Republic, and like two opposite forces which had spent themselves one against the other, the ancient patrician order disappeared at the same time as the family of the Caesars.

Without perceiving that the gold got by conquest had returned to the conquered, whose commerce and agriculture it revived, Tacitus has at least well observed the rapid impoverishment of the Roman nobility and the change in customs as the result of it. He even gives its date, viz., the accession of Vespasian, that is, of the prince who was born in a moderate condition. "The nobility," he says, "exhausted in blood and wealth, returned to more moderate tastes. Besides, all those new men who came from the municipal towns and colonies to fill the senate brought thither the thrift of their private life, and although the majority of them, by good fortune or skill, had secured opulence in their old age, they preserved their early habits. But the principal author of the revolution was Vespasian, who, at his table and in his dress, revived the ancient simplicity. Everybody imitated

¹ The ancients had only very simple machines for manufacturing purposes. All was done by strength of arm. And how great was the loss of force which the bad construction of the most ordinary machines employed by the Romans occasioned? According to a law of Constantine, the maximum burden of a four-wheeled chariot was 326 kilogrammes for eight horses, say 43 kilogrammes per horse, when two of our omnibus horses draw at a trot loads of 500 to 800 kilogrammes. The dead weight resulting from the bad construction of the carriage must have been enormous, to which must be added the difficulty arising from the great incline of the roads. Then, too, to judge from the horses' shoes found in the excavations, the draught horses must have been small and weak: (Léger, *les Travaux publics des Romains*, p. 173.)

him, and the desire to please by copying the prince did more than laws, fear, and punishments could have done."¹

Vespasian's successors followed his example. Nerva, Trajan even, in spite of certain military tastes which he kept with the purple, Hadrian, the two Antonines, administered strictly the finances of the State, and their only luxury was the erection of monuments, which are the glory of a reign when it is art which raises them and public utility which calls for them. All the provincials holding office and who now formed the high society of Rome modelled their manners without difficulty after those of the new court.

We must therefore distinguish with Tacitus two periods when we talk of the manners of the Empire in the first centuries: that which stops at the death of Vitellius, and that which extends from Vespasian to Commodus.

The former is a time of huge folly. Then were seen folk desirous, as is always the case, of astonishing the world by a brilliant show and of getting themselves celebrity,² from want of talents or courage, by means of a fashionable mistress, high-bred horses, a table worthy of Apollo's hall, where Lucullus spent 200,000 sesterces on each of the dinners that he gave. Under the good princes, want of occupation, under the bad ones, fear, drove into these excesses the sons of the high families. *Ennui* or fear was avoided by the empty hurly-burly of an existence which seemed filled up because it was one of excitement. Nero's reign marks the lowest point to which pagan morality descended and the highest point which the luxury of the great reached.

But just as is done for politics, the historians have put the whole Empire into Rome, by attending to nothing but what passed in the palace or the senate; for morals they have put Rome in place of the whole Empire, and not even the whole of Rome, but the practices of its debauchees and fools. But it was a small minority who raised scandal and were living in the capitals, in the watering-places, and round the Bay of Naples, which has seen as many follies as certain places on our Normandy coast.

¹ *Ann.*, iii. 55.

² *ut inter istos nomen invenias opus est non tantum luxuriosam rem, sed notabilem facere In tam occupata civitate fabulas vulgaris nequitia non invenit* (Seneca, *Epist.*, 122.)

As regards the masses of the population, they had gathered up the crumbs which had fallen from these too well served tables, and they had gained by satisfying these luxurious tastes a modest competence, yet not enough not to keep moderate desires in proportion to their means.

A small number of facts and figures concerning the table, clothing, and the dwelling,¹ will serve as proofs of these general observations.

II.—THE TABLE, DRESS, AND THE DWELLING.

"The luxury of the table," says Tacitus, "was vigorously maintained for a hundred years, from the battle of Actium to the war which put Galba in possession of the Empire." He should have begun sooner, for the celebrities of this class, as Lucullus, Hortensius, Philippus, and the culinary oddities, are much earlier than Augustus. In the sumptuary law of Sulla, Macrobius found 1,000 dishes enumerated as being then very usual which in his time were no longer known. "What a list! good gods! To see so many sorts of fish and stews now unknown I cannot help believing that the dissoluteness of manners was extreme in that age." Roman gormandizing had diminished with luxury. Varro before Actium, and Pliny in Nero's time, show that the last republicans and the first senators of the Empire were rivals in gastronomic sensuality. Then were discovered new sorts of food and new methods of preparing the old. Then was practised what we claim to have invented: pisciculture,² acclimatization, transplantation of old trees, even of old vines.³ We have greenhouses for flowers, fruits, the grape, and "the sterile winter is forced to give the products of autumn."⁴ On the sea coast of Latium were naturalized fish from the Asiatic coast and a number of edible shell-fish.

¹ On these questions, see Friedländer, *Darstellung aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, etc., which for the subjects treated by him supersedes the similar works previously published, and the learned book by M. Baudrillart, *Histoire du luxe privé et public, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours*.

² Pliny relates that a prefect of the fleet, a freedman of Claudius, named Optatus, had propagated the *scarus* on the coasts of Latium. In the Lucrine lake, at Bordeaux, etc., there were beds of oysters. (Marquardt, vol. v. 2, 53, No. 477.)

³ Seneca, *Epist.*, 86.

⁴ Martial, *Epigr.*, viii. 68.

Fishponds were dug to preserve the best sorts, so as not to be exposed to the risk of being without fish when there was a rough sea. These constructions were of such dimensions that Lucullus's heirs derived 40,000,000 sesterces from the contents of the fishponds, a total which would seem impossible if a contemporary, Varro, did not say that one Hirrius with his made annually 12,000,000 sesterces, and that he gave Caesar on one occasion 6,000 lampreys.

Roman gluttony being experienced and delicate refused vulgar food such as mutton and beef;¹ it longed for lighter dishes, and in spite of the censor's edicts, the keeping of aviaries and parks became as lucrative as that of fishponds; there were raised in them every sort of bird and animal, which we no longer consume, such as the dormouse, peacock, crane, and flamingo. A matron belonging to a consular family used to sell yearly 5,000 fattened thrushes at three denarii each, and before even the first triumvirate the raising of peacocks brought Aufidius Lureo 60,000 sesterces yearly.² It was known how to fatten geese so as to give them an enormous liver; a consul and a knight dispute the honour of this invention.³

The patricians found a way of combining pleasure and profit in these matters. As our nobility, after having lost political power, gave themselves up to agricultural improvements, many governors imported plants and fruits from their Asiatic or African provinces, and had them cultivated on their estates by slaves or freedmen brought from these regions. From Lucullus, who forty years before Actium had included in his share of spoil from Mithridates the cherry tree of Pontus, to the unknown traveller who in Pliny's time introduced the melon near Naples, originally from the borders of the Oxus, there has been no cessation to the importation into Italy of new plants which they sought to improve. The emperor Vitellius's father, for example, who governed Syria under Tiberius, tried to naturalize in his villa at Alba the greater part of the fruits of that province. Italy became therefore the acclimatizing

¹ Rome, like Paris, consumed a good deal of roast veal (Cic., *ad. Fam.*, ix. 20); instead of sheep, it still consumes an enormous quantity of lamb.

² Varro, *de Re rust.*, iii. 6, and Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, x. 23.

³ Pliny, *ib.*, x. 21. A peacock cost 50 denarii, dearer than a fat sheep. (Varro, *de Re rust.*, iii. 6.) It was Hortensius who had the former served up at a feast of the augurs.

garden of the ancient world.¹ From hence the most beautiful flowers, the most savoury fruits, were introduced into the West, and those who most eloquently anathematize the luxury of Rome are now enjoying, without compunction, the results of its misdeeds.²

When we talk of the luxury at the Roman tables we must not forget two men who mark its culminating point: Apicius, with a certain art; Vitellius, with brutality. There were several Apiciuses. The most celebrated lived in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. He invented some dishes, perhaps drew up a treatise on cookery, and was reputed as being the greatest living epicure. He had also as his last honour the being adopted as a model by that fool Elagabalus.³ He possessed 100,000,000 sesterces, and killed himself when only 10,000,000 remained, thinking, as did our Cardinal de Rohan, that a gentleman could not live on an income less than £250,000. Many moderns have had as capricious fancies without attaining his renown. In fact, now-a-days, a good many persons give as sumptuous repasts, which astonish no one, while those of Apicius astonished some and scandalized others.

As for Vitellius, he was the worthy emperor of those Romans who made a god of their belly and who discovered a means of always eating, which we will not explain.⁴ Yet he seems to have required less stretch of imagination than might be supposed when he invented his famous Minerva's shield, which held all the rarest eatables, if we can judge by the table of Trimalchio, or by the feast which had been given a century and a half sooner by the pontiffs and vestals of the Republic. The menu of this dinner had been religiously preserved by the grand pontiff Metellus,⁵ for the sacerdotal feasts were celebrated at Rome, as they have been everywhere, for the exquisite cheer which was provided.⁶

¹ *Italia quæ pene totius orbis fruges, adhibito studio colonorum, ferre didicerit* (Columella, iii. 8).

² [On all this interesting subject the special book is Victor Hehn's *Hausthiere und Kulturpflanzen*, now in its fifth edition.—*Ed.*]

³ *Histor. August., Elag.*, 18.

⁴ *Vomunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant* (Seneca, *ad Helviam*, 10).

⁵ *In indice Metelli pontificis maximi* (Macrob., *Saturn.*, III. xiii. 10).

⁶ *Capitolinæ pontificumque dapæ* (Martial, *Epigr.*, xii. 48). Cf. Hor., *Carm.*, II. iv.; Val. Max., ii. 1, and Apuleius, *Metam.*, *passim*: *epulæ vel cenæ Saliaræ*.

"Here is a list," says Macrobius, "of the dishes composing the feast on the day when Lentulus was inaugurated flamen of Mars:

"First course: Sea hogs, raw oysters, pelourdes and spondyls (shell-fish), thrushes, asparagus, fat hen on a paste of oysters and pelourdes, black and white cockles (shell-fish), glycomarides (shell-fish), sea-urchins, beccafici, goats' and wild boars' kidneys, fat poultry in flour, murex and purpleshells (shell-fish).

"Second course: sow's teats, wild boar's head, fish patties, patties of sows' teats, ducks, boiled ducks, hares, roast fowl, pudding, bread of Picenum."¹

The list is long, and the Vatel of Lentulus did many things: but in truth, Careme, to whom the Czar Alexander gave the pay of a marshal of France, 30,000 francs a year, to direct his kitchen, and Chevet, the arranger of so many official entertainments, were greater artistes. We do not the less place Roman greediness much above ours, in which we are doing wrong certainly to the latter.

We cannot speak of the Roman table without pointing out a personage who is thoroughly Roman, for he is to be found in no other society playing so well-filled a part—the parasite.

First of all the parasite is a client; that is the necessary stage for mounting higher. "Come, come, Chærestratus, it is daylight, get up quickly." Before dawn he is on foot. He rushes off hurriedly with a shabby toga on his shoulders, and completes his toilet running along. Where is he going in this fashion? To work? Oh! no. A real citizen has no servile occupations. He is running to Trimalchio's *levée*. He is an assiduous client. He wants his zeal to be remarked, for he has that only to live by.

If Chærestratus has a fund of humour or a hard skull he will rise from the crowd. Instead of stopping at the door, reduced to sniffing the scents of the dishes, as Jupiter lived on the fumes of the sacrifices, he will share the feast, and become the inseparable guest of the master: we see him a parasite. It is a good business, although he has his annoyances; but who has not? "What cheer are you enjoying?" says Juvenal to the parasites. "A rude slave throws you a bit of mouldy bread, and gives you some wine which would be of no use for cleaning wool. They bring the host a fish

¹ Macrobius, *Saturn.*, III. xiii. 12.

which, intended for him, fills a large dish; for you they slip on a broken plate a shell-fish stuffed with the half of an egg, an offering made for the dead. In return, abuse reaches you thick and close; soon the wine-cups fly and the napkins are red with blood; or perhaps it is a vase full of ashes which are poured on your face, to the great amusement of the guests."

Thus treated, plenty of blows and little food, the race of servile parasites was dying out. The flatterers replaced it. "I," said one of them, "attach myself to those people, who, in spite of a poor disposition, wish to be the first in everything. I smile when they make a joke. They say yes, so do I; they say no, I say no too. I must indeed be most unlucky for no one to say to me: Come and have supper with me."¹

The highest sort was the joker. But it is a hard business to amuse a man tired out and to have always some wit! The *derisor*, that is his name, keeps on the look out for all the news. He knows the subject of deliberation in the council of king Pacorus, the number of ships which have left Africa, what has happened and what will never happen, even what Juno has said in Jupiter's ear.

Unfortunately there is a dead season for the parasites when the rich flee to the country. "Like the snails," says one of them, "which during the dry season return into their shells and live on their own juice, so the parasites live on their own means when those whom they preyed upon are in the country." Happy the parasite who has been able to put by something for this sad time! but he will be looked down on by his colleagues. "He is a parasite of naught who has any money in his house."² The point of honour in their profession is that one must eat everything. Thus vices make two victims: the one who has them and the one who lives by them.

Yet there were not in the Empire many Apiciuses or Trimalchios, and for two reasons: the first, because the general mediocrity of fortunes permitted excesses to only a small number; the second, that gluttons had a strong force against them in the climate. It was not necessary that in the schools the disciples of

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.*, v. Martial, *Epigr.*, xii. 83.

² Plautus, *Capt.*, i. 1, 12-16. *Pers.*, i. iii. 40.

Epicurus and Zeno should earnestly recommend sobriety: a more imperious master, even nature, made a law of it. Excess in alcoholic drinks, dangerous enough in the North, becomes in the South a vice which kills. There a too strong diet quickly brings on mortal diseases: an error in diet has made more victims in the French army in Algeria than the bullets of the Kabyles. An Arab of Syria or Africa lives on a few dates, and makes long journeys on a little flour mixed in the hollow of his hand in the water of a brook. No more now than formerly are the Greeks given to drunkenness, and the prohibition of wine to the believers in Islam is a salutary measure which Galen had already advised the Romans. "Those who wish to be in good health ought to water their wine."¹ In Italy, an intermediate zone, wine is made and drunk. At the Saturnalia, which was the feast of the lower classes, a good number of drunkards were found; some personages had even been ambitious of the reputation of being great drinkers: thus Mark Antony, the triumvir, Cicero's son, and Novellius Torquatus, who had got the nickname of Tricongius, from emptying ten litres (about two gallons) at a stretch. [!]

In general sobriety prevailed. The elder Pliny ate very little. Seneca passed a whole year without a mouthful of meat; "he at last gave up wine, perfumes, and used other diet with a moderation which very much resembled abstinence."

He was fond of repeating after Epicurus: "With some bread and water no one is poor, and everybody can claim the sovereign happiness which Jupiter enjoys." We have seen the menu of Lentulus, now let us examine one of the younger Pliny. A friend whom he had invited to dinner not having come, he gave a list, to cause him regret, of all the nice things which he had prepared: "A lettuce for each, three snails, two eggs, a cake, some honeyed wine and some snow, some Andalusian olives, water melons, leeks, and many other things as delicate."² It was a

¹ οἶνον ὑδατωμένον. In the East I have tested this effect of the climate in a very sensible manner. A glass of cold water or a cup of coffee appears preferable there to all other drinks. Science, which has calculated what a man loses daily by perspiration, clearly explains the necessary sobriety of those living in the South. In cold countries there is a need of increasing the absorption of calorigenous matters, and of restricting the amount in hot climates.

² Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xiv. 28. Three congii equal 9.72 litres, or 18 pints. *Cibum levem et facilem* (Pliny, *Epist.*, iii. 5, 10). Seneca, *Epist.*, 108. *Id.*, *Epist.*, 25. Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 15.

nun's dinner. Martial himself asked much less to be happy, and the dinner he offers to Turanius is still more modest, whilst the bill of fare is drawn up with all the complacency of a poet who wished to combine some good verses with giving a model of good gastronomic taste. The demagogue Ganymede, who wanted to cause a riot at Crotona, claimed no more than thirty-five ases and wine at discretion. The popular appetite did not then exceed a penny loaf daily; moreover, they agreed to earn it:¹ it is the portion of a lazzarone. But if these Southern people were satisfied with little, they were fond of games, spectacles, fluent speech, and understood marvellously well how to make the most of spend-thrifts or seekers after the municipal popularity. Hence, so many festivals, public feasts, assemblies, brotherhoods, where, thanks to the Southern animation, the poverty of the spectacle was forgotten,² and the poor cheer provided at the expense of a vain and yet miserly donor. After which, they went, tired and satiated, to stretch themselves in the sun. "What do you want now?" is said to a claimant for sportulæ who is tired with his bowing and scraping. "What do you want?" "To go to sleep."³

To sleep or dream is always the wish of these Southerners, when passion does not throw them into violent action.

Dress.—Taken as a whole, Roman society spent less on dress than on food. It had, as we have, its *demi-monde*, who were showy, ruined young men of good family,⁴ sometimes old senators, and displayed an insolent luxury which is peculiar to women of this class. Unhappily respectable matrons, or those who knew how to find means discreetly, wished to appear as fine as the courtesans, and expended even more on their toilet. Indeed the *mundus muliebris* was already an arsenal furnished with all the means of attack and preservation. I find belonging to it ointments, which were used for painting the face, false teeth, false eyebrows, and even false hair, which was procured from the depths of Germany

¹ *Epigr.*, i. 56; v. 78 and x. 48; xi. 52, where the feast is a little more complete. Juvenal sends also to Persicus (*Sat.*, xi.) the *carte* of the dinner which he offers him. I do not give it, as it would be suspected of an affected frugality.

² See in Petronius, *Satyr.*, 45, the "presents of the gladiators of the third quality at two sesterces a piece."

³ Martial, *Epigr.*, x. 74.

⁴ See vol. iv. p. 406, the decree of Claudius.

and India.¹ The imperial courtesan, Messalina, who was of a dark complexion, covered her head with blond hair. "They curl your hair, Galla, at a hair dresser's in Suburra Street, who brings you your eyebrows every morning. At night you remove your teeth as you do your dress. Your charms are inclosed in a hundred different pots, and your face does not go to bed with you."²

In early times clothing was made from the wool furnished by the flock of the farm; by degrees was introduced the use of linen from Egypt, the cotton fabrics of India, silk from China, and muslins so transparent that they were called woven air, tunics figured with gold or embroidered with pearls, precious stones, and every kind of perfume. At a plain betrothal festivity Pliny saw Lollia Paulina covered with pearls and emeralds from head to foot, and quite ready to prove to him, from the accounts in her hands,



Head-dress of Julia, Daughter of Titus.
(Capitoline Museum.)

that she had upon her person to the value of 40,000,000 sesterces. At a *fête* given by Claudius on Lake Fucinus, Agrippina appeared in a chlamys worked with gold thread, and Nero, at the funeral of Poppæa, burnt more incense than Arabia Felix could have supplied in a year. "The luxury of the women," said Pliny bitterly, "costs us yearly 100,000,000 sesterces, which Arabia, India, and Serica take from us."³ India alone took half this amount. What would he say now that this same country takes from Europe; one year with another, in coin or bars, forty or fifty times more than in his days? Asiatic products were then

¹ This trade in hair was so considerable that the *Digest* (xxxix. 4, 16, § 7) enumerates the *capilli indici* amongst the articles subject to custom dues. (Martial, *Epigr.*, v. 68.)

² Juvenal, *Sat.*, vi. 120. Martial, *Epigr.*, ix. 38.

³ *Hist. nat.*, vi. 26; ix. 58; xii. 41.

much dearer than now. Cæsar gave a ring to Servilia which had cost him 6,000,000 sesterces; Pliny valued a pound of cinnamon at 1,500 denarii; and in Aurelian's reign silk was exchanged for its weight in gold.¹ We know nothing of such prices now. But if the Eastern trade, which now exceeds seven milliards,² was represented by only 100,000,000 sesterces, if the commodities imported had that value, we must admit that very few of them entered the Empire, and that a very small number of persons could enjoy them. We are thus brought to the same conclusion, and we can best express it by borrowing from Galen his own words: "In the large cities rich women have silk, and for them are prepared at Rome the perfumed essences."

In spite of some extravagances of feminine luxury,³ a comparison, if it were made, would not give the advantage of simplicity to the moderns. We no longer live in the days when the gentlemen of Francis I. "wore their mills and their meadows on their shoulders," when men's costume, made of gold, silver, silk, and lace, cost, as did that of Bassompierre, more than 40,000 livres; but our social life is still subjected to the most capricious of sovereigns, viz., fashion, which every year changes the cut and colour of materials. The ancients were not acquainted with this servitude, and as for the men their dress covered the body without fitting it, one or two pieces of stuff thrown around the loins and on the shoulders sufficed to dress them. Any one knew how to cut a toga, and on holidays everybody, from the emperor to the lowest of the citizens, wore it. Between that of the rich and that of the poor the difference was only in the whiteness and fineness of the material; the man of fashion added the art of dressing well and making the folds fall gracefully. He desired besides to have a well-stocked wardrobe, because the climate compelled him to change his dress often, and his great fancy was to possess some

¹ *Libra enim auri tunc libra serici fuit* (Vopiscus, *Aurel.*, 44). Silk was sold at Rome, especially in Tuscan street. (Martial, *Epigr.*, xi. 27.) Murrhine vases, which were imported from Parthia and Caramania, sold for as much as 300 talents each (about 1,500,000 francs); at least, Nero paid that price for one (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxxvii. 7 and 8). He mentions also a crystal cup sold at 150,000 sesterces, a Babylonian carpet bought by Nero for 4,000,000 sesterces, some tables in Mauretanian citron wood costing as much as 1,400,000 sesterces, etc.

² Neumann, *Uebersichten über Welthandel*.

³ Tacitus (*Ann.*, iii. 53) and Pliny (*Hist. nat.*, xii. 41) speak, as regards dress, of the luxury of women only.

cloaks in different shades of purple. Cæsar had forbidden them except for certain persons and days; Augustus, Tiberius, even Nero, renewed these prohibitions without much success, for in Domitian's reign Martial speaks of purple robes publicly bought at 10,000 sesterces.¹

The Dwelling Houses.—The true magnificence of the Romans of the Empire consisted of buildings; they covered the world with them. In the history of each reign we have seen the numberless works undertaken by the emperors, commencing with the first. Augustus had built for the gods and the people; Caligula and Nero built immense palaces for themselves which disappeared with them. Of Nero's Golden House there remain only the descriptions by Suetonius and Pliny, while the very humble abode of Livia still exists. Individuals rivalled the princes. Already under the Republic the nobility, driven from the city by the *malaria*, had adopted the practice of passing the summer on the hills which overhang the Campagna of Rome,² or on the coast of the Bay of Naples. When an imperial decree obliged the senators to invest a third of their fortune in Italian landed property, the entire peninsula was covered with country houses, and all the more quickly because no country in the world is better adapted by its sites and climate for all sorts of residence in the country, whether on the coast of its two seas, or the shores of its many lakes, or on the slopes of its hills, which under a burning sun keep their forests and their springs nourished by the winter snows.³ To these natural beauties the arts of Greece added their charms. The most varied marbles,⁴ stucco, glass, bronze, gold and silver foil, elegant paintings, fine arabesques which Raphael did not disdain to imitate, decorated the walls, the ceilings, and in

¹ *Epigr.*, vi. 61; viii. 10.

² The villas of Pompey, Hortensius, Lucullus, and Cicero were famous. Yet the consuls valued the villas of Cicero at Tusculum and Formiæ, the former only at 500,000 sesterces, and the latter at 250,000 (Cic., *ad Att.*, iv. 2). [But he complains of this valuation bitterly.—*Ed.*]

³ The chalk hills contain a number of caverns which become filled at the time of rains, and abundantly supply the springs during the summer. Thus it has been calculated that three-fourths of the quantity of the waters of the Tiber during low water season are supplied from the drainage coming from subterranean lakes, and that its summer supply is never less than half the usual supply. (Reclus, *Nouv. géog. univ.*, i. pp. 460-461.)

⁴ The most valuable marbles in Martial's time were those of Carystus in Eubœa, Iaconia, Synnada in Phrygia, and Numidia. (Cf. *Epigr.*, ix. 76.)

order that the eye might be agreeably employed, the floors bore mosaic work, some of which were magnificent compositions, as, for example, the battle of Darius and Alexander, found at Pompeii in the "Faun's house," the figures in which are almost of natural size. In the interior, columns of Numidian or Eubœan marble, for which in the next century Egyptian porphyry was substituted, support porticoes where the air freely circulates, and which in the summer protect from the sun and in the winter concentrate its rays and warmth. At every step a statue, a costly vase, some



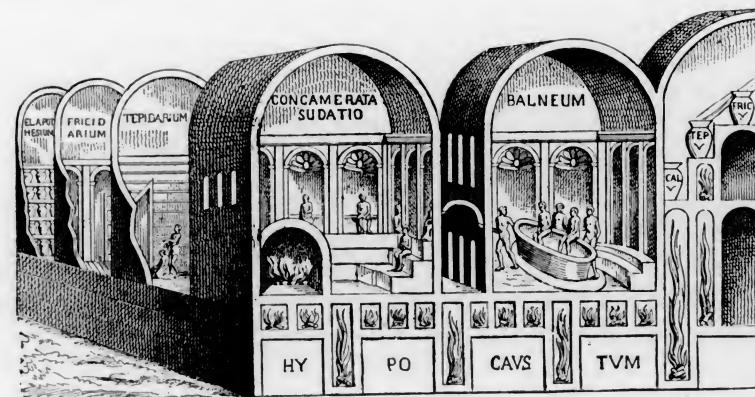
Battle between Darius and Alexander. (Mosaic of Pompeii.)

object of art, or rich hangings. Many apartments were decorated with special care: the *atrium*, where were put the *dii lares*, the images of ancestors, and aromatic plants which purified the atmosphere; near it, the *tablinum* and the *exedra* for visitors; further away, the *triclinium* for the guests;¹ in a place apart, the women's apartments; in another, the slaves' rooms. The courts were kept cool by "jets of water received in marble basins bordered with flowers, as the rose, the lily, violet, anemone, and the myrtle artistically trimmed,"² and, when space permitted it, some fine plane

¹ It is in the *tablinum* and the *triclinium* of Livia's house where are found the Roman paintings which, till quite lately, were the most ancient. Those of the tomb of the Statilii Tauri given in vol. iii. p. 506, are anterior.

² *Lilia et violas et anemones et fontes surgentes . . . tonsasque myrtos . . . habebant divites* (Quintilian, viii. 3). Cf. Hor., *Carm.*, ii. 15.

tree with smooth bark and of elegant and vigorous form afforded its shade.¹ The *patio* of the Spaniards calls to mind this charming taste. Two blocks of buildings were never wanting to a complete habitation—the library, which was small, although all this society was literary or wished to appear such; and the baths, a complicated and expensive erection,² where one underwent all temperatures in the midst of perfumed vapours, and which was terminated by a *palaestra* in order that gymnastics might restore suppleness and strength to the limbs. In the sanitary plans of the Romans



Interior of some Baths.³

the bath with all its accessories played the principal part and not a day passed without taking one.

Yet, in spite of their grandeur and luxury, these habitations were almost always arranged less with a view to comfort and home life than for ostentation. Pride was often exhibited in the fortune which had at one time been shown in consulships, and there was a desire to secure notoriety for buildings as it could no longer be obtained by triumphs. The aristocracy of money had succeeded the aristocracy of race.

¹ *Areola quæ quatuor platanis inumbratur* (Pliny, *Epist.*, v. 6).

² Juvenal (*Sat.*, vii. 178) speaks of private baths having cost 600,000 sesterces, and Horace of fishponds larger than Lake Lucrinus (*Carm.*, ii. 15). Respecting baths, see vol. iv. p. 220.

³ A restoration made in the time of the Renaissance at the order of an architect, as a theoretical plan of ancient baths.

The provincial cities imitated Rome in supplying, each according to its resources, temples and arenas, baths and theatres, basilicas, and curias. They copied even the names of the streets: Antioch in Pisidia had a Velabrum and a Tusean district; Lyons and the city of the Mattiaci, a Vatican; Toulouse and Cirta, a Capitol,¹ a name which is still borne by the *hôtel de ville*, which has very little Roman about it, of the queen of Languedoc. Many towns had, like the capital, factions of the circus and corn distributions. Their rich citizens had also, like the senators, their town and country-house each, even several, so as to be able to get change of air while being always at home.² Therefore, there was no point on a lake or hot spring, no hill side well situated for the view or the sun, which had not its villa; when needful, nature was forced to bend to the proprietor's tastes. A rivulet flowed where a hill had once been, rocks previously naked bore vineyards and woods; they built out into the sea to have fish-ponds and baths which no tempest could disturb,³ and "the azure wave retreated before the powerful jetties."⁴ At Antium may still be seen remains of these submarine constructions. Without the tides of the Channel, which do not occur on the shores of Antium or Pozzuoli, our Norman sea would be soon obliged to yield to these costly constructions, and yet our modern rhetoricians would no longer find in them a subject for philosophical declamations.

Some of these dwellings were considerable: Seneca compares them to towns.⁵ Yet from all we know of Roman antiquities we must regard the greater number of these habitations as having been small and of small value. "At Sora, at Fabrateria, at

¹ Henzen, *Index*, p. 168.

² The villas of the younger Pliny were in all parts of Italy, from the south to the foot of the Alps.

³ See in Statius (*Silv.*, ii. 2) his pretentious description of the villa of his friend Pollius Felix at Sorrento, and (*Silv.*, i. 3) that of the villa of Vopiscus on the Anio. Cf. Seneca (*Epist.*, 55) for the villa of Vatia at Baie, and Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.*, ii. 23) for that of the sophist Damianus, at Ephesus.

⁴ Ovid, *Am.*, iii. 126.

⁵ *Domos instar urbium* (Seneca, *Epist.*, 90; *id.*, 89). Tacitus speaks also somewhere of the *villarum infinita spatia*. These exaggerations are so habitual in the school that a translator of Martial translates *non unius balnea solus habes* thus: "Thou possessest baths which might serve a whole people." Modern rhetoric outdoing the ancient has altered the true character of Roman history.

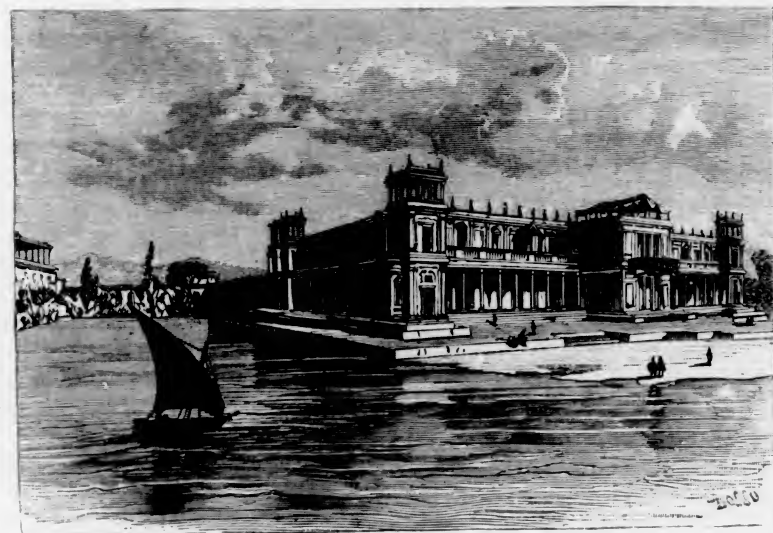


Fountain in Mosaic discovered at Pompeii in 1881.

We are indebted to the kindness of M. Fiorelli, director-general of the excavations in Italy, for the drawing of this curious fountain, discovered in 1881.

Frusino," says Juvenal, "you can have a pretty house for the rent of a cellar at Rome."¹

At Pompeii, which had some wealthy citizens, scarcely two or three important dwellings are to be found; the houses are small, the rooms low, without light; our workmen's families would refuse to live in them, and in its narrow streets, at every moment blocked by high crossing stones, only litters and hand carriages could pass along. At Athens, the foundations of the old houses



Pliny's Villa (Restoration by Canina).

are still smaller, and Livia's house on the Palatine does not at all resemble the abode of an empress. Pliny was rich, and possessed villas at the gates of Rome, in Tuscany, Beneventum, and near Como. One only of his estates was let for more than 400,000 sesterces. He had besides, he used to say, some money employed in commerce.² Moreover, in spite of large benefactions to his native town and to his friends, he was still enabled to acquire a property worth 3,000,000 sesterces in Latium. Lastly, he had a young wife whom he loved; he was the constant guest of the

¹ *Sat.*, iii. 223.

² *Epist.*, v. 6. *In Tusculano* (iv. 13) is put for *in Tuscano*. Henzen, *Tab. alim.*, p. 63. *Epist.*, x. 24. *Ib.*, iii. 23.

prince; he belonged by rank, relations, and fortune to the highest Roman society; he would, we should presume, live in his own house the life of magnificence of one of the leading persons of the Empire. Now he has left us a minute description of his two villas at Laurentinum on the sea-coast and Tifernum in the high valley of the Tiber. Everything is found there for use, nothing for luxury, unless it be an object of beauty. He does not give a list of his Corinthian bronzes, his paintings, his statues, copies of the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Greece; nor does he speak of rich tissues nor of Calpurnia's jewellery; but of the skilful arrangement of the rooms, which give views of sea or mountain, where sunshine is found in the autumn, cool in summer, and at all times calm and peace.¹ We may say, this was a sage. Yes, but he was also a man like many others, who honourably enjoyed their wealth, knew how to use it well, and despised the vulgar pleasures of prodigals whose reign had for a while passed away. We shall see that many people then thought and lived as he did.

If we compared these dwellings with the *châteaux* of our rich manufacturers, we should probably find less taste in the latter;² but more luxury; and there are many such houses belonging to the English nobility as not even the most magnificent Roman villa ever equalled in extent or in its wealth of art treasures, furniture, plate, rare plants, or in which very different efforts have been made to make use of the sun and brave the climate. In all that relates to the delights of life we have received lessons from Rome; but how greatly have the pupils surpassed their masters!³

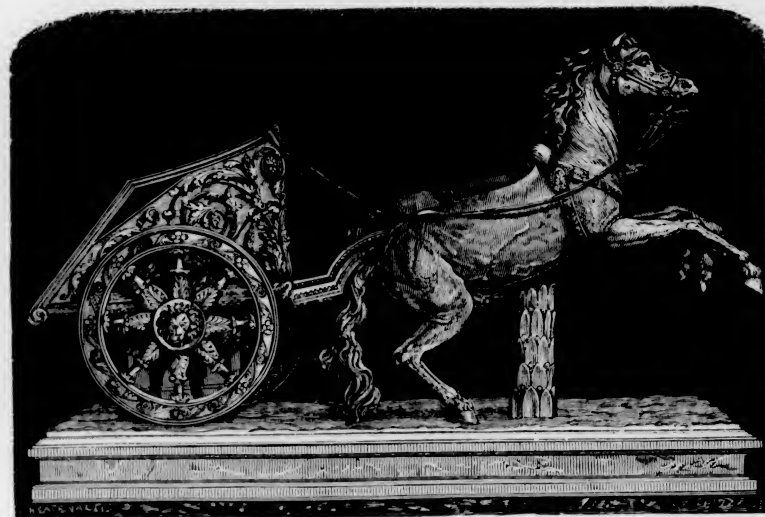
We must say as much of the passion for horses: some were

¹ It is probable that the description of Pliny's villa might be completed by borrowing from Martial that of the villa of Faustus (iii. 58). The fine wit of the orator disdains to enter into details in which the poet, who is more natural, takes a delight.

² Yet in Pliny's villa at Tifernum there was a number of small things of doubtful taste, and just as there was affectation in his style, so do we find it in his gardens, with their box-trees shaped as letters, and in the figure of animals, those plants which design names, etc. "When one wants to take a meal in this place, the heaviest dishes are arranged on the borders of the basin and the lighter in vases in the form of ships and birds, which float on the water."

³ An economist has calculated that 10,000 English families possess at least £500 sterling of plate, and 150,000 possess £100 worth. The Romans had certainly much less. At Pompeii down to 1837 there had been discovered in the ruins only 100 objects in silver. (Becker, *Gallus*, ii. 322.) It is true that many of the inhabitants had returned to fetch away their more precious property.

as celebrated at Rome as our winners at Longchamp, and they were sold as dear. Caligula wanted to decorate his horse Incitatus with consular insignia, and Martial's popularity, in his best days of public favour, was eclipsed by that of the racer Andremon. The follies of the circus equalled those of our race-courses; the latter are even greater than were the former, for betting is more general and higher at Longchamp and Epsom than it ever was at Rome or Antioch. In Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and Cappadocia, vast



The biga of the Vatican.¹

pastures served for rearing horses, products which always paid well, because travellers and merchants, rich peoples and people who wanted to become so, required them for pleasure or business. The cross-bred horses of Spain and Africa passed as the best; Antioch bought such, at great cost, on the banks of the Tagus and Guadalquivir. We import such from the Nedjed: this is much further and more difficult. They used to draw up genealogies of the circus-winners; we have the *Stud Book*, kept under the supervision of the government. Putting aside betting men and men of fashion,

¹ An antique chariot of marble, decorated in relief, with rosettes combined with foliage and corn ears. Only one of the horses is antique. The sculptor Franzoni restored this beautiful monument, for which Pius VI. had constructed the rotunda in the Vatican called the Hall of the Biga.

for whom the race-course is a place of business, we find that our 120 hippodromes are useful institutions. Why should we so sharply blame among the ancients what we approve among ourselves? Let us condemn on both sides the excesses, the scandals, and the money squandered, but let us accept the rest.

III.—THE SMALLER INDUSTRIES AND FORTUNES.

On one point we are happily inferior to the ancients: we require few domestic servants while they had many. Thus the wife of Apuleius, whose fortune was not at all extraordinary, 4,000,000 sesterces, possessed such a number that she was able to give her sons by her first marriage a wedding present of 400 slaves.¹

All the house work, and often that of the farm, was done by them. But industry having extended the area of labour, and the means of acquisition having multiplied by reason of the wants that were created, slave proprietors had found it advantageous to interest the slaves in increasing the produce of the earth and by calling in the aid of free labourers. Hence those *coloni* who had a right to a share in the crops, and those slaves engaged in industrial occupations and commerce on joint and equal shares with their masters.² The savings amassed in these forms of labour brought about numerous manumissions, and as the freedmen were the most intelligent of the slaves, many passed from freedom to competency, some from the latter to wealth. Doubtless they did not get as far as Narcissus; but many gained enough property to form in every city a class whose importance the treasury declared by imposing on it a special tax, the *vectigal artium*.³

The large estates corresponded to the large fortunes—another

¹ The total indicates slaves of small value. Xenophon valued an ordinary slave at about 150 francs (1½ to 2 minæ). The Roman soldiers were redeemed by the Achæans at the rate of five minæ, about 460 francs. Papinian, under Septimius Severus, fixed the usual price of a slave at 20 aurei. The indemnity granted by England in 1834 for the liberation of the slaves was at the rate of 635 francs. France gave in 1848 for the liberated slaves of Martinique 425 francs, of Guadeloupe, 470, Senegal, 210, Nossibé, 70; a general average of 530 francs. These sums were much lower than the current prices. But we see that at both periods the price of human flesh was nearly the same.

² See above, pp. 315 *et seq.*

³ Suet., *Cal.*, 40; Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.*, 24.

favourite subject of philosophic declamation. The ancients always made a boast of the seven acres of Curius and Fabricius, and they were right; for the time when from the top of the Capitoline the enemy's frontier was visible, the moderate amount of fortunes was a guarantee of liberty and a means of safety. But when Rome had become a world; when the class of small cultivators in Latium had been worked out by war; when, thanks to victory and pillage, the chiefs could form large domains; when commerce and industry, developed by peace, in the heart of this immense Empire, opened up new sources of wealth, the economical revolution accomplished in a short space of time produced political and social perturbations which caused riches in all its forms to be condemned by patriots and philosophers. Then the elder Pliny exclaimed: "The *latifundia* have destroyed Italy, and they will soon destroy the provinces." But Italian agriculture, already acquainted with irrigation,¹ sought at this time to appropriate the agricultural improvements made in other climates. The rich alone possessed the needful capital for running the risks and supporting the expense of these experiments, so that the large landed estate, an evil at the period when manners were simple, had, later on, as a natural consequence of the conquest of the world, finally become a necessity in the new social conditions. French agriculture would be imperilled if the profits of manufacturing industry did not with us build up again the large estate in proportion as the civil code destroys it. Besides, we find in this question the usual exaggeration. Seneca, who makes a sea out of a pond, does not hesitate to make a kingdom out of a small farm.² Now the large estates were not more numerous than the large fortunes. The vast parks, inclosed by walls, which Varro knew, had from ten to thirteen hectares (twenty-five to thirty-two acres); in France even are found a number more considerable. In Scotland, which within a century has increased tenfold in wealth, twenty-six proprietors possess 2,222,255 hectares, with an annual revenue of about

¹ Virgil speaks of it:—

Claudite jam rivos, pueri, sat prata libent.

² *Epist.*, 89 and 90. Martial says also *Palestrina regna* of a little property at Præneste given by a patron to his client (xi. 71).

33,000,000 francs.¹ At the very gates of Rome the small proprietors were less rare than they are perhaps to-day.² In the territory of Caere a man possessed fourteen *jugera* (three hectares, fifty-four ares); Martial calls him the richest cultivator in the district,³ and he must have appeared such to the poet who, like many others, had such a tiny estate that he used to say: "My land only bears me."⁴ At Velleia, forty-six proprietors, probably the richest in the country, had property worth on the average 70,000 to 80,000 francs; these figures do not indicate a large concentration of properties. Lastly, the *latifundia* were not always cultivated by servile labour. the younger Pliny used to let his lands to farmers,⁵ and Columella advised the employment of free peasants (*coloni*).

We reason about the Empire starting from the hypothesis that all was done by slave labour. That had been nearly the case at the time when war encumbered Rome and Italy with captives, when Crassus had 20,000 slaves whom he let out to contractors for all sorts of employments. But war no longer supplied this trade since the legions restricted their duties to guarding the frontier, and the gaps made in the slave population by mortality and manumissions were filled with difficulty by servile births, slave-trading, the exposure, theft, and sale of children. There was therefore for free artisans a large share of labour, and this increased daily, in proportion as were developed the manufacturing industries of clothing, articles of food, building, objects of art, and the immense commerce which had to transport and sell the world's commodities. S. Paul desired that the bishop and the priests should exercise an honest calling; and when Dion Chrysostom fled from Rome, with no other property than Plato's *Phædo* and an oration of Demosthenes, he was able to reach the extreme limits of the Empire by living on the road by the labour of his hands in

¹ The Duke of Sutherland reserves for himself 482,876 hectares, the average extent of a French department, and about a seventh (?) of the extent of the United Kingdom, 4,703,120 hectares, is in the hands of ninety persons. (*Écon. franç.*, 23rd May, 1874, and 7th September, 1879.)

² Pliny (*Hist. nat.*, xiv. 5) cites several of them in a single chapter.

³ *Epigr.*, vi. 73.

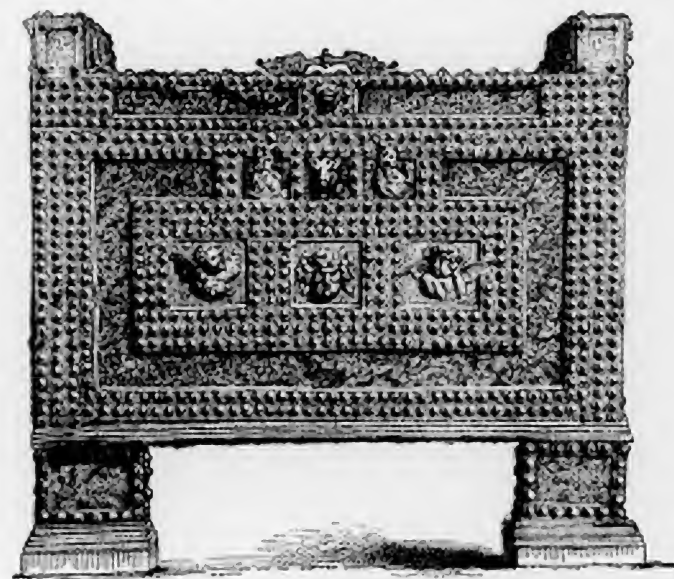
Nil nostri, nisi me, ferunt agelli.

(*Ibid.*, vii. 31.)

⁵ *Epist.*, ix. 37.

the country farms or the city gardens.¹ Thus the foolish expenditure which dissipated patrician fortunes fell in golden rain on the workman and filled the strong-box of the merchant.

Even previous to the Empire, Varro pointed out to small proprietors the advantages they would secure by establishing "gardens in the neighbourhood of cities, where flowers and fruit are sold for their weight in gold."² As a proof of what could be done



Iron Strong-Box, found at Pompeii. (Naples Museum.)

with small means and tact, he mentions the case of two of his old soldiers, brothers, the possessors of a tiny house in the middle of a small field, which they had covered with plants loved by the bees, and who, from the honey of their hives, made yearly on the average 10,000 sesterces.³ In the cities a great many industries needed by the rich, and requiring special workmen who were not to be found among their slaves, furnished work and bread to the poor. Juvenal's barber becomes possessor of fields and houses;

¹ *Orat.*, i.

² *De Re rust.*, i. 2 and 16.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 16, 10. The field had only an extent of a *jugum*, or half an acre. Honey took the place of sugar among the ancients.

Martial sees a shoemaker obtain a fortune where he himself did not succeed.¹ Now of these people with small means, who, by dint of economy, skill, and strokes of fortune were able to rise above their condition, there was found then, as now, a very large number.² When Domitian had cleared the streets of the stalls which encumbered them, Martial exclaimed: "Rome is at last Rome again; but lately it was only one immense shop."³ And the example of Pompeii proves that it was the same in the small cities.⁴

With its fifteen or eighteen hundred thousand inhabitants, Rome presented the same social phenomena as our modern cities; above the small industries, the great ones; not far from the dens where the former were carried on were the splendid stores where the others traded; our *Marché du Temple* in all the small streets; the *Boulevard des Italiens* along the Sacred Way to the Septa of the Campus Martius and in the Tuscan quarter; here palaces, there our ancient *cours des miracles*; in fine, the hard struggle for life from high to low, and then, as now, the small sometimes ending by consuming the great, the poor devouring the rich, the laborious skilful economist gaining advantage over lazy prodigal riches.

The official literature, I mean that of high life, the only kind which is accessible to us, living on the commonplaces of the past, saw nothing of this mass of toil, and continued to look down on the working classes, except Dion Chrysostom, who ranked a useful workman above a rhetorician with his gilded empty speech.⁵ But inscriptions, shop signs, sometimes mutilated but yet significant, all formerly neglected by history, still attest this transformation: the agricultural society of Cato the Elder becoming the industrial society of the Empire. It was nothing less than an

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.*, i. 24; he reverts to it a second time (x. 224). Martial, *Epigr.*, ix. 74.

² On the countless number of small shopkeepers and small trades at Rome, see Friedländer, i. pp. 248 et seq.

³ *Nunc Roma est, nuper magna taberna fuit* (*Epigr.*, vii. 61).

See also the promenade of Mamurra in the bazaars *ubi Roma suas aurea vexat opes* (*ibid.*, ix. 59).

⁴ The inscription in Orelli, No. 4,323, where we read that a single proprietor at Pompeii let 900 shops, has another meaning (cf. *C. I. L.*, iv. 1,136 and *supra*, p. 481, note); but we still see in the ruins of this city a number of shops.

⁵ *Orat.*, vii. One might easily find in Seneca, Statius, Lucian, etc., more than one passage in which labour is praised, but it is only a passing reference. So long as slavery existed the ideas of literary men would be opposed to the rehabilitation of labour.

economic and, of consequence, social revolution, which, as we have shown,¹ profoundly modified the civil law. The same revolution took place in all the provinces. There are in the Museum at St. Germain numerous sepulchral monuments to men belonging to trades which the excavations in Gaul have brought to light. These monuments are evidence of two facts: the prosperity of these workers, who were rich enough to have costly tombs erected, and the pride of these representatives of free labour who, far from hiding their condition, wished to be seen after death with the tool which they used during life. These men were evidently proud of their calling, and if this were so, it is because their fellow-citizens considered this a legitimate pride.

Luxury is not in itself blameable; when it is restricted and in good taste, it exhibits in those who show it a refinement which declares other qualities. Some of the charming paintings at Pompeii do not suggest a bad opinion of those who selected them, and we are pleased to find in Livia's house those elegant decorations which suggest a well-ordered life. Plato has said: "The beautiful is profitable." It is the luxury of an inferior order, which entails foolish unproductive expenditure, or which addresses itself to the sensual vulgar appetites, which should be proscribed. It held an important place in the Rome of the early Cæsars and we do not intend to make its apology. It elevated the passions which it is most desirable to check, and if it were possible to have only such luxury it would be more advantageous to dispense with it altogether. Unfortunately the higher and the lower go in company, and that is why philosophy condemns them both. History, which is better acquainted with the true conditions of human societies, is satisfied with branding the abuses and with showing that, by a just law of expiation, wealth badly acquired is rapidly scattered by the children of the spoliators. The misery of Hortalus, the despair of Apicius, the death of so many personages who, like Vitellius, went to end at the Gemoniæ the orgies begun in the palaces, inspires little pity. These individual misfortunes seem to it justified by a life made less severe to so many millions of men, by the substitution for an exhausted patriciate of a new nobility of

¹ See above, the chapter on the *Family*. The collections of inscriptions prove the large number of industrial colleges existing in the cities and the great variety of industries.

which Tacitus and Pliny are the orators, Virginius Rufus and Agricola the generals, and Trajan and Hadrian the emperors.

IV.—MAGNIFICENCE OF THE PUBLIC WORKS; THEATRES AND AMPHITHEATRES.

There is one reservation to be made when speaking of the foolish expenditure of the Romans, which is, that a part of the wealth of the State and individuals was employed in buildings which did not at all serve, as Versailles did, to feed the pride of the prince, or, as the castles of our old lords, the vanity of a caste, but the general interests of the Empire, such as highways, bridges, arsenals, and



The Flavian Amphitheatre (the Coliseum).¹

harbours; or the beliefs, the pleasures, and the welfare of the masses, such as temples and basilicas, baths and porticoes, circuses and theatres. The old names always in existence at Rome and in the provincial cities, of republic and sovereign people, obliged the prince on the banks of Tiber, the rich in their free city, to pay the poor, in all sorts of gifts, a ransom for their power or their honours. Augustus gave them an example of this, and the most economical of the emperors, Vespasian, did not refuse enormous expenditure in constructing the gigantic edifice called by the Romans the Coliseum. Even of the bad princes there were few who did not sanction some edifice intended for public utility. What modern capital has erected for the gratuitous service of the masses buildings comparable to the theatre of Marcellus, the baths of Caracalla, the Coliseum of Vespasian, to those porticoes where one could walk in the fresh air and yet be sheltered from sun and rain for miles, with the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Greece before one's eyes? If we except what has within the last few years been done in London and Paris, what are our water-works compared with those of the Romans for supplying water to the urban populations? In the countries of the south water is an object of prime necessity, since the bath is indispensable for health. To give it for nothing

¹ The reverse of a large bronze of Titus, representing in the centre the Coliseum, on the left a pyramid, and on the right a part of the Golden House.

was, as we should consider, very democratic; and they knew how to make it everywhere accessible. Rome is still, in spite of the fall of so many ancient aqueducts, the city best provided with public fountains in the world.¹ In the provincial cities the source of a water supply was the first important concern of the curia. We have seen, in Pliny's correspondence when governor of Bithynia, what considerable sums were spent on these works. Till lately, Lyons, between its two rivers, was in want of water, and every summer Nîmes was liable to perish from thirst. The Romans had been able in the former case to raise water to the summit of Fourvières, and in the latter case to bring by the Pont du Gard the pure spring water from the Cevennes.²



A Dancer. (Statue from the Villa Albani.)

Theatres and Amphitheatres.—If the theatres were more dangerous than useful it was not the fault of those who built them, but of the poets who wrote bad pieces and of the spectators who

¹ Water for drinking purposes per day per head: at Rome (1869), 0.944 m.; at Paris (1875), 0.2 m.; at London (1874), 0.125 m. (Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, p. 471.)

² The aqueduct of Segovia is 66 mètres high, the Pont du Gard 47.40 mètres. The *Anio Vetus*, constructed B.C. 272, is 43,000 paces long; the *Aqua Marcia*, in 144, 62,000; the *Anio Novus*, in A.D. 52, 59,000. The total length of all the conduits which bring water to Rome was 428,000 mètres, of which 32,000 were on arches. (Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq.*, Aqueducts.)

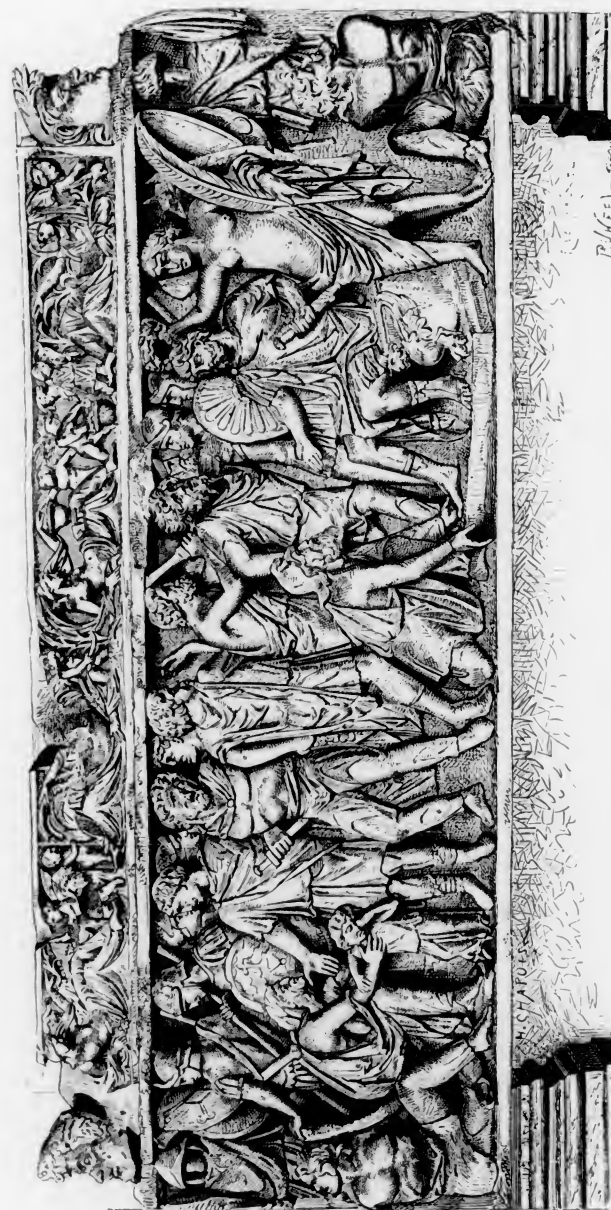
wanted licentious entertainments. Even when the people's festivities still kept somewhat of their primitive character, that of religious mysteries, they loved to laugh at the coarse wit and obscenities which at the Floral games amused the strictest republicans. What did these customs become in the midst of a populace recruited from former slaves? One must go to the heart of the East to see in the voluptuous dances of India or Egypt something recalling the attitudes of the Roman mimes, of the dancers of Cadiz or Antioch, or of those of the Empress Theodora. Without even going so far, there would be found in the royal or princely festivities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in a professed Christian society, exhibitions of naked women, sometimes selected from the noblest of the city, like those who at Lille represented before Charles the Bold the judgment of Paris.¹ In our days the *tableaux vivants* and the operatic ballets are not adapted to form a very strictly virtuous youth. But, thank God! nowhere will those pieces be seen in which the *realism* reached such a point as to exhibit to the spectators of the *Dying Hercules* a real pyre, actual flames, and in the midst a living man being consumed.²

As regards the games, the Romans did not comprehend their use in the same way as the Greeks did. At Olympia it was the noblest and most valiant who descended into the arena, and the exercises in it derived from this custom a dignity which the Roman games did not possess. In that we [French] are still much more the descendants of Rome than of Greece. Nor did the Greeks admire those sanguinary sights to which a city was invited, to see wild beasts tearing men to pieces; and prisoners, voluntary combatants, freemen, senators, butchering one another for money, for the plaudits of the crowd, for a smile from the prince.³ Trajan, the best of the emperors, made 10,000 captives fight in games

¹ See analogous facts in Friedländer, ii. 302, n. 1.

² Suet., *Nero*, 12, and Martial, *de Spect.*, 6 and 23. In No. 9 he speaks of a Laureolus, who was attached naked to a cross in the amphitheatre and delivered to a wild beast; in No. 23, of a representation of Orpheus, where the actor was torn to pieces by a bear, etc. It is true they were men condemned to death. Death by burning was a legal punishment.

³ *Feminarum illustrium senatorumque plures per arenam fadati sunt* (Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 32). Cf., Suet., *Dom.*, 4; Juvenal, *Sat.*, i. 22. Petronius (*Satyr.*, 117) has preserved the oath which gladiators had to take: "We swear to suffer fire, chains, the lash, death, whatever he may order us . . . we bind ourselves to him body and soul."



Captives brought before a Victorious General (from a Sarcophagus of Rome).

which lasted 123 days; we have seen Claudius assembling twice as many for his naval battle on Lake Fucinus, and as these unfortunates were not all resolved to die readily, in order to force them, legions, machines, and catapults were brought against them.

Others, on the contrary, joyfully seized the sword, to make their escape from life or servitude. Some, perfect actors in these bloody games, exhibited artistic movements, grace of behaviour in giving or receiving the deadly stroke. When falling, they still studied their pose and died with grace. But sometimes also a



Advertisement of a Gladiatorial Combat.¹ (A Poster at Pompeii.)

noble captive refused this degrading conflict, and with haughty look and arms crossed awaited the lion or panther.

At the end of the games, slaves armed with crooks drew the bodies out of the arena and threw them pell-mell into the *spoliarium*, a sort of cave under the steps of the amphitheatre. There two men, Mereury and Charon, dropped in. Mereury touched the bodies with a hot iron to see if there was any life in them, and gave to the care of a doctor those mortally wounded. Charon finished with blows of a mace those not worth the trouble of trying to cure. Two gates served for exit from the *spoliarium*; by the one went forth the living, by the other the dead, *porta sanarivaria, porta mortualis*.

The ruins of amphitheatres have been found in seventy

¹ Translation: "The troupe of gladiators of Aulus Suetlius Cerius, ædile, will fight at Pompeii, the last day of May. There will be a chase and *relarium* (to keep off the sun)."

cities in Italy.¹ What human butchery took place for popular amusement!

Yet less than might be imagined. Every year some hundreds of men, perhaps thousands, perished in the circuses;² but some were prisoners of war, or persons reprieved to whom a chance of escaping death was offered; others were members of a particular calling which, like the Spanish toreador, played life against fortune, *mortelque et vulnere vendita pastu*.³ We who have suppressed torture, who seek even to hide the final expiation, have a horror of those executions which demoralize the condemned, and we no longer see in them justice striking the guilty, but the ferocious delight of a people at its sport.

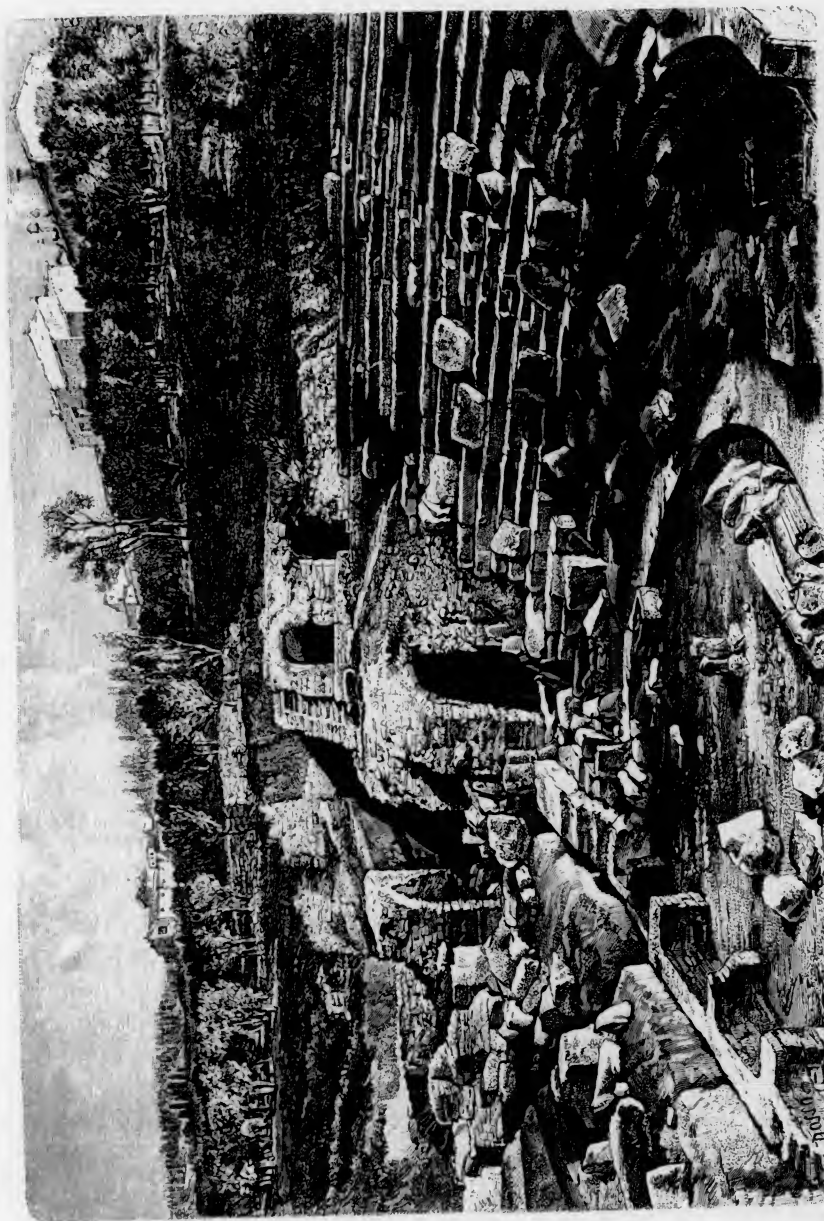
This is a legitimate disgust. Yet it is right to say that the religious faith which had established bloody games around tombs was not quite extinguished in the time of Commodus, where one meets with a gladiatorial combat given "for the health of the prince."⁴ Besides, the penal laws of the Romans were atrocious: they multiplied indefinitely the cases of condemnation to death, and the law of nations placed the conquered at the mercy of the conqueror. The gladiator cost a good deal; to expose a condemned person to the beasts was an economy therefore to the treasury. The assassin, the incendiary, the brigand, the sacrilegious, the soldier guilty of mutiny, etc., obliged to slay one another or to fight the beasts, diminished considerably the cost of the games. As regards prisoners of war too barbarous to become adapted for domestic service, they were well fed and trained and then sent to the arena, where their skill and courage saved some of them.

¹ Friedländer, ii. pp. 411-445. The greater axis of the Coliseum, including buildings, is 188 mètres (203 yards), the smaller 156 mètres; the arena 76 by 46 mètres. There were places for 87,000 spectators; 15,000 were able besides to find room standing. Next to Italy, Gaul had the most of them. In this country fifty-five have been counted by taking a good number of theatres for amphitheatres. Next came Numidia and Africa proper, where traces of twenty have been found, and Spain. None are seen in the northern provinces, nor in Greece, Corinth excepted, which was a Roman colony, and there were very few in the East. In the Middle Ages a wild beast was sometimes also the executioner. (Friedländer, after Burkhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, 288, 2.)

² Augustus says (*Mon. Ancy.*, 22) that 10,000 men had fought in the games given by him during his reign. This would be in forty-four years, for the imperial festivities, an annual rate of 115 dead or wounded, one half coming off clear. The gladiators simply wounded were well cared for, for they represented capital not worth losing when it could be prevented.

³ Prudentius, in *Symon*, ii. 1,092.

⁴ . . . *Pro salute imperatoris* (Mommson, *Inscr. Neapol.*, No. 4,040).



Ruins of the Amphitheatre of Fiesole.

The great slaughters took place after fortunate expeditions: under Vespasian, when Jerusalem fell; under Trajan, on his return from the last Dacian campaign; in the time of Aurelian and Probus, after their triumphs;¹ but the skirmishes which were continually taking place along the frontiers provided captives which were no embarrassment to the hard Romans. Those who seemed docile were enlisted or sold; the rest recruited the bands of gladiators.



Gladiators fighting with Wild Beasts. (*Atlas du Bull. arch.*, iii. pl. 37.)

Even at a period already Christian the panegyrists of Constantine used to say: "The perfidy of the Bructeri does not allow them to be employed as soldiers, and their savage nature prevents selling them as slaves; by exposing them to the beasts you have made the extermination of these enemies of the Empire serve for the pleasures of the people. This was the grandest triumph that could be imagined."²

¹ Vopiscus, *Aurel.*, 33; *Prob.*, 19.

² *Paneg.*, vi. 12, 3; viii. 23, 3. An edict of Constantine in 326 disapproved of these games, but another of the same prince of later date (Henzen, No. 5,580) authorized their continuance at

Not all gladiators perished in the amphitheatre. At every festivity a good number were saved by their skill or were healed of their wounds, especially when it was Galen who had the care of them, and some attained celebrity. The heroes of the arena

were as popular at Rome as the victors in the circus. Poets sang their praises, painters, sculptors, represented their exploits in the palaces, on the tombs, and even in the temples. Thus, the attraction



Mirmillo (Restoration).
(Musée de Saint-Germain.)



Mirmillo. (Bronze in the
Musée de Saint-Germain.)

of peril, the intoxicating stateliness of the spectacle, the applause of the crowd, the desire to win distinction, in the midst of this magnificence, by some famous deed whose reward they would find elsewhere,¹ induced young nobles of the equestrian and

Hispanum. Respecting the continuance of these shows for still another century, even under Honorius, see Cassiodorus, *Varia*, v., ep. 42, and Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, iii. 421 et seq.

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.*, vi. 78; Petronius, *Satyræ*, 126; Plutarch, *Galba*, 9; Spartianus, *M. Ant.*, 19.

even of the senatorial order to descend into the arena. The law forbade it, and branded the gladiator with infamy; but manners were stronger than the law. The emperor Macrinus had been a gladiator.¹ The need of expressing violent emotions which is in human nature finds its satisfaction according to the character of peoples and individuals in different amusements. This it was which made the intelligent crowd of Athens flock to see the tragedies of Sophocles and Æschylus, so full of religious terrors; it drove to the games of the arena the sons of those rude soldiers whose fortune had been made by war, and who seem to have transmitted the taste for blood to their posterity.



Mirmillo.
(Bronze in the Musée de Saint-Germain.)



Retiarius (Restored).
(Musée de Saint-Germain.)

Some of these actors in these blood-shedding games gained wealth: the parsimonious Tiberius offered as much as 100,000 sesterces to gladiators of tried merit to induce them to appear in the games, and Nero gave large estates to some mirmillones.

¹ Spartianus, *Macr.*, 4. Under Tiberius, when the games were rare, Seneca heard a mirmillo lamenting that he was allowed to lose his best years in idleness (*de Prov.*, iv. 4).

One might even be tempted to say that to see these men bravely giving or receiving death, the populations of the West preserved the remains of manly vigour which those of the East did not possess, for these pleasures were never popular among them.¹ Hadrian, the restorer of military discipline, thought these exercises useful and applied himself to them: *gladiatoria quoque arma tractavit*.² Titus and Verus did the same, and if our laws were not opposed to it we should still see volunteer gladiators. A writer of the time of Constantine explains this custom by an idea both religious and warlike. At the opening of a campaign gladiators were made to fight to accustom the soldiers to wounds and satiate Nemesis with blood.³ In the whole of Latin literature Seneca is perhaps the only one who, as regards these sanguinary games, thought as a modern.⁴ "This brigand has murdered," he says to a frequenter of the amphitheatre, "it is just that he should suffer what he has made another suffer. But what have you done, unfortunate man, that you should be condemned to be present at such a spectacle?" It would be hard to understand how honourable men like Cicero and the younger Pliny could have their moral sense so perverted had we not seen the most gentle minds justify the Inquisition and applaud the eve of S. Bartholomew. Even morality is a work of time, which by slow elaboration separates in the human heart the true feelings from bad passions, and there is not always more merit in being better when this merit simply consists in coming later into the world.⁵

Some liberated gladiators, who had never known how to save any money, were made mendicant priests of Bellona. (Schol. in Juv., *Sat.*, vi. 105.)

¹ We find this thought in Pliny (*Pan.*, 33): *spectaculum quod ad pulchra mortis vulnera accenderet contemptumque*; even in Lucian (*Anach.*, 37), who disapproves of gladiatorial combats, puts in the mouth of Solon to Anacharsis that a law of Athens obliges young men to assist at cock-fighting, in order that at the sight of these birds struggling to the very death the desire to brave it should inflame their breasts.

² Spartian, *Hadr.*, 13; for Titus, Dion, lxi. 15; for Verus, Spartian, *M. Ant.*, 8; for Didius Julianus, Spartian, 9, etc.

³ Capitolinus, *Max. et Balb.*, 8.

⁴ *Epist.*, 7. On the attraction of these spectacles, see the curious history of Alypius related by S. Augustine (*Confess.*, vi. 8).

⁵ Morality is eternal, and not a principle has been discovered which Plato did not know; but the knowledge of morality is not the same at all times, nor at the same period, for all men.

V.—EXAGGERATIONS OF THE MORALISTS AND POETS IN THEIR DESCRIPTIONS OF ROMAN SOCIETY.

Were private morals at all better than that section of public morals? Yes and no, according to what we look at and to whom we listen. Regard only Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, the festering centres of an immense agglomeration of men, where are developed even more moral maladies than physical ills, and you will find all the accusations true. It will be the same if you believe the statements of the moralists, who see all in black colours, and the comic poets and satirists, who see every thing distorted, because it is the rule of the former always to condemn the present to the advantage of the past, and of the latter, to study exceptional cases, to take social monstrosities as being faithful representations of the whole of society. Where a slight shade occurs they put a harsh tone which exaggerates the relief; and like them we only perceive what thus stands out. Seneca, in his day, laughed at those people who call their contemporaries to account.¹ "Morals are gone! Evil triumphs! All virtue, all justice is disappearing! The world is degenerating! That is what was exclaimed in our fathers' days, what they were repeating to-day, and what will be the cry of our children."

Let us take for example the vagrant's epic, the *Satyricon* of Petronius. This singular book recalls the indecent buffoonery of Rabelais. Its pearl is in the dung-heap. They say it is the human comedy of Nero's time. I agree, on condition that it is the life of the slums to which the author takes his heroes, regular jail-birds, putrid with immorality of every form, and to the point of no longer being conscious of their degradation. Tacitus, even Suetonius, puts these infamous things under a shade which is only half-transparent. Petronius and Juvenal give everything in its naked form. This picture is a page of history, but one which recurs wherever youth, gold, and the vacuity of a useless life are met with.

Petronius, supplemented by Martial, Apuleius, and Juvenal,

¹ *De Benef.*, i. 10. Letter 97 is still more explicit: "Our youth," he says, "is better than that of former days."

have procured much ill-fame for Roman society. But these writers who have been taken literally wished above all to amuse themselves and laugh, and together with them we find some very worthy people, whom no boldness of language affrighted, provided it contained cleverness and art. In the period of the *Précieuses* the great Condé liked to have the *Satyricon* read, and Molière seems to us now-a-days somewhat indelicate. A little later, Madame de Sévigné sent her daughter the *Tales* of la Fontaine, which she admired, but which we no longer read; and a minister, Count de Pontchartrain, collected for his own library, as pleasing curiosities, the books which the parliament publicly burnt.

As every large city has its drains, so every large society has its impurities. We are justly proud of the elegant and noble society which gathered round Louis XIV.: this was our golden age. In it are found heroic soldiers, magistrates of integrity, saints and martyrs, men of letters and learning, who are the honour of France, but also religious and virtuous hypocrites, who have been chastised by Molière and la Bruyère, great lords who cheated at cards and would have willingly thrown their serfs to the fishes, grand ladies who robbed their tradespeople or who carried into the "pays de Braquerie"¹ their shameless venal gallantries; prevaricating magistrates, peculating ministers, in fine, all the moral miseries which the archives of the Bastille have revealed to us.² Under Nero, Locusta kept a school for poisoning. But in the best period of the Renaissance Italy was called "the Poisonous," and among us, in the time of the Valois and the Brinvilliers, the art of causing the disappearance of a human being was carried to perfection. In the trials of la Voisin, the Abbé Guibourg, and Canon Dulong, the inquiry was abandoned to avoid finding the guilty parties even in the king's palace. Is it to be asserted that for this glorious period one must seek the representatives of France in the Bastille and the houses of ill-fame? Assuredly not. What we do as regards our own history, let us do then for that of the Empire.

Petronius and the Satyricon.—We have had under our old monarchy the reign of mistresses, who, while less repulsive than

¹ See the *Works* of Bussy-Rabutin.

² See the *Arch. de la Bastille*, by Fr. Rayaisson, 6 vols. in 8vo.

minions, were no better for the good administration of public affairs. The Roman Empire never knew the king's mistress and minions were without influence there.

When seeing the old families disappear so rapidly and so many unions remain sterile,¹ to such a degree that, from Caesar to Antoninus, in two centuries, not an emperor left a son except the petty townsman of Reate,² we should be inclined to believe that the Italian blood was impoverished as the Italian soil was exhausted. It is true that generations are quickly worn out in a state of wealth, immorality, and the unhealthy inquisitiveness of an unoccupied life; but the Roman nobility had two special enemies: under bad princes, the licitor; at all times, Greek vices, which encouraged a life of celibacy and which, if it did not destroy, at least prevented population.³ It is needful to add this cause to those which so rapidly led to the destruction of the ancient nobility.⁴

The *Satyricon* gives a large amount of space to these hideous pictures, but I shall only select such as are presentable, and some features of that provincial life which the historians, so occupied with Rome, absolutely leave in the shade. Let us first of all look at Trimalchio, that counterfeit Lucullus, a type of the fortune-makers of the time, who practises usury although he has millions, beats his wife, in spite of her services, and commits barbarisms, although he has always hungry rhetoricians at his table. With the sententious gravity of a man who tries to assume an elegant style after having made a large fortune, Trimalchio relates how from a slave he became a freedman, a master from having been a servant.

"When I first came from Asia I was no higher than this chandelier, and to make my beard grow I used to rub my lips and chin with lamp oil. But I showed the utmost complaisance towards my master and mistress; so he made me his heir conjointly with Caesar; he left me a truly senatorial estate. Man

¹ *Nec ideo conjugia et educationes liberorum frequentabantur, prævalida orbitate* (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 25).

² Claudius had indeed a son, but he was born of Messalina.

³ A moral law perhaps encouraged this immoral act, the *lex Julia de adulteriis*, by its extreme severity, and by the facility which it gave informers to attack under this head those who could not be caught in other ways.

⁴ *Difficile est vero nubere, Galla, viro.* (Martial, *Epigr.*, vii. 58.)

is never satisfied! I wanted to enter into trade; I loaded five ships with wine, at that time it was gold. They were all wrecked. Do you think I was discouraged? In faith, no! I sent forth other ships, larger, better, and more fortunate. There was no need to think me a chicken-hearted man. My wife proved herself most devoted in this crisis: she sold her jewels, her dresses, and put into my hand a hundred gold pieces. My new fortune started thence. One goes fast when the gods push you; at one venture I gained 10,000,000 sesterces. All I have undertaken has succeeded to perfection. When I saw myself richer than the whole district I threw away my books and my trade; I built myself a palace. Now I am making my money work."¹

He was right to possess this calm tranquillity, for when once arrived at the top, and installed in the midst of wealth, no one will ask him how he arrived there. Gold ennobles everything; it is the supreme god. How can one help not holding its pontiffs in consideration? "Trimalchio has lands enough to weary a kite in his flight;² his money begets more, and his slaves, good gods! there is not one in ten who would know his master. He buys nothing, everything is produced in his house: wool, wax, pepper. You might ask for pigeon's milk and they would find some." Happy fellow is this Trimalchio! He lies late in his ivory bed whilst the eager crowd of his clients kick their heels at his gates. At last he deigns to show himself; he addresses a few words from side to side, and favours the privileged with a nod. Order the litter! the slaves! Trimalchio wants to go to the Forum. If the weather is fine he will go on a costly mule. On his road he stops to make a visit; the retinue of clients stops and awaits him in the mud or in the sun; he continues his way, they run after him. And yet this Trimalchio is only a freedman. Till quite lately he carried wood on his shoulders. Whence this respect by which he is surrounded? He possesses 18,000,000 sesterces. How did he get them? Nobody knows; but he has them, that's the important matter. Stand aside then when he passes, and win his good graces if you can. Trimalchio knows what he is worth: moreover, see how he admires himself draped in his flowing toga.

¹ *Satyr.*, 75-76.

² Juvenal, *Sat.*, ix. 55.

The large sleeves are carefully drawn over his hands hardened by servile toil. What a sudden change. Yesterday the blows rained on his shoulders; to-day he is honoured, looked up to. He speaks loud and is listened to; he will say plenty of silly things! but his fortune serves as intellect for him."

A worthy precursor of all those who have elevated their fortune more quickly than their minds, Trimalchio expends from vanity his money on sumptuous feasts, in which he aims at



Skeleton, with the Socratic Maxim: *Know thyself*. (Mosaic in the Kircher Museum at Rome.)

astonishing his guests by luxury in bad taste and some learning acquired the evening before. In the midst of the orgies he commands a silver skeleton to be brought, which inspires him with this fine sentence: "Such we shall soon be; therefore let us live while it is possible to live well."¹ But he is more ridiculous than wicked; even, in some respects, he is better than the men of the preceding age, and I pardon some eccentricities in him, when I hear, from the depths of his dull soul, an echo of sentiments which were beginning to spread about and were going to make way, since

¹ *Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene* (*Satyr.*, 34). It was the practice to recall the idea of death in the midst of festivities, not to suggest grave thoughts, but to throw themselves more ardently into enjoyment. Cf. Martial, *Epigr.*, v. 64. M. Perrot found at Koutahia, in Phrygia, a mortuary inscription which represents folk having lived like Trimalchio: "I tell my friends: Give yourselves up to pleasure, to voluptuousness, live. You must die, therefore drink, enjoy, and dance." (*Galatie*, p. 117.)

they succeed in piercing through this money bag: "Gentlemen, slaves are also men; they have sucked the same milk: it is Fortune who treats them as a stepmother. Before my death, and that will soon be the case, I wish them to drink the water of freedom."

Chrysanthos has not reached so high a position, but he lives quite according to the world. Let us see what it was to live well according to Petronius and a good many of his contemporaries.

"He has had the lot which he deserved: he has lived honourably and has been treated honourably after his death. Of what would he complain? He had not a farthing when he began: he would have picked up with his teeth an obolus from a dung-heap. But he increased little by little, and I believe, on my faith, that he is leaving 100,000 crowns of property. At what age do you think he died? Over seventy. He had an iron constitution and carried his age wondrously. His hair was as black as a crow. I knew him formerly as very licentious, and even when old he respected neither age nor sex. Who could blame him for it? The pleasure of having enjoyed, that is all that he carried into the tomb."¹

Enjoyment! Petronius in this uses the expression of many in those days and even in our own.² But do we not find in these passages some of the traits and the animated style which make us think of la Bruyère?

Listen now to this street politician who sees only his own belly, only finds agreeable what secures him his pittance, and if that fail him, lays the blame on heaven and earth: "For the whole day," he exclaims, "I have been unable to procure a mouthful of bread, I seem to have fasted for a whole year. A curse on the aediles who are playing into the hands of the bakers! Help me, I will help you. And the poor suffer whilst these blood-suckers live in continual enjoyment. Oh! if we still had those lions which I found here on my return from Asia! Then it was that one made good cheer. Dearth desolated Sicily;

¹ *Satyr.*, 43.

² Has not la Fontaine written: "Enjoy yourself." "I will do so." "But when will you begin?" "From to-morrow." "Ah! my friend, death may seize you on the road: begin to-day" (*Fables*, VIII. xxvii.). Cf. Hor., *Carm.*, II. xiv.; and Martial, *Epigr.*, i. 16.

drought burnt up the country; but Sabinus was a thunder-bolt rather than a man; wherever he was he set all on fire. At the curia, how he pelted them for you! Ah! he did not go there by four roads, but quite direct. At the Forum, when he pleaded you would have thought it was the sound of a trumpet. And yet how affable he was! He returned every one's salute; he called every one by his name; one might have thought him one of us. During his aedileship bread cost but little: for an as you had enough to eat for two without finishing it; now the loaf for an as is not so big as the eye of an ox. Alas! alas! all is going to the bad. The colony is pushing the wrong way like a calf's tail. And how could it be otherwise? We have as aedile a man of naught, who prefers an as to the life of a citizen. He laughs at us when at home; he receives more money in one day than another would get by selling the whole of his patrimony. I know an affair which was worth to him 1,000 gold pieces. Oh! if we had a little pluck, he would not treat us so cheaply! But the people are like this now-a-days: lions at home, but foxes abroad."¹

You have heard this demagogue somewhere or other, for such as he are found at all times; but then he stopped at mere laments and did not get so far as an outbreak. He has, moreover, a character which ours do not possess: he is religious, or seems to be so, and would much like to stir up the bigots at the same time as the idle and the needy.

"What will happen if the gods refuse to show pity to the colony? Heaven help me! I believe that all this happens by the will of the immortals! For now no one any longer believes that heaven is heaven; no one fasts, no one takes account of Jupiter. The great thing is to count one's gold. Formerly the women with bare feet, floating hair, veiled face, pure souled, went up the hill-side to pray Jupiter to send rain, and it came down in torrents and all rejoiced. Times are changed: as the price of our impiety our fields are barren."²

But do not take Petronius at his word: he knows as well as Lucretius what his divinities are worth. "Now, those who are bound by vows, those even who would sell the world, emulously

¹ *Satyr.*, 44.

² *Id.*, *ibid.*

create gods which are propitious to their wishes." They had imagined one which had then, as now, many adorers—Gain. An inscription at Pompeii, in mosaic work at the threshold of a house, obliged the visitor in passing it to do honour to the divinity, the protector of fruitful industries—*Salve Lucru*.¹

VI.—STRICTNESS OF MORALS IN THE PROVINCES AND HIGH SOCIETY.

I have shown the outburst of immorality in the last century of the Republic; at the period of the Antonines, this society, which such great wealth, so suddenly and badly acquired, had unsettled, calmed down again. The disproportionate fortunes having been dissipated, and the means of making fresh ones no longer existing, manners changed. The Romans ceased to be parvenus throwing out money and honour with full hands like the enriched of yesterday, and social life resumed its regular course. Then the whole Empire was not situate in Rome. In following the satirists and poets we seemed to forget as they did the good folk who were living honourable, quiet lives, far from the great cities, and who composed the mass of the Empire's population: a solid but dull foundation not clearly seen, and from which stand out in bright colours the vices, passions, and unhealthy ambitions, because immorality is flaunted while good conduct is concealed.

Doubtless with a religion which prohibited nothing, and slavery which facilitated everything, the rule of morality, uncertain and unfixed, had little power to restrain vulgar minds. Can one, moreover, suppose that the whole Empire was assembled at Nero's festivities and seated at Vitellius's feasts, just as some believed that all France, a century and a half ago, had the morals of the Regency and supped every evening with the Duke of Orleans.²

But there is no lack of evidence to lead to the belief that if we could penetrate to the midst of the provincial populations, even into the bosom of some great Roman families, we should find those morals which always accompany moderation of fortune and

¹ One of the two lares of Trimalchio was Lucro (*ibid.*, 60).

² The recollections of the Maréchale Princess de Beauvau, whose maiden name was Rohan-Chabot, exhibit in complete eighteenth century dress the purest morality, and I ought to add, the noblest sentiments conjoined with the most complete religious scepticism.

desires or elevation of sentiments and character. "In the distant cities," says Tacitus, "we see ancient Italy again with the strictness of its early manners."¹ And he exhibits provincials staying for a time at Rome—chief men sent as a deputation to the senate or simply individuals come on private business, blushing at a dissoluteness which was new to them, *lascivia incerperti*. The "*novi homines*," he says again, "who were called from the depths of the provinces to the Roman senate, brought thither the economy and order of their private life." Marseilles "seems to him to unite in a happy harmony the politeness of Greece to the simplicity of the provinces," and before celebrating the exploits of the provincial Agricola, his father-in-law, he paints in a few words his private virtues: "He married Domitia Decidiana. The wedded pair lived in perfect unity and with mutual tenderness, husband and wife loving the other better than themselves."² Thus there is no need to be astonished at seeing Tacitus attribute a change in the morals of the Roman nobility to the advent of provincials to high public functions.

On this subject Pliny thinks like Tacitus; his mother was from Hither Spain. "You know," he says, "what the reputation of that province is and what severity of manners reigns there." And elsewhere: "At Breseia they carefully preserve the modesty, frugality, and the frankness of our fathers." . . . "You know also the austere nature of the Paduans."³ Listen even to Martial, the Spanish poet, to whom Rome had seemed the only place worth living in because ready verse-making opened the gates of the great. Feeling old age creeping on and his scanty poetic vein drying up, this frequenter of the Palatine and Esquiline became *rustic*. We see him celebrating the simple, economical provincial life. "Here I must nourish my land; it is that which there below will nourish me." And he wishes to leave the banks of the Tiber, where "even hunger is expensive; where one needs four togas in a summer, whereas elsewhere one lasts four seasons."⁴ He regrets the house of his birth,—"whose table was covered with the

¹ *Ann.*, xvi. 5. See, in Appian (*Bell. civ.*, iv. 39-40), the conjugal devotion of several matrons, at the saddest period of the Republic.

² *Ann.*, iii. 55. *Agric.*, 4. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 14. *Agric.*, 6.

³ Martial (*Epigr.*, xi. 16) confirms this reputation of the Paduans.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 96. He passed at least thirty-four years at Rome (*ibid.*, 103).

rich spoils of the paternal fields which would make him well off with so little;" and he finally returns thither.

Unhappily, Tacitus has not thought of painting this provincial life, because happiness did not supply those gloomy shades or striking colours which this great writer preferred. Yet, running through his narrative and that of his contemporaries, we see in the background, amiable, serious figures, and Pliny's correspondence admits us to the best company. The ideas of all these people are not very elevated, but very worthy sentiments prevail among them, and we meet only the kind of men with whom one would willingly live. First of all Pliny himself: we may criticize the governor of Bithynia, the writer who thought himself the rival of Cicero and Demosthenes, while harmoniously balancing empty periods, the orator who, measuring eloquence by the elepsydra, is very proud of having spoken seven hours at a stretch; but if Pliny is not a great man, he is most certainly a very courteous one, always ready to give his money or his advice, loving the good, respectable, and anxious neither to do nor say anything which was unworthy of him and his consular toga.

What kind of friends are his? Tacitus, a very thoughtful personage, who must needs have had the manners which he expected from others; Quintilian, whom he assisted in giving a dowry to his daughter, and whose great work is as much a book on education as on rhetoric; Suetonius, whom Pliny often entertained¹ and whose tastes, like his fortune, were very moderate, if we may form an opinion from the property he wanted to acquire. "This estate tempts my dear Suetonius in more respects than one: its nearness to Rome, the convenience of the roads, the small extent of the buildings and of the land, which divert but do not take up much time. Learned men like him need an avenue to walk in, a vine of which they can know every branch, and some shrubs, the reckoning up of which will not be difficult or long." Here see we literary men who did not run after wealth, who showed mutual affection, and lived in such a fashion that history brings nothing against them which could diminish the esteem which they mutually felt.

¹ *Probissimum, honestissimum, eruditissimum virum et mores ejus sequuntur et studia* (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 96).

Do we want a philosopher? Euphrates is unknown to us, and I do not know whether we need regret the loss of his works; at least, let us preserve the portrait which Pliny draws of this moralist—amiable, serious, not fretful, wise without pride, who, differing greatly from those brawling long-haired philosophers whom we shall presently criticize, makes war against vice, not men, and leads back to virtue by mildness in place of repulsing by insult. But just now it is domestic life which occupies us. "Euphrates is extremely polite, and the purity of his morals is equally high. Three children compose his family, and in nothing does he neglect their education. His father-in-law, who holds the first rank in the province, is worthy of praise for many reasons, especially for the preference which he has given, in the choice of a son-in-law, to virtue rather than to birth and fortune."¹

From literary men let us pass to men of the world, and we shall find some marked forms of character. Corellius Rufus² had all that could make life enjoyable: a good conscience, the highest reputation, a wife, a daughter whom he cherished, and some real friends. He lengthened his life to seventy by the purity of his manners, and when an incurable disease made him a burden to others as well as himself he resolved to put an end to his sufferings. In vain did they beseech him to give up the fatal determination. "I have pronounced the decision," said he, and he allowed himself to die of hunger. Titius Ariston did the same as Rufus. "You know," writes Pliny, "my admiration and tenderness for him. Nothing can surpass his wisdom, integrity, his knowledge. . . . His table, his dress, are of quite ancient simplicity, and on entering his house I seemed to see again the manners of our fathers. . . . Seized with a cruel malady, he summoned some friends and myself to his room and begged us to consult seriously his physicians, because he wished to make up his mind, either to patiently await a cure if time could bring one, or to leave a life of pain if the malady was incurable."³ These men who tranquilly balanced life and death, passed judgment on

¹ *Epist.*, i. 10.

² *Ibid.*, i. 12.

³ *Epist.*, i. 22. One of Domitian's friends, Festus (Martial, *Epigr.*, i. 79), a celebrated juriconsult, Caninius Rebilus (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 30), did the same.

themselves, and pronounced the sentence, do not in the least resemble the effeminate men of Martial or the low life of Petronius, and could not have lived as they. Add Thræsea, Helvidius, the elder Pliny, Agricola, Verginius Rufus, who declined the Empire, Cornutus Tertullus, who would have deserved it, Pegasus, "the very religious interpreter of the laws," Trebonius Rufinus, duumvir at Vienna, who suppressed the games in that city, and a number of personages whose virtues have remained in obscurity, like the devotion of the soldiers who lived and died unnoticed, on the frontiers, in the discharge of their duty.

Pliny knew well the will-hunters, and relates the unlucky adventures of one of them, Aquilius Regulus, the most celebrated practiser of that trade, who, having obtained 60,000,000 sesterces, expected to more than double the sum.¹ But his letters prove that there were also people capable of refusing an advantageous succession, and of accepting onerous legacies and executing [to their own loss] codicils, which were not obligatory.² Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, had given an example of the greatest simplicity of life; it was a tradition in this humbly born family. Antoninus's biographer says of this prince's father that he was sound and pure, *integer et castus*, of his maternal grandfather, that he had been irreproachable, *homo sanctus*.

Whence did Juvenal take the women who pose in his shocking collection? Just where they are still found, near theatres and dens, in the Tuscan quarter, where, as Plautus previously had said, "those are to be met with who sell themselves;"³ "where the impure crowd collect," adds even Horace, who was not very severe.⁴ Yet Rome had seen different morals, even in that imperial palace so much sullied in the time of Caligula and Claudius, Nero and Domitian. Under Augustus, Livia, indulgent towards her husband but severe towards herself, and Octavia, whose renowned chastity not a breath of suspicion touched; under Tiberius, Antonia and Agrippina, worthy objects of public respect; under Trajan, Plotina, whose virtue was a strength for her husband; and if I do not

¹ *Epist.*, ii. 20. This Regulus had property in Umbria, Etruria, and the Roman Campagna, another proof of the divisions of properties. (Martial, *Epigr.*, i. 12, 82; vii. 31.)

² See also in Tacitus, Rubellius Plautus (*Ann.*, xiv. 22).

³ *Curcul.*, iv. i. 478.

⁴ *Sat.*, I. iii. 229.

place the two Faustinas on this list of honour, it is from a compliance which history ought not to exhibit for accusations probably calumnious. When Seneca, who was born at Cordova, shows us his mother as having been "brought up in a strict home," and his aunt during the sixteen years that her husband governed Egypt, "as being unknown in the province," we can believe that his filial affection caught at a slight resemblance between the women of his family and those of old days.¹ But he knew others who recall ancient manners, Marcia, for example;² and how many do we not find in Pliny and Tacitus who, after having been, as Herodes Atticus says of his wife, "the light of the house,"³ will for ever continue an honour to their sex: as Antistia and Servilia, who, unable to save their father, die with him, and that Pomponia Græcina, a woman of illustrious birth, whose life remains a sad and touching mystery. United in close friendship with Julia, daughter of Drusus, whom Messalina forced to kill herself, she wore mourning for forty years and was never seen to smile. Had this disgust for Roman life and its dangerous greatness predisposed her to receive the new faith? She was at least accused of yielding to foreign superstitions. Doubtless in order to save her, her husband Plautius, the conqueror of Britain, claimed the right to judge her himself in the presence of his relations, according to the ancient forms of domestic government. This tribunal declared her innocent, and as this took place in the better years of Nero⁴ the sentence was accepted. But Græcina kept her sadness and probably the secret hope of a life where all the noble feelings of tender and pure hearts could expand.

Arria's husband, Cæcina Pætus, and his son were affected with a serious malady; the son died. His mother took such measures respecting the funeral that the father knew nothing of it. Every time she entered his room she gave him news of the sufferer: he had not badly slept, or perhaps he was going to eat a bit, and when she was no longer able to restrain her tears she went out for a moment, then returned with dry eyes

¹ *Multum erat si per XVI annos illam provincia probasset: plus est quod ignoravit* (*Consol. ad Hel.*, 17).

² *Mores tuos velut antiquum aliquod exemplar aspici* (*Consol. ad Marc.*, 1).

³ *Τὸ φῶς τῆς οἰκίας* (*C. I. G.*, No. 6,184).

⁴ In the year 57 (*Tac., Ann.*, xiii. 32).

and calm face, having left her mourning behind her. Later on, her husband, having engaged in the conspiracy of Scribonianus, was captured and taken to Rome. He was put on board ship. Arria begged the soldiers to take her on board. "You cannot refuse," she said to them, "a consular a few slaves to wait on him and dress him; I alone will do him these services." As they continued inexorable, she hired a fishing-boat and followed across the Adriatic the ship in which her husband was conveyed. At Rome she met the wife of Scribonianus, who wanted to speak to her: "How can I listen to you," she said to her, "who have seen your husband killed in your arms and who are still alive!" Foreseeing the condemnation of Pætus, she determined not to survive him. Thrasea, her son-in-law, begged her to give up this determination. "Do you wish then," he said to her, "if I were about to die, that your daughter should die with me?" "Yes, I should, when she has lived as long with you and so perfectly united as I have been with Pætus." Her family watched her movements and looks to prevent her fatal design. "You are wasting your time," she said; "you will make me die a more painful death, but it is not in your power to prevent me from dying." At the same time she got up and dashed her head with such violence against the wall that she fell down as if dead. When she recovered her senses she said to them: "I have already warned you that I know how to open the most difficult ways to death if you close up those that are easy." One feels no great astonishment that, to decide her hesitating husband, she struck herself with a poniard and handed him the weapon, saying: "There, Pætus, it doesn't hurt."¹ These are brave women.

Do we desire a simpler affection, a less theatrical devotion? Listen to Pliny. "I was walking lately on the shores of Lake Como with an old friend of mine. He showed me a house one of whose rooms projected above the waves. There, he said, a woman, our fellow-citizen, threw herself out with her husband. The latter suffered a great deal from an ulcer. When she was convinced that he could not be cured, she exhorted him to kill himself and promised not to survive him. They came on to this platform,

¹ Pliny, *Epist.*, iii. 6.

tied themselves together with cords, and threw themselves into the deep waters."¹ Not even her name is known. Another instance indicates that proud dignity which permits no hesitation on the question of duty. A lady had determined to send a considerable sum of money to a friend of hers who had been banished by Domitian. It was represented to her that this money would infallibly fall into the tyrant's hands. "It is of little consequence," said she, "if Domitian steal it; but it is of great moment for me to have sent it."

Paganism showed also great honour for a virtue which seems to us by no means a pagan virtue—chastity. Ceres, Vesta, whose legend was so pure and beautiful, desired priestesses like themselves; and the most respected persons among the Romans were the women consecrated to the two chaste goddesses. Apollo even had at Argos a priestess who was permitted no other love but the divine.² At the festivities the Vestals were seated in the front rank, and the reigning empress took her place in their midst.³

This society was also acquainted with women whom the *mundus muliebris* did not occupy all their time. In certain houses literary circles were held at which great ladies discussed Homer and Virgil, as the Hôtel de Rambouillet discussed the *Cid* or a new madrigal. Rome had its *Précieuses*, even its *Femmes Savantes*, and Juvenal and Martial have laughed at this like our great dramatist;⁴ but it had also its charming women whose delightful converse sharpens and elevates the minds of their hearers. "Pompeius Saturninus has shown me some letters which he says are from his wife. I thought myself reading Plautus or Terence in prose. Is he the author of them? I congratulate him. Has his wife composed them? I must still congratulate him for having so well taught her to write who was only a child when he married her."⁵ Sulpicia, a patrician lady who had been married to a wise

¹ Pliny, *Epist.*, vi. 24.

² Pausanias, *Corinth.*, ii. 4.

³ Tertullian (*de Monog.*, 17) says that still in his time, when a married woman became a priestess of Ceres, she voluntarily separated from her husband.

⁴ Juvenal, *Sat.*, vi. 434-456; Martial, *Epigr.*, ii. 90, 9.

⁵ Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 15. Statius's house seems also to have been a very delightful home. Cf. *Sile.*, iii. 5.

man, and who did herself honour by the purity of her life, was a renowned poetess. Some of her verses have come down to us—a powerful satire against the edict of Domitian which exiled the philosophers; but we have lost the poem which she had composed on conjugal love.¹ The very mention of Sulpicia's name made Martial look grave; he himself speaks of a young lady, engaged to his friend Cassius, who had the eloquence of Plato, the austerity of the Porch, and made verses worthy of a chaste Sappho.²

This enumeration might be continued for longer, and there might be still cited Polla, Lucan's widow, whose inconsolable grief has been painted by Statius;³ Fannia, whose virtues Pliny admired: the wife of Minicius Macrinus, living thirty-nine years with him without a cloud rising between them; or to name Spurrinna, a consular loaded with years and honours, who lived in the country with his aged spouse, each resting on the other's affection, to finish together "the evening of a fine day."⁴ In Agricola's house we have seen a similar spectacle.⁵ We are able only to open a little the door of the house where Persius did himself honour by his manly poetry. What virtues, what delicate tenderness are to be found in and around him!⁶

Let us finish with the portrait which Pliny draws of Calpurnia, his young wife. To please him more she studied polite literature, got his books by heart, put his verses to music, and accompanied them on her lyre. "You cannot imagine either her anxiety before I pleaded at the bar or her joy after I had finished. There is always in court some one appointed by her to bring her in all haste news of the plaudits and victory. If it happen that I have to read in public she knows how to secure a place, where, behind the

¹ Sidonius Apollinaris (ii. ep. 10) has given a list of lady poets at Rome; Balbilla has become famous by her verses scratched on the statue of Memnon.

² vii. 69.

³ *Silv.*, ii. 7.

⁴ See two epitaphs in Martial (*Epigr.*, x. 63 and 71) and in Statius, the poem (v. 1) addressed to Priscilla's inconsolable spouse, who, contrary to usage, refused to burn her body, but inclosed it with spices in a marble tomb, where they say it was found in 1471. Nigrina, after the example of the famous Agrippina, herself brought from Cappadocia to Rome the remains of her husband: *Rettulit ossa sinu cari Nigrina mariti* (Martial, *Epigr.*, ix. 31). An obscure soldier did the same for his wife.

⁵ Pliny says nearly the same thing of Plotina and Trajan (*Panegyrr.*, 83). See (*Epist.*, ii. 14) the picture that he draws of the life of a family.

⁶ Cf. Martha, *Une famille patricienne sous l'empire*, in his book of the *Moralistes*, p. 130.

curtain, she listens and relishes the praises bestowed on her husband." Then let that tender letter be read which he addressed to her, and that in which he speaks of marriages which do not in the least resemble the unions of which the comic poets write, since the families have on both sides only tradition of honour and virtue. In fine, according to what he enables us to see of Roman society, we find that the women had in their families much the same position as in our own. They appear surrounded by affection and respect. "What more do you want," he wrote to a friend, "since you have now your wife and your son."

We possess also the correspondence of Fronto. Owing to the bad taste of this Numidian, who became a consular, and to his being pre-occupied with light literature, his letters furnish nothing of any use for history. Yet with him we find ourselves for all that in good company. It is a poor intellect which rhetoric holds in leading strings, but an honest heart who loves tenderly all his belongings, his aged wife, his grandchildren, his brother, and son-in-law. Do not ask more from him, but place him in the gallery of worthy people, along with those noble friends of Hadrian who were already mentioned, with that Gavius Maximus, "a man of grave, austere manners," a Roman of the old days," who, in Antoninus's reign, exercised for twenty years, without in any way staining his honour, the formidable post of prefect of the prætorium.

It will be said: "These men were very few in number." It is possible. Rome in this respect would resemble all countries. However, from Cato to Marcus Aurelius, we find a succession of noble characters which is uninterrupted. The moral value of a society is marked by the degree of elevation to which its superior men attain and by the level at which the great mass arrive. The former give us the measure of the moral capacity of the people and show us the ideal which is set before them. By means of the latter, we get to know the facilities or the hindrances which social influences and education, taking this latter word in its broadest acceptation, have placed on the road which leads to this ideal. Now, Roman Stoicism is one of the noblest creations of the human mind, and the facts set forth in this work prove

¹ *Epist.*, vii. 5. *Ibid.*, i. 14; vi. 26. *Ibid.*, v. 18. *Vir severissimus* (Capitolinus, *Ant. Pius*, 8.)

that Roman society, certain aspects being set aside, was worth as much as many others which deem themselves far higher on the scale of morality.

These facts, these characters, belong also to the great families of the times. But let us look below them as we have looked outside Rome. Let us descend into those humble dwellings, "where are tolerated neither dice and immodest dances, nor adultery and the infamous amusements which are, with the nobles, the mask of the art of living." Let us enter these poor houses whence issue "the clever men who conduct the law-suits of the ignorant patrician, and brave youth who hasten to defend the Empire on the Euphrates or the Rhine."¹ There lived a middle-class who, then as now, were led to work by the scantiness of their fortune, but who, unhappily, have no history. It is clearly seen that it is this class which ploughs the land and sea, which produces and trades, which makes by its industry the wealth of the Empire, and by its spirit of order the tranquillity of the provinces. But to know something of its sentiments we are obliged to read the inscriptions on its tombs.

No people has left so many of them: it might be said that it is a class of literature peculiar to the Romans. They are often in verse and assume every style, every form. We there find philosophy and religion, faith and scepticism, raillery, bitter regrets, and very little hope. Every one there relates his life and expresses his feelings. At one time the deceased speaks to the passers-by, warns them that they are like him, but dust and ashes, or commends his tomb to them by threatening them with a penalty if they do not respect it.² Even dialogues are met with. Here is one between the relations and the Manes: "Be favourable to us," say the relations; and the Manes reply: "And do you give to those who are here what is due to them; give to Death." Upon which the deceased interrupts and says: "If the dead have any thing it belongs to me: all the rest I have lost."³

But we only seek in these inscriptions certain details of

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.*, viii. 39-55.

² "Whosoever shall deposit in this sarcophagus another corpse shall pay to the colony of Philippi 1,000 denarii and 200 to the informer." (Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 38.) There were many others similar.

³ Henzen, No. 6,457.

manners. If many of them lie like a funeral oration, like the tears of an heir, or the eulogiums of a successor, some show a real sorrow; you hear a heart-rending cry; especially you see, by what they praise, the qualities of which this society constituted the ideal of woman: "Aymona, wife of Marcus, was good and beautiful, an indefatigable spinner, pious, reserved, chaste, and a good housekeeper."¹ "She spun wool and looked after the house."² The deceased perhaps had not possessed these virtues; but by reading these mortuary inscriptions every time they passed the entrance of the city, along the Road of the Tombs, the living learnt what was expected of them, and more than one shaped her life accordingly. Honour was done to one for having married only once, *univira*;³ to another for having always shown herself ready to help.⁴ Primus said of his wife: "She was dearer to me than life;"⁵ another: "She never caused me any regret, unless it be by her death;" another: "Her virtues ought to be written in letters of gold."⁶ Here we feel distrust of the pompous language. A widow regrets not having preceded her husband to the tomb;⁷ a husband declares solemnly that after having lived eighteen years with his wife, without the least cloud, he will never invite another to replace her at the domestic hearth.⁸ . . . It is not certain that he kept his promise, but it is well that he made it. At Beyrout, Rufus Antonianus erects, "to the most pious and most chaste of women," a marble statue, "in order that she may serve as an example."⁹ I prefer

¹ Orelli, No. 4,639.

² *Domum servavit, lanam fecit* (*id.*, No. 4,848); *lanifica, domiseda*, etc.

³ Orelli, No. 2,742.

⁴ L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 1,987: *univira, omnibus subveniens*: and this is not an expression in epitaphs only; among the qualities that the elder Seneca recommends seeking in one's wife, he desires that she should be able to bear with her husband the ill that may come upon him, and besides that she be charitable, *misericors*. (Havet, *Orig. du christ.*, vol. ii. p. 232.) In a pagan inscription at Koutaiah, a certain Philomina is styled the *friend of the poor* (Perrot, *Galatie*, p. 119), as the freedman of Serranus, under Augustus.

⁵ *C. I. L.*, vol. i. 1,103, and Marini, *Inscr. Alb.*, p. 100.

⁶ Or.-Henzen, Nos. 4,626, 4,530, 7,385-6.

⁷ *Id.*, No. 7,388.

⁸ Or.-Henzen, No. 4,623. On the pompous but sincere grief of Herodes Atticus on the death of his wife, see Vidal-Lablache, *Hérodes Att.*, p. 65. The collections of Orelli-Henzen (*Sepulcralia*, Nos. 4,576-4,663 and 7,401-7,414), and of L. Renier (*Inscr. d'Alg.*, Nos. 1,766, 1,767, etc.) contain some touching funeral inscriptions.

⁹ De Sauley, *Voy. autour de la mer Morte*, p. 21.

these simple words engraved on the tomb of a freedwoman by the surviving husband, in the name of the poor deceased: "I await my husband, *Virum expecto meum*;" and I am pleased to find this inscription in Gaul.¹ Here is another which very certainly was sincere: "O holy Manes, I commend my husband to you. Be very indulgent to him that I may be able to see him in the hours of night."² Servilius Fortunatus so thoroughly loved his wife that he brought "her remains from the depths of Dacia across land and sea," to the foot of the Aures.³ I know well what the elder Pliny, Ovid, Seneca, and so many others, without speaking of Juvenal, say of marriage. All these ill-natured sayings did not prevent Cicero from taking a second wife, and the younger Pliny and Ovid from marrying three times.

At Rome has been read on a tomb: "On the day when my dearly-beloved spouse died I gave thanks to men and gods." It is quite a question in this case whether it was a bad wife or a bad husband, perhaps two ill-disposed persons; but if you accept this epitaph as genuine why should you believe that others are not so?⁴

Then, as in our days, pleasure tours took place with all one's family, to places a great way off by way of pilgrimage or from curiosity. The speaking statue of Memnon, in the depths of Egypt, attracted many persons who came to listen to the son of Aurora, and who brought to it the greetings (*proskynema*) of their friends or relatives. In the verses which Gemellus cut on the colossus, he likes to say that he is there, "with his dear wife Rufilla and his children." Another goes there with his sister; Trebulla regrets the absence of her mother; Aponius, that of his wife; N., that of his brothers. On the pyramids a Roman lady has written: "I have seen them without thee, O dearest of brothers! Remembering thee, I have shed tears and I have wished to write down my lament."⁵

Quite a little poem found on a tomb at Cagliari recalls the

¹ At Narbonne (Orelli, No. 4,662).

² *Id.*, No. 4,775.

³ L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 218; *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 1,169.

⁴ See in vol. ii. p. 682 of Wilmanns, the references to innumerable sepulchral inscriptions, which certainly are not all untrue.

⁵ Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, ii. Nos. 361, 365, 368, 378, etc.

devotion of a new Alcestis, Atilia Pomptilla, who offered herself to the gods, to redeem the life of her husband in danger of death. We do not know how the sacrifice was made, but the husband, "surviving with regret," attests the miracle while ardently asking that his soul might soon be again united to that of the tenderest of wives.¹

It would be necessary to cite in its entirety the funereal eulogium² of a noble lady whose husband has recounted at length the virtues, the sweetness, the bright piety, and indefatigable devotion which never for a moment belied themselves during forty-one years. By dint of prudence and courage she saved her husband when proscribed by the triumvirs and persecuted by the implacable hatred of Lepidus. Then, seeing the union continuing sterile, she spoke of a divorce: "Thou offeredst to give up this house to a fruitful spouse, to seek out a companion for me whose children should become thine. Thou desiredst to leave thy property at my disposal ready to render me, if I accepted them, the attentions of a sister or an affectionate mother-in-law." Here is a new form of divorce which Martial does not mention. It has been said that the ancients were unacquainted with pure love; this opinion is false. The mother of Pertinax, not wishing to leave her son, then a simple prefect in the fleet, accompanied him to the cold foggy shores of the North Sea, where she died a victim to her maternal love;³ another left the hot province of Africa to accompany her son, a soldier or officer of marines, to the very heart of Armorica.⁴ But it would be an insult to human nature to seek for proofs of filial or paternal affection: it is found in all times. I prefer to call attention to the fact that the alimentary tables of Velleia furnish a confirmation of the words of Tacitus respecting the strictness of provincial morals.

¹ *Ἐπειχόμενον διὰ παντός συγκρίσαι ψυχῇ πνιῦμα φιλανδρότατον* (*Voyage en Sardaigne*, by the Comte de Marmora, 2nd part, *Antiquités*). M. le Bas has criticized this inscription, which belongs to the first century A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 570-586), and he cites another of the same kind, the heroine of which, Callicratia, is still more unknown: *Ἀλκιστὶς νύη τέμ' θάνατον ὀνείπιον ἀνδρός ἰσθλοῦ Ζήνωνος*. . . .

² *Laudatio funebris*. The woman who is the object of it is Turia, wife of the consular Q. Lucretius Vespillo, of the family of the poet, and whose death can be assigned to the years 9 or 10 B.C.

³ Capitolinus, *Pertin.*, 2.

⁴ L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 255. See the same *Inscr. d'Alg.*, Nos. 3,864, 3,981.

Out of 300 children assisted there are included only two *spuri*. Did these natural children participate in the alimentary relief by special favour? Nothing obliges us to believe this to be the case. But if no more were found among the poor of three cantons, must we not admit that, at least in the country, the morals of the contemporaries of Trajan were as good as ours?¹

These sentiments, these facts, are besides in complete accord with the prescriptions of the law and the precepts of philosophers who put the wife on an equality with the husband. Musonius, Plutarch, among others, glorify marriage; they desire "numerous families to give to the State useful citizens, to the world creatures able to comprehend the harmonious wisdom of its laws, to God, faithful servants of his temples," and the public conscience had accepted this teaching.

VII.—INCREASE OF HUMANITY.

In the chapters on the Family and the City we have already shown how manners had improved in this great community, the Empire. Many other facts add to this proof. Let us exhibit some of them. At Fidenæ, the circus fell in, and 50,000 persons, it is said, were killed or wounded. In telling this sad story Tacitus seizes the occasion of contrasting the spectacle of republican Rome healing the wounded of its great battles with that of imperial Rome relieving the wounded in the circus.² Yet he is forced to let us see also the multitude hastening from Rome to relieve the victims, the houses of the great which are thrown open to receive them, the physicians who were called in, the aid organized, in a word, a generous movement of public compassion

¹ The ratio of natural children to legitimate in France is 8.45 per cent., or 7.46 relative to the whole of the births (*Statistique de la France*). The total of the *spuri* in Germany is higher. Dion Cassius, on entering upon the consulship, found 3,000 charges of adultery. This total will not seem very great for 100,000,000 men, if it is recollected that the law permitted all comers to stand forth as accusers, and that it even provoked accusations by assuring a reward to the *delator*. French law, on the contrary, only authorizes the complaint of the parties. Moreover, out of the 8,223 demands for separation introduced in France during 1873, there were only 278 based on adultery, the couples preferring to bring forward in open court other reasons. We see also that the number of disorderly marriages causing public scandal is more considerable among us than in the Empire, which is explained by the existence of divorce at Rome.

² *Ann.*, iv. 62.

to alleviate the sufferings of the poor creatures. We are justly very proud of our national subscriptions which repair the results of some scourge. This custom was habitual in the Empire. Aristides relates that the disaster of Smyrna, when overthrown by an earthquake, appeared in the whole province of Asia to be a public calamity. The cities chibbed together to send, by land and by sea, to the inhabitants remaining on the ruins of their native city what they needed. Others were received into the cities; they were anticipated with victuals, chariots, and collections were made everywhere to aid them.¹ Campania certainly acted similarly after the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, and Lyons was not the only provincial city which, in Nero's time, helped to rebuild Rome.² The historians did not then collect facts of this kind. Yet we know enough to convince us that the recommendations made to governors of provinces on behalf of the poor³ were not, in that society, a discordant anomaly.

We have found it very touching that certain barbarian laws do not constitute it a crime in a pregnant woman to pick fruit from an orchard while going along the road. The Roman jurists, who are represented readily enough with the severe countenance of implacable Justice, have not these delicate traits. Yet, to constitute a theft, they mean that there existed an intention of stealing.⁴ So also some canonists of the Middle Ages have felt themselves authorized by certain juridical texts to say that a thing taken from *necessity* was not a thing stolen; and this doctrine became that of the [Roman Catholic] Church.

The furious madman is not yet regarded as a sick person whom they will try to heal; but he is not at all what till 1789 he was with us, one condemned by heaven. They had no wish that the child and the insane who had committed a murder should be punished by the law. "The one," say they, "is protected by its innocence, the other by his misfortune."⁵ In a fit of fury one

¹ . . . pecunie collationem, και πολλὰς φιλανθρωπίας εἰς ὅναμον τὴν ἐκείτων γενομένης, in the *Palinode on Smyrna*, i. p. 429, Dindorf's edition.

² Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 13.

³ See above, pp. 112 *et seq.*

⁴ . . . Furtum sine dolo malo non committitur (Gaius, *Comm.*, iii. 397). Cf. *Digest*, xlvii. 2, 46, § 7, and law 76; and P. Viollet, *Bibl. de École des Chartes*, 1873, p. 336.

⁵ *Digest*, xlviii. 8, 12, and title 9, 9, § 2.

Ælius Priscus had killed his mother. Marcus Aurelius wrote to the judge: "He is sufficiently punished by his madness."¹

According to Catholic discipline an excommunicated person cannot enter the Church nor can his body be received in consecrated ground. The emperor, who was at the same time the sovereign pontiff, allowed the proscribed to leave their place of exile in the Cyclades to go and take part in the religious festivals of the large cities on the Asiatic coast,² and he allowed the Christians to bury their dead where it pleased them.³

In short, philosophy had ruined the principle of slavery by developing the truth—a truism to the Roman Empire—that nature has made men equal and that legal servitude is simply a misfortune.⁴ All the arguments employed in our days against slavery are in the books of Seneca, Epictetus, and Dion Chrysostom. In the fourteenth century the English insurgents asked the poor:

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?"

Long before them Seneca the Elder had said: "Look amongst the ancestors of a noble, you will find a man of naught."⁵ One perceives some progress made by the new doctrine by seeing what the *instrumentum vocale* of Cato had become.⁶ Apart from its original vice, slavery a good deal resembled our domestic service, and very often between master and servant there was found more confidence and affection than there exists now-a-days. What tender friendship Cicero had for his slave Tiro and Pliny for his nurse! Those slaves whose duties placed them constantly near their master formed as it were a part of the family. "I will confess to you," said Pliny, "my gentleness for my servants, and with the more freedom because I know with what kindness you treat your own. I have always in my mind those words of Homer: 'He was the best of fathers towards them,' and the name which the master bears with us—*pater familias*." And he relates how his freedman

¹ *Digest*, i. 18, 14. See above, p. 181.

² Plutarch, *de Exil.*, ii. p. 604, Didot's edition.

³ This liberty, which M. de Rossi proves by several recurrences in his *Roma sotterranea*, has secured the success of his excavations, and enabled the Church to recover her martyrs.

⁴ Seneca, *Epist.*, 47.

⁵ *Quemcumque revolvit nobilem, ad humilitatem pervenies.*

⁶ See above, pp. 291 et seq., the new legislation relative to slaves.

Zosimus having spit blood from having tried his voice in declamation, he had sent him first of all to get up his strength in Egypt. "But the cough returned, and I have often heard him say that on your estate at Friuli the air is very beneficial and the milk excellent for such disorders. I beg you to write to your people to



An Egyptian Scene on a Mosaic in the Musée Kircher. (*Gazette archéol.*, 1880, pl. 25.)

receive my freedman into your house and supply him with all that he needs. I will pay the travelling expenses."¹ And another day: "The illness of my slaves and the death of some of them have filled me with distress."² He allowed them to make a will, although a slave did not possess that right, and he religiously executed their last wishes: "My people leave what they have to

¹ v. 19. The same sentiments in the letter viii. 1.

² viii. 16.

whom they like, provided it be to some one of the house, for this is the native land, the polity of the slave." A proconsul enters while passing the house of Fabatus, who profits from the presence of the magistrate to set free several slaves. Pliny congratulates him thereupon and feels glad: "*Unice lator*, for I desire that your city should increase in all good things, and the greatest is the number of its citizens." To speak thus, there was need that he, Fabatus, and every one should at that time regard slavery as the source whence the people could be recruited without danger, because the masters had the duty of preparing, by means of discipline and education, the new citizens "who would augment the beauty and strength of the city."¹

Many people thought as Pliny did: there was not a will which did not give freedom to some slaves, so that the law had to restrict the number of those set free by will. We have seen² the last act of the consular Dasumius and how he was engaged in providing for his freedmen in the future. The words are not equal to those of Pliny, but the sentiments are the same, and we find similar ones in other testaments recently discovered.³ Think also of the habitual duties of the freedman: his patron's confidant, the depository of his secrets, the carrier out of his plans, the faithful bold agent, for good or for ill, of all his wishes.

One word more: the public evidence of the affection of slaves for their masters, of freedmen for their patrons, and *vice versa*, are so numerous in inscriptions that considerable collections have been formed of them,⁴ in which the truth has not been distorted by the pomposity of a feigned sorrow. Should we able to do as much?

¹ *Oppidis fortissimum ornamentum*, vii. 32.

² See above, p. 201.

³ That, for example, of Opimius at Philippi (Henney, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 41), which constitutes his mother heiress, and bequeaths after the death of the latter, to his freedmen and their descendants, different estates, on condition that the lands shall never leave the family (*familia*), and that the revenues shall be used for the support of the freedmen and the keeping up of the tomb. See also the curious will found at Basle, *Annali dell' Instit. arch.*, 1864, pp. 200 et seq., and Statius, *Silen*, i. 2; Martial, *Epigr.*, i. 102.

⁴ Gruter has employed not less than seventy-two pages folio, pp. 932-1,002, to collect the *affectus servorum et libertorum erga patronos, inter se et in suis* and the *affectus dominorum et patronorum erga servos et libertos*. The prizes for virtue which we adjudge yearly prove that these feelings always exist between masters and servants. But whoever has spent a long time in intimacy with Roman society will acknowledge that amongst us, the master and servant, the employer and workman, are much more strangers to one another than they were at Rome.

What is the conclusion of this chapter? That Juvenal is wrong and Pliny right? No. The latter was an honourable man, acquainted only with honourable people; the other a poet who, to attract the attention of a public tired of insipid poetry, strained the voice of his muse and gave her a fierce aspect. Where is the truth? On both sides. Roman society resembled all those which reach a high degree of mental culture and wealth. It had shameful vices and grand virtues; debauchees and moderate men; Messalinas and women united for life and death to their husbands; spendthrifts and well-ordered families who carefully administered their incomes; compliant masters and others who, without fresh laws, would have willingly treated their slaves in the ancient fashion.

Many writers have heedlessly passed by these domestic virtues: some because it has seemed more agreeable to them to follow the romancers and poets wherever they lead us, even into places of ill-repute; others of them because, having taken their side, they consider that this great Roman society may be looked upon as the sink of the world.

It is quite natural that having had its mortal enemies as heirs, this society has been, for fifteen centuries, represented in sombre colours; so much the more because with the facilities which despotism furnished the prince, slavery and religion to all, the ancients showed an indulgence towards sin which very fortunately we do not. What we hide they allowed to be seen. Now to hide one's vices has already become half a virtue, since shame exists in a greater degree and bad example in a less. Appearances are in our favour; our basis is certainly sounder. But ought we to entertain such pride as to have only dislain for those who have preceded us in life so great a way off? We have just seen that moral depravity was confined to a small part, there is no occasion to accuse it of the fall of the Empire. Besides, however distressing to make the avowal, it is not the morals of private society, if we take the expression in a restricted sense, which save or cause the fall of States. When disorder does not go so far as to enervate the mind it has not on the exterior life the influence ascribed to it. Even in the soul of the licentious there remain forces which can raise them from their degradation. How many

of them have been seen acting as heroes, how many effeminate men have met death bravely! Let us preserve our respect and homage for those whose lives are irreproachable; but, when we seek for the causes of the grandeur or decadence of a people, let us above all study their public morals and their institutions.

Every nation has its share of vices,¹ and everywhere moral monstrosities are found, men born with tendencies towards gross licentiousness or for crime. Of all that the Empire had its large share. What was wanting was not justice in the law, intelligence in men, good order in families, order in the cities, but character, and this was absent because in this society there was not that present which makes the dignity of man—liberty. But human nature preserved its rights; it was exhibited in its sentiments, even to a certain point in its morals, and in no part of the world then known did they aim at or think of more. When religious hatreds, which in our days are conjoined with political ones, shall be removed, it will be argued that we owe some gratitude to this imperial Rome which, next to Greece, has been for the world the mother of all civilized life.

¹ See on this subject, Bouillier, *Morale et progrès*, in cap. xv. "Religions," says M. Maury, "strengthen the observance of the moral law, but do not guarantee it;" and he points out that the Middle Ages and modern times have, in spite of the excellence of Christian morality, nearly as many vices as Greek society. He infers, as we have done in regard to Roman society, that it would be unjust to distinguish, in treating of the religious morality of antiquity, between precepts and acts, since this is not done in Christian society. (*Hist. des relig. de la Grèce*, vol. iii. p. 63.)

² Cameo on a fine agate of two layers. The griffins, sacred to Apollo, perhaps represent poetry. This cameo would in that case symbolize love and poetry, the one being the soul of the other, which it inspires and guides.



Cupid driving two Griffins.²

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

I.—THE LITERATURE OF THIS PERIOD IS NOT THE REPRESENTATION OF ITS GENERAL LIFE.

THE preceding chapters have shown what ideas the Roman people had regarding the constitution of the family, of the city, and of the government, and consequently respecting the rights and duties of the father, the magistrate, and the prince. They were for the most part old ideas, with which were combined increasingly from day to day, by the sole effect of time and of the development of civilized life, conceptions which were quite novel to this severe world of antiquity. The spirit of equity enlarged the narrow formulas of Quiritary law; the family was organized on a basis of greater liberty: the slave became a person; charity took its place in the administration of the Empire and the cities, good feelings in the habitual intercourse of the citizens, and for the idea of the privileges of common descent was substituted that of human brotherhood. It was the commencement of the greatest revolution the world had as yet seen.

What shall we now say of its literature? What has its part been in this movement of renovation?

It is asserted that writers are the faithful representatives of the intellectual state of a people. They point out plainly the higher currents in society which sometimes lead it, but which, frequently also, only exist on the surface; and they do not always indicate the deep currents by which are determined the decisive movements in the heart of the entire mass of the nation. That is true, especially for the literature which succeeds that of the Augustan age.

After having had, from Plautus to Lucretius, the roughness, the strength, sometimes the lustre and boldness of youth; after

having expanded, from Cicero to Ovid, into a calm beauty, Roman literature reached old age. It had lost the charming gift of creation which belongs only to privileged periods; and instead of being the expression of the national life it served as the mental exercises of needy poets trying to find distraction for wearied senators. It became a trade, and they made a calling of it. Politics, which is the science of realities, being interdicted, men were thrown into the world of unrealities. In everything the style was forced: art became colossal, being unable to attain harmony, and it became heavy from clumsy ornamentation. The poets became bombastic, overloaded their language with exaggerated phrases, and mistaking tinsel for pure gold, sought after *esprit*, which is only of value when it comes spontaneously to add grace to strength. Though its present was so full this literature took delight in mythological fables; only when society sought to be purified from the pollution of Nero's time it took pleasure in stirring up this filth. Thus was it justly punished: at the time when all is prospering it declines.

It is not at all an ignorance of all the kinds of writing, all the turns of style, all the rhetorical figures and their employment according to the rules of the schools. Like a dramatist who is engaged much more with the theatrical machinery than in moving us by pity or terror, so the writers of those times took the subordinate for the principal. What ought to be the beginning of literary life has become the aim and end of it: the sterile endeavour which engages minds without wings to soar on high. We may, therefore, without injustice, pass these writers rapidly in review.

Look at the great poets of the time: Silius Italicus and Statius. They have, it is true, imagination for details, but they do not possess any creative power, nor deep heart feelings which give immortality to the poet's work; they are archaeologists writing in verse. Silius, a prudent cautious senator, who was consul under Nero and perhaps also under Domitian, while continuing a tolerably honourable man, escaped the dangers of reigns like those and at the same time the cares of old age, by writing daily a few lines quietly which resulted in a poem of 10,000 verses, which the historian consults but which the world hardly reads.

Statius, on the contrary, is an improvisator. He takes care to tell posterity that he composes rapidly, as Pliny wanted it to be known that he could plead for hours: "Not one of my *Silvæ* cost me more than two days, and some of them took much less." He has sung the exploits of the Seven Champions before Thebes—which subject must have tired out the Romans of his time.

Valerius Flaccus goes back still further, even to the Argonauts: mythological poems and lifeless, affording temporary pleasure to the unoccupied lovers of letters, but which the people could not understand. Martial, to whom too much honour has been paid, is not so tedious, and belongs more to his time: "My muse," he says, "does not proudly put on the extravagant cloak of the tragic poets. Everybody praises them and admires



Persius (Aulus Persius Flaccus).¹

them, I confess; but it is I whom they read."² And unfortunately he had reason to boast of it. Then were read everywhere, even to believe himself, in pure-minded houses, his 1,500 epigrams, small pieces, the longest of which does not exceed fifty verses. In them are found wit, some feeling, conciseness, which is the principal merit at which he aims, and the skill to shoot his arrow at the close. But this writer of such short

¹ Bust in the Capitol, Philosophers' Room, No. 35.

² *Epigr.*, iv. 49. On the poets of this period, the *Poètes de la décadence romaine*, by M. Nisard, will be read with pleasure and profit.

breath no longer dignifies in our estimation a third-rate order of talent by lowering it to the lowest places. A mendicant poet, he flatters "the god Domitian," to get some crowns out of him, and if he leads out his scantily-dressed muse into the slums of Rome, it is as much from calculation as from taste: he expects to sell his books well, and to secure the custom of all the licentious. "My verses are licentious," he says, "but my life is irreproachable."¹ You are mistaken, Martial (we may reply), your life is not virtuous, since you trade upon vice.²

Persius declaims with conciseness and obscurity on moral questions; Juvenal, energetically on the vices of Rome; Lucan, with brilliancy on the civil wars. The first is a noble nature, and his work, a sort of catechism of the Stoic doctrine, is full of that philosophy which raised some minds so high and which we shall come upon again and again. Of a pure heart and manly understanding, he has [some] great thoughts and [a few] beautiful lines,³ a spotless life, and he died at 28; let us honour him:

Manibus date lilia plenis.

We find in Lucan what is superficial and forced by the side of dazzling beauties. His verses written for some young persons who, facing the orgies of despotism, glowed with emotion before the image of an ideal republic, did not respond to the public sentiment. From the time of the Antonines they were out of fashion.⁴ Lucan looks towards the past; we should have nothing to ask of him about the present, still less about the approaching future, if in his verses, in which the then dominant teaching of the Porch is prevalent, we did not find some echoes of his own times: the idea of the universal city, of the human race laying down their arms to replace war by a brotherly friendship, even that, which the philosophers do not express, of the fruitful works of peace transforming the face of the world.

¹ It was an echo of Ovid's words, just about as credible: "My muse has been frivolous, but my life has been pure." (*Tristia*, ii. 354.)

² He often speaks of his bookseller, gives the address, the prices, and sends those to him who inquired for his book.

³ Persius's six short satires contain only 650 verses. According to him and the Stoics, his masters, evil comes from ignorance. Philosophy alone teaches to do the right, and every man can attain this knowledge, i.e., wisdom.

⁴ Suetonius (*Life of Lucan*) notes as a forgotten practice that in his childhood Lucan was read in the schools . . . *Poemata ejus prelegi memini*.

When the republican army reaches the oasis of Ammon, Labienus asks Cato to consult the oracle. What need is there, replies the latter, to question it?

A god resides in our hearts, he speaks to us without voice.
When sending us into the world, he told us, once for all,
All that there was need to know.¹

This god is that of Epictetus, and at that very time S. Paul, almost in the same terms, was making known to the Areopagus at Athens the Unknown God.²

Juvenal is considered an authority for the morality of that period. Yet what is the value of his evidence? We are bound to note it, and his life and mode of writing will explain it. The son or pupil of a freedman, he does not seem to have had an easy life. At least he was unable to succeed either at the bar, since he continued poor, while so many others had grown rich, or in the army, since he was unable to rise above the rank of sergeant of a cohort, and he declaimed for a long time without further increasing his fortune. It was quite late that he applied himself to poetry, in the years of life when the imagination has already cooled, but when there remains enough fire in the blood for anger. In his birth, talent, and the smallness of his means,³ he was like Martial, what we should term a "failure;" but the poet of Bilbilis, of joyous disposition, was a lover of laughter, even in narrow circumstances. Juvenal, on the contrary, one of those men whom natural disposition or condition renders morose, saw and painted everything in black. He does not distinguish shades, and is as angry at a caprice as at a crime. Society, in which he found only a modest place, seemed to him naturally ill-constituted, and he became its implacable judge;

¹ ix. 573. At verse 580 he says: *Jupiter est quodcumque vides, quocumque moveris.*

² *Acts*, xvii. 28 . . . *ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἰσμεν* ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασι, τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἰσμεν. This last clause is a hemistich which is found in Aratus (*Phaenom.*, 5), and in Cleanthes (*Hymn to Jupiter*, 5).

³ He says himself: *res exiguae . . . humilis domus* (*Sat.*, xi. 129 and 160), and he paints poverty as a man who has suffered it (iii. 147). Yet an inscription of Or.-Henzen (No. 5,500) makes him duumvir, quinquennial, and flamen at Aquinum. Respecting his life, cf. Teuffel's *Hist. of Roman Literature*. It is not certain that he was a pleader . . . *Declamavit, animi magis causa quam quod scolæ se aut foro præpararet* (*Vita Juv.*). The cause of his exile into Britain rather than to Egypt seems to have been the recitation in a crowded theatre by an actor of one of his pieces (*Sid. Apoll.* xi., 267). In other respects only conjectures can be made both regarding his life and his death.

unless this great wrath was calculated, and in place of historical pictures we should recognize in his work old scholastic theses eloquently put into verse. He himself even informs us that before writing he impartially examined all the kinds in vogue and that, from satiety of elegies and Theseids, of which he was quite sick, he decided for satire because it had been abandoned. But, prudently, he avoided his own times. Those whom he intended to flay with his biting hyperbole are only "the dead who repose along the Latin and Flaminian Ways," the companions of Nero, the young prince, a lover of art and licentious, who gave the reins to all the vices and made Rome subject to all the follies with which he was himself possessed. Juvenal has written sixteen satires, brilliant and sonorous, against women, nobles, hypocrites, etc., exact portraits perhaps of certain individuals, but assuredly false as a representation of society as a whole. Let us cease taking Juvenal as the true painter of Roman manners, especially those of his own time, the grand period of the Antonines.

The prose writers are nearer to real life. Have they exercised a more serious share, with the exception of Seneca, of whom we shall speak later on?

Petronius, who is half poet, and Apuleius, who might have been one, have written two romances of low life, in which the hideous side of Roman manners is laid bare, but without having pretensions to general truthfulness. Apuleius, an elevated mind which takes its place in the philosophical movement of his time, seems to have made a bet to live a few days in bad company. Happily he comes forth in a manner which is for himself and his reader an escape. Petronius was also tired out for a while with the world of luxury while frequenting houses of ill-fame: a fine lord lacking employment who mixes with the low to find some excitement.

We should not leave these books to lie about on our tables; good Roman society would nevertheless put them on theirs. Moreover, we should be disposed to conclude hence that the latter sought very low forms of excitement if we did not know that the best society of the seventeenth century, like a virtuous woman who can understand many things without being harmed by it, took pleasure in the perusal of Petronius, just as it was not shocked by

the coarse expressions of Molière. We have refined modesty; are we the better for it?

The elder Pliny has the curiosity of a scientific man; he died of it; but he has not the scientific spirit. He is but a collector, heaping together bad as well as good, and disposing facts in his pigeon-holes, according to an external arrangement, without selection, without criticism, and without ever uniting them by a philosophic bond. The science of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Hippocrates, and Hipparchus, becomes in his hands an often rude empiricism. Of nature and life he sees but the surface, all in it is to him phenomenal and accidental, nothing in it is harmonious or under general law. The declamations that he here and there interposes in his immense catalogue, formerly considered very eloquent, are, when seen closely, very slightly philosophic. Yet we owe some gratitude to this friend of Vespasian who, loaded with public duties, was, like him, irreproachable in the use of power, and who, like the prince also, an indefatigable worker, occupied his nights in reading and preserving for us what he had learnt.

His nephew, the younger Pliny, in his panegyric of Trajan and in many of his lost writings, thought himself a rival of Demosthenes and Cicero: it is Fontanes succeeding Mirabeau. In his letters, Cicero takes us to Rome and the senate, to the villas of the great and the provincial governments; he tells us of the intrigues which are formed, the ambitious designs entertained, the events which are arranged, and those which are brought to an issue. The men of whom he speaks are living figures which he draws in ineffaceable lines. In his correspondence the literary man admires the very style, the historian sees society reflected in them as in a mirror, and the philosopher, the man who exhibits his whole inner life. Pliny's letters, written for the public eye, not under the pressure of events and passion, but for the sole pleasure of writing, want spontaneity and interest. The author poses for the portrait which he wishes to be taken of him. Nor does he forget anything which can elevate and ennoble his likeness, such as a bequest in favour of a city, an act of liberality to a friend, an allowance to some merchants, or what he considers spirited acts: a visit, for example, in the suburbs of Rome to a philosopher driven from the city, and certain words spoken in the

senate, or what he regards as stoical and meritorious indifference, his calmness in the presence of Vesuvius burying the Campanian towns. Doubtless, this is the defect in all authors of correspondence; but this personal pre-occupation is not compensated in his letters by the animated picture either of a brilliant court or of a society in labour with a new world. Pliny is no great letter writer. Without the official correspondence which forms the tenth book, and where he is obliged to write as a provincial governor, his letters would teach us very little. However, they give us glimpses of an honourable and worthy society, where he himself and Tacitus, his friend, were in their places, and which certainly aided the Empire to exist, while preventing it from belonging to the vagabonds of Petronius and the debauchees of Martial and Juvenal.

Tacitus is quite a different figure: a man of honour like Pliny, but in addition a great writer who, in certain respects, has the right to claim the first place among Latin prose writers. His thought is vigorous like his style, although its depth is more apparent than real, because, while an incomparable painter and wonderful artist in fine language, he was neither a philosopher nor a politician. Who can tell us his creed? Though superstitious, he does not know if there be beyond the grave a sanction to this life, and he admits Fatalism, that is to say, the contrary to that liberty which he respects so much. At the very most does he leave to human wisdom the power of choice in the way marked out by destiny, the narrow way in which neither baseness nor peril is found, because he makes those who follow it pass between the resistance which destroys and the servility which dishonours. His religion, if he had one, is as gloomy as his soul. He does not believe in the good-will of the gods, but he does in their anger. After having traced, at the beginning of his *Histories*, some calamities which the Empire had already suffered, he exclaims: "Never did juster punishments from Heaven prove to the world that if the gods do not watch over us to protect, they at least take care to punish."

In politics his ideal is that which Trajan realized; he desires nothing more than a good prince governing in harmony with the senate, and the tragedies that he has so admirably related have

not taught him that a great empire requires some forms of security which may be independent of men. He does not foresee that the Antonines, preceded by Domitian, will be succeeded by Commodus.

The works of Tacitus belong to those which will always be read. He who desires to restore to our language the firmness which it loses by the extemporaneous effusions of the platform and the press ought to study this brief forcible style, rather than the Ciceronian period, which unrolls in large sumptuous folds which are so unmanageable to a feeble hand.

By his character and life Tacitus adorns Latin literature and that of all time. But when we have drawn attention to his indignation, which often leads him astray, and his vindications of liberty, which he always couches in an eloquent vagueness, we have said all respecting his influence on his contemporaries. Yet his works certainly contributed to draw the senate nearer to the emperor. This is a sufficiently great service to cause history to pronounce his name with gratitude.

Suetonius ought to have made an excellent imperial secretary from a literary point of view. But this writer, whose phrases are happy and expressions well-chosen, never seems to have thought. He is of a small mind and is a poor historian. He collects pell-mell facts furnished him by archives and contemporary monuments, and disposes them according to an apparent order, which is only chance and confusion. His collection is a valuable mine of materials where one must work with prudence, but not a living work. He is wanting in the great art of composition, and quite as much in the philosophy which interprets facts and discovers the truth hidden under contrary appearances. He has the robust faith of the old times in ridiculous miracles, and he is afraid of dreams. We have nothing to ask him, any more than of Quintus Curtius, Alexander's too credulous historian, or Justin, the abreviator of Trogus Pompeius, and we know beforehand what must be thought of Fronto, in spite of the friendship of Marcus Aurelius. Columella, Pomponius Mela, and Frontinus have left some valuable remarks on agriculture, geography, tactics, and aqueducts; but their books belong to the class which furnish facts without giving ideas.¹

¹ The same is the case with Julius Obsequens (*de Prodigis*), with Censorinus (*de Die*

We can also pass by without stopping the *Institutions of Oratory*, a work correct and cold, but of very pure taste, in which Quintilian has brought together all the scholastic rules for forming the orator. He knows well enough that no master will ever give the inventiveness which discovers, the logic which enchains, the passion which warms, the tones which awaken an echo in men's souls, and that if art forms rhetoricians, nature, circumstances, and the study of the great models alone make the powerful orator. The skilful rhetorician has at least the merit of recognizing that it is by the touch of genius and not in the schools that the torch of genius is rekindled.

Accordingly, with the exception of Tacitus [and perhaps Juvenal] all these authors make up a literature of the second rank; often affected and full of mannerisms, or taking exaggeration for force, subtilty for accuracy, and in which the creative faculty is wanting.

It is not because the public was little inclined for literature. There existed for it a very strong taste, and this society placed nothing above the pleasures of the mind. Books were loved and sought for; libraries were formed which at least saved the treasures of ancient literatures,¹ and as this taste reached the provinces it was useful for the spread of books throughout the Empire. There were libraries at Lyons and Autun; we know that Martial's *Epigrams* were circulated in Gaul and Britain and that Ovid's verses were read everywhere.² There even existed literary societies. Augustus had founded an Academy in the imperial palace, Caligula, that of Lyons; and the Museum of Alexandria was always a scientific centre. Agrippina's son had instituted the Neronian games, which Domitian renewed by adding to them the contest of the Capitol (*agon Capitolinus*), in which every five years prizes in poetry, eloquence, and music were competed for.

But this society was too fortunate, and the over-rich lands gave fruits without flavour, whilst the perfumes of Araby grow

natali), with Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticæ*), whose book, he himself tells us, "was written without examination and order," etc.

¹ Larcus Lucinus offered the elder Pliny 400,000 sesterces for his MS. of the *Historia naturalis* (the younger Pliny, *Epist.*, iii. 5).

² Seneca, *Controv.*, 7.

in arid sands: high art was on the decline. Yet if the rostra were dumb, the occasion was found almost as often in imperial as in republican Rome of making brilliant speeches: in the courts and the senate, in the meetings for declamation, in meetings of all kinds, even in the army, where numerous medals represent emperors haranguing their soldiers. In short, a new and powerful form of eloquence was being born: that of philosophers trying to attract the multitude by real discourses, and that of the doctors of the Church, who by preaching will conquer the pagan world.

The press not being in existence there was more talking than writing. This was a necessity in the then state of things. Consequently education in the schools gave a very high position to the oratorical art, which the government itself favoured. The most ancient chairs founded by it were for rhetoric, or, as we should call them, professors of elocution. Quintilian held the first, and the economical Vespasian endowed it with a stipend of 100,000 sesterces. Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, multiplied these endowments and granted the professors valuable immunities. All the cities of any importance followed this example; one may say that at no other period was the art of speaking well more cultivated. The Cæsars, the Flavians, were themselves men of learning; the Antonines were lovers of art or philosophers, and no princes ever did more for the development of intellectual life.

It is true that politics and history were silent, at least under the Cæsars and Flavians, for during Trajan's reign Tacitus wrote his redoubtable works, and Suetonius, Hadrian's secretary, his lives so implacable in their silly impartiality. Even before Nero's face Lucan had sung the virtues of Pompey, and Horace, at the court of Augustus, had celebrated the indomitable Cato. Habitually did the emperors leave their subjects a liberty as regards philosophy and religion¹ which ancient France did not possess. Then religious and political subjects could not be discussed, under pain of the Bastille; in history a prudent reserve was needful, and the boldest philosopher had to restrain and veil his advanced doctrinal

¹ I have explained in vol. iv. pp. 505, 720, 815, and vol. v. pp. 120, 157, etc., the particular motives for the persecution of the Christians, and shown in vol. iv. pp. 520, 663, that in the case of Thrasea, Helvidius Priscus, etc., not philosophy but political opposition was proscribed.

opinions. Yet the age of Louis XIV. is our great literary period. In spite of the contrary prejudice, we are therefore forced to admit that the nature of the government exercises very little influence on literature and causes neither its brilliancy nor decay. Genius is born where it lists, and there is no human power capable of making a writer when nature has no share in the matter. At the very most one can say that circumstances favourable or not so, aid or hurt its development. Besides, in the heart of every civilized nation there exists a mass of floating intelligence which, like the coin in circulation, sometimes more abundant, sometimes scarce, serves the daily wants of social life, and also a certain quantity of intellectual power which is applied to the superior wants of the mind. The latter is the reserved capital used in deep speculations. But the nature of these speculations varies with the time, and works can differ without lowering the intellectual level. After the formation of the Roman Empire the active minds threw themselves into the administration and the army, whilst the meditative minds studied the means of organizing this immense society according to the justest laws, or of regulating private life by the best moral precepts.

The same division has been effected at all periods. Italy in the Renaissance sought and found glory in the plastic arts, France of the seventeenth century in the cultivation of the best forms of literature. Napoleon, who would have made a prince of Corneille, created only marshals, and our time, which promises fortune and honour to literary talents, produces above all chemists, physicists, engineers, and manufacturers. In the four periods named, by the side of the kinds that dominate in the order of intellectual activity there are others which languish. So was it with the Empire: in place of adding fresh names to the poetic constellation of the Augustan age, it has formed administrators and juriconsults, architects and philosophers, and excellent ones too. There was therefore at that time the displacement but not an eclipse of intellectual force. Is it not a compensation, in the absence of great poets, to have had men who knew how to give peace and prosperity for two centuries to so many millions, who have framed the justest laws, constituted the best civil life, and taught the purest morality? Time and the barbarians have caused the disappearance of almost

all the monuments of the Antonine period; but do we not believe that if the temple of Olympian Zeus were still standing on the banks of the Ilissus, Palmyra in the midst of its desert, Baalbec on the slopes of Libanus, and Trajan's Forum not far from the Capitol with all the wonders which it contained, this period, so rich in magnificent works in administration, in law, in art, and moral philosophy, would rank among the great periods of history?

And then, when it comes to measuring the intellectual value of this time, it would be unjust not to take count of the authors who used the other great language of the Empire. Greek was understood at Rome; the best society spoke it, and there was no man of letters who could not read the works written in it, which were not always composed by men of Greek origin, as, for example, Marcus Aurelius, Ælian, and the sophist of Arles, Favorinus, in the Antonine period, the African Cornutus, as early as Nero's time, and perhaps Germanicus in Augustus's age. Gauls, Spaniards, Africans, were admitted into Rome's literary Pantheon: with what right can we close it against writers of the Oriental provinces, against consulars like Arrian and Dion Cassius? We know well enough that there no longer existed any "sons of Romulus;" that the Latin blood was lost in the immense body of the Empire, and that the vigour of the life of this new organism depends on the vitality of its parts. Who are more Roman, I mean of the Empire, than the great juriconsults, Gaius, who has been thought Greek, Papinian, Paulus, and Ulpian, all three originally of Syria and who speak so well Cicero's language? The influence of works in Greek equalled that of Latin ones. Plutarch taught for a long time on the banks of the Tiber; Epictetus lived there, and Lucian, the Voltaire of the period, declaimed there. The writings of the implacable satirist did not certainly lack readers in any province of the Empire, and those of the moralist of Chæronæa have deservedly continued to our own times as excellent works on education. How many generations of children, how many great minds have made them their favourite reading? Henry IV. never let Plutarch be far out of sight, and Montaigne used to say of his book: "That is our breviary." Like Polybius, Appian is more an historian in the modern sense of the word than Livy or Tacitus. Without Pausanias we should know Greece very

imperfectly; without Dion Chrysostom, the ethical propaganda of the time; without Ælius Aristides, the mystic reveries to which even then they abandoned themselves.¹

Arrian, a man of deed and thought, friend of the Antonines and deservedly so, with one hand kept in check the barbarians of the Euxine and Caucasus, with the other edited the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus. This work, the object of Pascal's admiration, and in which S. Borromeo found edification, gave rise to another, the *Εἰς ἑαυτόν*, which has given Marcus Aurelius his sacred renown. These are a sufficient number of names to prove that we are justified in styling this new growth of Greek literature in the time of the Antonines a renaissance.²

When has the world given birth to greater things in morals? The Church was already glorified by its Latin or Greek apologists: Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Minucius Felix,³ and its doctors founded Christian metaphysic, whilst the philosophers attempted by a powerful effort to put new youth into paganism and raise its morality.

This period also loved science, even more than the time of Augustus, without however advancing it further. Horace would have liked to know "what force controls the sea, rules the year, and directs the course of the stars;" but this is only a poet's curiosity. Pliny, Seneca, have the scientist's curiosity; they are not satisfied with looking, they search. Seneca, who knows that one can go from Spain to the Indies by rounding Africa, has prophetic views respecting the existence of extensive lands in the West. "The Ocean," he says, will one day reveal its secrets, and Thetis will show new worlds." In his *Natural Questions*, he asks himself if one should make a gloomy desert of the heavens; if, excepting the five planets whose motions we know, the rest of the stars remain in the same place like a stationary people.⁴ He foretells the periodic comets which have been recognized only in our

¹ His *Ἱστοὶ λόγοι*, or *Sacred Discourses*, contain his conversations with Æsculapius, the recital of his visions, etc.

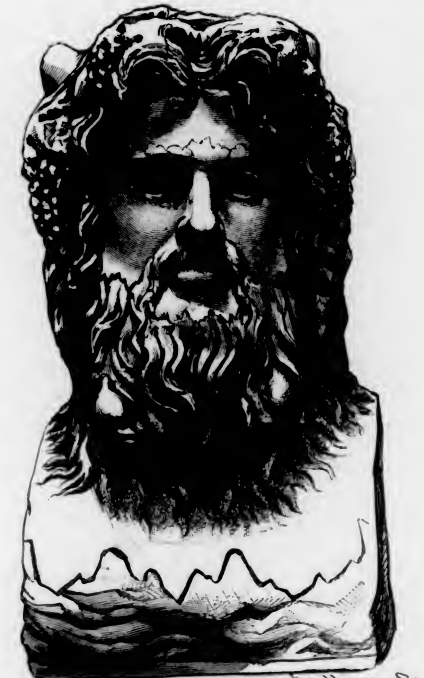
² Other Greek writers of this time: Athenaus, Philostratus, Babrius, Maximus of Tyre, the physicians Aretaus, Rufus of Ephesus, and Sextus Empiricus, the wisest of the ancient sceptics, the mathematician Theon of Smyrna, etc.

³ Minucius Felix is perhaps of the first half of the third century.

⁴ *Quest. nat.*, in *præf.*, and vii. 27.

age, and he had the presentiment that many other truths remained to be discovered. "If we consecrated all our efforts to science; if a temperate youth made this their only study, the fathers, the text of their lessons, the sons, the object of their labours, we should scarcely reach the bottom of that abyss where truth lies hidden which at present our indolent hands seek only at the surface of the soil."¹ When he believes in another life, he promises the good that all the secrets of nature shall be unveiled.²

Two men, Galen and Ptolemy, whose teaching has lived thirteen centuries, down to the Renaissance, brilliantly represent the scientific spirit of that time. Galen was, next to Hippocrates, the greatest physician of ancient times, by the certainty of his diagnosis, by the importance he attached to anatomy and, what was a new thing, to experience.³ He dissected apes, and wished that practical demonstrations should furnish verification of the teaching given: these were the beginnings, still very uncertain and but too quickly arrested, of our experimental method. Some learned men believe that he was



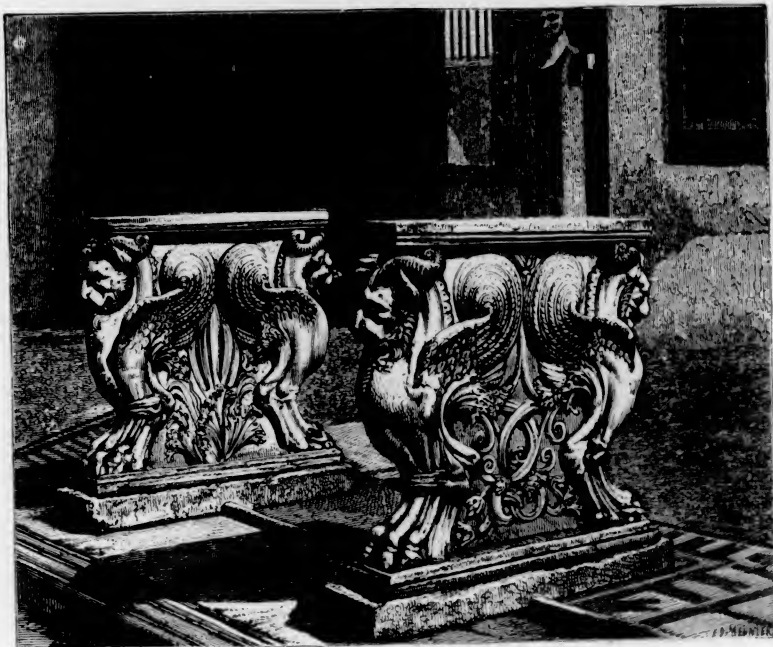
Ocean personified. (Bust in the Vatican.)

¹ vii. 32, *ad finem*.

² *Epist.*, 102 . . . *aliquando natura tibi arcana retegatur*.

³ He used to say that it is necessary *κρίνειν τῇ πείρᾳ τὰ ἐκ λόγου διδασθόντα* (*de Medico et philosopho*, edit. Kühn, vol. i. p. 58). For the dissection of apes, see *de Anat. admin.*, iii. 5, vol. ii. p. 385, Kühn. Daremberg says that the influence of Galen was sustained till the seventeenth century, even to the middle of the eighteenth (*Galien considéré comme philosophe*, p. 1, and *Exposition des connaissances de Galien sur l'anatomie, la physiologie et la pathologie du système nerveux*).

very near discovering the circulation of the blood, and that his knowledge of physiology makes him the precursor, almost without intermediaries, of the physiologists of our age. Let us add, to the honour of this great mind, that the historians of philosophy give him a conspicuous place among the philosophers of that time. As an astronomer Ptolemy is not equal to Hipparchus;¹ but if he had



The Feet or Supports of a Table, in Marble, found in the House of Cornelius Rufus at Pompeii. (Naples Museum.)

not written his *Syntaxis*, it is probable, Delambre asserts, that we should have had neither Kepler, nor consequently Newton.

The *Poliorceticus* of Apollodorus, the architect of the great bridge over the Danube and of Trajan's Forum, and the immense works which were executed throughout the whole Empire, prove that the Romans, without having added anything to the geometry of Archimedes and Euclid, had at least intelligent disciples, perfect

¹ For the first two centuries of the Empire, M. H. Martin cites in his history of *Astronomie ancienne* some observations from which Ptolemy profited, and a certain number of elementary treatises, but no discovery (*Diet. des Antiq.*, p. 502).

in the construction of machines.¹ Yet the true scientific spirit was wanting in this society and will be so for fifteen centuries more. Hence is explained the empire which mysticism acquires over the mind, *i. e.*, the efforts made to penetrate, by imagination and feeling, the secrets of nature which science was not yet able to interrogate and extract a reply.

By the side of these illustrious men a place must be reserved for the praetors who made the new ideas of justice harmonize with the old law; for the jurisconsults whose mutilated fragments inspire so profound a respect; for those unknown artists who decorated Rome and the provinces with so much architectural magnificence, the temples and public places with a whole people, with statues, the palaces with charming frescoes, the



Silenus. (Lamp-bearer in green Bronze, found at Pompeii. Naples Museum.)

private houses with numberless objects of art, furniture, and vases, the remains of which, found at Herculaneum and Pompeii, make us imagine their exquisite elegance²—all this compels us to admit

¹ The minute operations of the *gromatici*, or surveyors, were also useful applications of geometry.

² On this question of art at Rome and in the Empire, see Friedländer, vol. iii. pp. 128-270. Very beautiful statues were carved, those of Antinous, for example, but painting was always neglected; moreover, this is not the place to speak of it. One observation, however, belongs to the subject of this chapter, *viz.*, that even under the Empire the Romans, while showing much love for the arts, yet held artists in small esteem, because the majority of them were of

that without attaining that calm loveliness of the three or four great periods when humanity has found the highest expression of its intellectual power, this period was not one of decadence.

It has some remarkable agreements with our own: great commerce, much industry, immense public works, an extremely abundant supply of artistic work in verse and prose, in statuary and carving, in temples and villas, without the names of any of these artists being inscribed by history in its golden book. In addition, soft manners, a spirit of benevolence, and an official religion—an object of external respect as being a means of government; but also dogma shattered by the scepticism of philosophers, the indifference of the learned, and the scoffs of the poets, profoundly modified by foreign importations and yet sustained by the interested adhesion of politicians and the touching faith of the lower classes; in fine, sympathetic natures seeking their way between the proud nihilism of the Stoics and the impure follies of oriental creeds.

How far are we, with all these things, from the Rome of old times and how near are we to a revolution, since society is leaving the paths trodden by twenty generations! Previously, devotion to civic life made the whole of morality, respect for its gods the whole of religion. Now, dignity is no longer centred in consulships and in triumphs but in virtue; the pride of the philosopher has replaced that of the patrician, and Juvenal¹ demands of the senator, in place of civic merits, what he calls by a name unknown to the Republic, the *sensus communis*. In presence of so many interests which required conciliating, of so many nations to be united, larger

low social position. The architects form an exception. Many Romans practised this art, the only one in which they showed any originality; and in the second century they were still erecting sumptuous buildings. I have spoken of Roman architecture at the commencement of the Empire, and I am warranted in not returning to this question by the following words of M. Choisy, in his book on the *Art de bâtir chez les Romains* (p. 178): "From the reign of Augustus the methods of Roman architecture were fixed, and the building art remained, so to speak, stationary at its highest point of perfection for an interval of more than three centuries. . . . But by degrees decoration and the structure itself became almost independent of one another. They both also in the development and in the decadence obeyed different laws, or even opposite ones. They did not build differently under the Antonines from the first Cæsars, although architecture was visibly modified during the century which separates them. At the end of the third century architecture was rapidly decaying, whilst the art of building, still flourishing, produced the *Thermæ* which bear the name of Diocletian." This distinction between decorative art which declines and the art of building which lasts was made for the first time by Raphael. See E. Müntz, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, October, 1880.

¹ viii. 73. All this satire implies contempt for the privileges of birth or race.

views of society had been taken. The mental horizon had grown, and as from the belief of the plurality of gods the idea of the divine unity was evolved, from the heart of this Empire now become the universal city was evolved the idea of the unity



Marble Vase from Pompeii.

of humanity. One of Trajan's inscriptions says: *Conservatori generis humani*.¹ The philosophers call themselves citizens of the world,² and willingly would remove the frontiers of the States. "How absurd," exclaims Seneca, "are these boundaries marked out by men!"³ To the ancient law which said: *Hospes hostis*,

¹ Orelli, No. 795.

² *Mundanus*, or κοσμοπολίτης. See a Memoir by M. Le Blant on the loosening the bonds of patriotism. (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1872, p. 373.)

³ *O quam ridiculi sunt mortalium termini!* (*Quest. nat.*, in *præf.*)

the stranger is an enemy, the new replies, the stranger is a brother.¹

This is what the writers of the time show, only in a very imperfect manner. To know which way society was tending we must consult other men, study other facts, and make allowance, even if in few words, for the philosophic and religious movement which was drawing these men towards a new heaven.

II.—EDUCATION, THE JURISCONSULTS, AND THE PHILOSOPHERS.

When the history of Christianity is written it alone is regarded, and no attention is paid to the great work of renovation which was going on in the bosom of pagan society. Since it is the ideas and manners of 100,000,000 men which we are studying in their diverse forms, let us seek what the contemporaries of Nero and Hadrian believed best for the regulation of life and how they taught it.

For infancy education was still conducted on the old lines. There were neither State nor clerical schools. Teaching continued absolutely free. The studies were divided as in our days into what we call elementary classes and classics. In the former the poets were studied; in the second, the orators; later on came the jurisconsults and philosophers.

At this time there was great mania for making poetry, or at least verses. Everybody, even Trimalchio, made or read verses; they were carved even on the tombs. What was a fashion among the public became an obligation in the schools. The desire was to fit children for shining in recitations or the competitions of the Capitol, for gaining crowns, applause, glory, even though momentary. If the poet very rarely acquired wealth, the Mæcenases were numerous, asking small things, and one always got something for a flattering stanza, for an epigram subservient to the anger or the vanity of a patron.

In the study of rhetoric, ridiculous subjects were proposed to

¹ This idea, very new in Rome, was very ancient, since it is found in the *Odyssey*: . . . *Ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξείνός θ' ἰκίρης* (viii. 546); it is even older than Homer, for it comes from human nature, which, in the savage, can be humane. The New Caledonians make some seed-plots along their paths for the traveller. (*Explorateur* of the 27th April, 1876.)

sharpen the intellect, such as the praises of the flea and the parrot by which Dion Chrysostom¹ made a beginning, and odd theses taken from unreality or treated in contempt of historic truth. The pupil, transported into the regions of fancy, found himself in the midst of imaginary manners and personages who were mere phantoms. One only talked in these of impossible catastrophes, of scourges let loose by the anger of the gods, of the immolation of a victim demanded by the oracle; and the most tragic adventures kept recurring: as a famished city feeding on corpses, a tyrant compelling a son to behead his father, noble maidens delivered up to infamous procurers, bandits in ambush at the corner of every wood, pirates on every shore shaking the chains with which they are going to shackle lovers surprised during their nuptial festivities. It is said that Nero, while Rome was in flames, seized his lyre and sang the fall of Troy. The thing is doubtful, but numbers of people would have been capable of such folly.

These exercises, assiduously practised at school, continued long after in the public declamations, very much perverted the mind; there remained in the life something exaggerated, theatrical, which sometimes passed from words into deeds. The traces of this are found in the finest characters.

Happily not all the masters were so foolish. Let the younger Pliny's letter to Corellia² be read, or the first book of Marcus Aurelius's *Thoughts*, and you will see what in the houses of the great was the education of the children. We even know, by the fragments of Dositheus, that there existed in the public schools works similar to our treatises on ethics. Human nature is the same at all times. We can therefore be sure that fathers, whilst yielding to the taste of the time, were not satisfied with these frivolities for their children, and that the master, in his explanation of the poets and orators, knew how to reach those beautiful sentences, those noble thoughts which always give pleasure and without which orators and poets would not have survived. Has

¹ Bréquigni, *Vie de Dion*, p. 50. See, in the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* of Tacitus, what Messala says "of idle declamations, without any connection with reality," which employed the youth, and at the beginning of the *Satyricon* these words of Petronius: "Our young people become so stupid on the benches because they neither see nor hear anything of ordinary life."

² *Epist.*, iii. 3.

not even Juvenal, so often obscene, demanded respect for childhood? Besides, on leaving school, the young man found other means of education: daily life, which placed him in the strong current of reality; jurisprudence and philosophy, which taught him his duties as a citizen and a man.

What the great juriconsults, who followed uninterruptedly from Hadrian to Alexander Severus, have done for Roman social life we have shown already in the course of this history, and in the two chapters on the Family and the City.

Their immense work consists especially in replacing by a rule of equity an ancient rule of civil law which they allowed to drop into desuetude without need for the interference of the legislator. Therefore their work can be summed up in a few words:

They have enlarged, while making it milder, the hard, narrow law of a small agricultural and warlike people, so as to make of the civilized world one community, ruled by just laws, dictated by the general reason and no longer by the interest of one class or one city.

They took in hand the cause of the weak. To destroy the inveterate practices of abortion and exposure they declared that it was "murder to stifle or cast out the newly-born infant, to refuse one's child nourishment, and to reckon on the pity of others when oneself had none."¹

They gave rights to those who had so long been regarded as incapable of receiving them: the son, the wife, the mother, all those disinherited by nature, family, and law, the *spurius*, the freed, the slave, and even the insane, whom they sought to protect against himself.

To the child abandoned and picked up by a slave merchant they opened the door of liberty. To him whom adoption or the freedom of the city had separated from his relatives they restored his natural family; and when Hadrian changed, in the case of the *pueri alimentarii*, the age of puberty, in order to render them help for a longer time, they justified this change in the common law by "the pious feeling" which had inspired it, *pietatis intuitu*.²

In administration they have made of the city and the

¹ *Necare videtur* (Paul, under the head *de Agnoscendis et alienis liberis*. *Digest*, xxv. 3, 4).

² *Digest*, xxxiv. 14, § 1.

corporation, that other city comprised in the greater, civil persons, so that they might receive donations, and they have imposed on the governors of provinces the protection of the poor.

In judicature they have not followed the philosophers who said to them: "Society defends itself in punishing those who break its laws, it does not take vengeance; the atrocity of the punishments is a useless cruelty, and torture a horrible absurdity." At least they introduced the great principle of penal law which demands the identity of the offender with the one condemned;¹ they do not admit charges against the absent, "because it is much better to let a guilty man escape than condemn one innocent;"² and Hadrian forbade resort to torture, unless there were serious reasons for believing that the truth could by no other means be arrived at.³ Ulpian even wrote: "... the question, a frail and perilous thing, which often deceives the judge."⁴

In the finance they sought, eighteen centuries before our revolution, equality as regards public charges, and by the mouth of Antoninus they have declared that the tax should be proportional to the income.⁵

In politics they have aided the government with their counsels in substituting for organized pillage by the publicans and procurators of the Republic the justice which the imperial legates introduced into the administration.

In fine, it is to them that the eternal honour falls of having created the science of law and taught it to the world.

Doubtless many reserves have to be made on the subject of those codes which have been called written reason, and of those

¹ Marcus Aurelius would not let the crime or fault of the father fall on the son (*Digest*, xlviii. 19, 26), as was the case with us even before '89. Thus the natural child, *spurius*, even if born of incest, can become a decurion: *non enim impedienda est dignitas ejus qui nihil admisit* (*ibid.*, l. 2, 6). Those condemned for a time to the mines, but of free condition before their condemnation, preserved their condition. A woman, *pauca serva*, gave birth to free children. (Rescript of Hadrian, *ibid.*, xlviii. 19, 28, § 6.)

² Expression from a rescript of Trajan (*ibid.*, 19, 5).

³ *Digest*, xlviii. 18, 1, § 1.

⁴ *Etenim res est fragilis et periculosa et quæ veritatem fallat* (*ibid.*, § 23). Torture was abolished in France only towards the end of the eighteenth century: in 1780, the *question préparatoire*, or means of proof, used in the examination of capital charges when the tribunal of the bailli had sanctioned it (ordonn. of 1780); in 1789, the *question préalable*, inflicted on one condemned to death to obtain the revelation of his accomplices.

⁵ In the *Code*, x. 41, 1.

men who styled themselves priests of the law. Thus their great monument, the *Pandects*, is often only a tissue of contradictions, where one perceives the effort made by the jurists to depart from the ancient law while appearing to keep to it. They admit the common origin of men, and they have kept slavery; they consider that equality proceeds from natural right, and they have left society its aristocratic character with atrocious penalties against the poor. But is it right to reproach them for not having compelled manners to be modified to suit their theories? Law never makes a *tabula rasa* but at the expense of terrible convulsions, and the Romans, who were men both of tradition and progress, did not desire to drive out violently the past from the present. In this they were right.

Was this work of renovation accomplished by virtue of certain philosophic ideas? The honour of these reforms has been ascribed to Stoicism. It certainly contributed towards them. But the juriconsults, by the very nature of their social position, remained far behind the philosophers, and obeyed less the influence of philosophic teaching than that of the time. Philosophy, in fact, is more often an effect than a cause, and it becomes a cause in its turn, like all human facts, only after having been a consequence. The softening of manners, the progress of the public reason, the life in common, during a profound peace, the want which each had of all, consequent on the development of industry and commerce, led the jurists to a new conception of the relations which men ought to have among themselves. All the lower people, whose fraternal feelings we have seen, did not philosophize, and if they had it would not have been Plato or Aristotle that would have inspired them, for on the question of slavery, for example, these powerful minds would have taught them the legitimacy of servitude. As the light is formed of scattered rays, each period in politics or religion has a general body of thought made up of a number of particular thoughts tending in the same direction. Philosophy, which has often thrown into the world the germ of these new ideas, extends its power by giving them precision, and gives a formula to those which arise spontaneously from the teaching of life. The legislator afterwards lays hold on them and a peaceful revolution takes place.

The prætors and juriconsults of imperial Rome knew how to understand these wants and to satisfy them in proportion as public manners allowed.¹ We are about to see the philosophers, the necessary predecessors of the legists, acting on society, by the bold conceptions of men who had to reckon only with themselves, and who could use, therefore, greater freedom of speech.

The whole of individual morality is embodied in the following precept: to reach proper self-respect by the determined government of one's passions, under the watchful eye of the inner judge—conscience. The whole of social morality is summed up in these words: to respect the goods, the honour, and the person of others—negative virtue; but besides: to do unto others what we would they should do unto us—positive virtue.

Has philosophy taught this morality?

By preaching to men a law revealed, and consequently of divine authority; original sin, which renders a mediator and redemption necessary; salvation by grace, that is to say, the subordination of the reason to faith; lastly, the hope of the life to come, which makes the life here on earth a trial for gaining or losing the other, Christianity has changed the poles of the moral world. The heathen believed above all in this life, and hoped to find the rule of it in themselves, by dint of enlightening their reason and making their conscience sensitive. The end of their efforts was therefore to reach what Satan had offered as a temptation to Adam, the knowledge of good and evil.

These are two systems absolutely opposite, though touching at numberless points.² The former has killed the latter, though before perishing it made noble efforts to save itself, which have long been misunderstood. How right Bossuet was to present the conquests of Rome as the indispensable preliminary to the conquests of

¹ The prætor performed the part at Rome performed in England by the Lord Chancellor and the Courts of Equity, which, little by little, also changed the civil law.

² M. Ravaisson (*Mém. sur le stoïcisme*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxi. p. 81) says: "The Christian is as humble as the Stoic is proud. He expects all from God, who changes the heart; the Stoic expects nothing but from himself." On the difference between the Stoicism of Seneca and Christianity, see Aubertin, *Senèque et Saint Paul*, pp. 178-393. This book has given the last blow to the legend touching the relations between the philosopher and the Apostle, by showing that the supposed Christianity of Seneca was the legitimate result of the moral theories of Greece. See also Westerborg, *der Ursprung der Sage dass Seneca Christ gewesen sei* (1881), who explains how this legend was formed.

Christ!—especially if there are added to the victories of the legions, which had united so many peoples under one political law, those of the philosophers who sought for these multitudes one and the same moral law. The religion of nature, which, from India to Greece, from Athens to Rome, and even to the furthest West, had so long a time brought up the Aryan race in its poetic reveries, had lost its empire over the best minds; so that even long before the one God of the Semitic branch had been made known to Roman society, a great labour had been undertaken to disengage from the depths of the religious consciousness the idea of the Divine unity, to transform polytheism and replace its legends, so full of dangerous seductions, by moral teaching.

We have been severe critics of Seneca, Nero's minister; we should be the same for Seneca as a philosopher, because of his contradictions and uncertainties. Nevertheless, if he knows little respecting God, Providence, the human soul, and the future life, uncertainties which the theologian has settled, but which disturb the thoughts of a philosopher, he knows well enough what must be done in the present life.

And first as regards attaining self-perfection.

Tertullian has said of Seneca: "He often belongs to us."¹ In his treatises, in his letters, we, in fact, find contempt for riches, pain, and death. Life is a penalty to which we must submit; death, a deliverance. We have an ulcer which corrupts, sin; before all, this must be healed. The beginning of salvation is to acknowledge one's sin, and the healing of the soul is the philosopher's great work.² We reach it by the development in oneself of the spiritual life and by following the counsels of philosophy.

These spiritual experiences are shown, in the conduct of life, by the hatred of evil and the love of the good, with some of the extreme refinements and severities of Christianity. The Stoics, even the Epicureans and Cynics, recommended, as does S. Paul,

¹ *De Anima*, 20.

² Plutarch says also: "Philosophy alone heals the infirmities and the maladies of the soul" (*de Educ.*, chap. x.). And this is not an empty expression, but responds to a real action of the master on the disciples; the expression, besides, is Plato's.

celibacy;¹ they condemned passion, honoured continence, modesty, and showed towards adultery all the rigours of the Church,² for bodily pleasures and pains a perfect contempt. They took delight in abstinences, macerations; one is reminded that it was necessary to use constraint with Marcus Aurelius when ill to prevent his practising them. "Happiness," said Demonax,³ "belongs only to the freeman, and he alone is free who neither fears nor hopes anything."

The Cynics did not wish to possess anything of their own and used to beg in the streets. Others more austere awaited alms, like that Demetrius who had refused from Caligula 200,000 sesterces and braved Nero's anger. Seneca, who sought his conversation, used to say of him: "I do not doubt that nature raised him up to serve in our age as an example and living reproach."⁴ When I see him naked and lying on the straw, it seems to me that truth possesses in him, no mere interpreter, but a *witness*.⁵ He was a *confessor* of philosophy.⁶ In the following century Demonax led the same kind of life at Athens, and Lucian, so hard upon the Cynics, pronounced a high eulogium on him. "He bountifully bestowed his incomparable wisdom on all, in public and in private, he settled quarrels, and calmed popular irritations. The magistrates arose when he passed, and the Athenians gave him a public funeral at the expense of the State."⁶

The Cynics were not then all "snarlers." By their detachment from things temporal, they had commenced that war against

¹ Epictetus expressly recommends it to the philosopher (*Medit.*, iii. 22). In the work of Secundus, in which is reproduced the pretended conversation of this philosopher with the emperor Hadrian, the dominant thought is the renunciation of goods and pleasures, hatred of woman, contempt of life, the praise of death. Cf. the Memoir of M. Révillout (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1872, pp. 290 et seq.). At Rome the flamen dialis could not marry again. (Tertull., *de Uxor.*, i. 7.) There existed a whole sect of pagan monks, the Massilians (*Comptes rendus, ibid.*, p. 264), who remind us of the Essenes and the Jewish therapeuts.

² Seneca, *Epist.*, 44, 12; *ad Marc.*, 2 and 24; *ad Helv.*, 13. S. Jerome, *adv. Jovin.*, i. 30. One of Plato's laws declared infamous and deprived of his rights as a citizen the one who had committed adultery. Pythagoras, so says Philostratus (*Apoll.*, i. 13), thought the same, and the elder Seneca employs almost the words of the Evangelist, *incesta est etiam sine stupro quæ cupit stuprum* (*Controv.*, vi. 8); Epictetus (*Medit.*, iii. 7) and Quintilian repeat it: *Tu alienam matronam aliter quam leges permittunt aspexisti* (*Declam.*, cxi.).

³ Lucian, *Demon.*, 20.

⁴ Seneca, *de Benef.*, vii. 8. Cf. *ibid.*, i. 3, 11.

⁵ *Testis* and *μάρτυρ* are synonymous.

⁶ *Demon.*, *passim*.

sensualism which the anchorite Christians continued. From the reign of Tiberius we see young effeminate persons whom philosophers were converting to the strict practices of asceticism.¹

All the precautions for keeping the soul stimulated, and at the same time restrained, were already discovered; for example, daily prayer and meditation on some chosen subject, or the reading, for edification, of a philosopher's life; and every evening, self-examination. The Pythagoreans had for a long while practised this powerful means of reformation. Horace speaks of it; Seneca insists on it. "When retired to your chamber for the night's rest, Sextius," he says, interrogating his soul: "Of what malady have you healed yourself to-day? What vice have you fought against? In what respect are you better? I also exercise this magisterial office and cite myself daily before my own tribunal. When the light has been removed, and my wife, who knows my habit, has become silent, I pass in review my whole day and recall all my actions and words." The *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius are only a dialogue with his soul; and the philosophers had so published this habit that Epictetus, from raillery, makes us attend at the self-examination of a stupid courtesan who, when night has come, asks himself if he has employed the day well; if he done enough base acts; if he ought not to flatter better, lie better, to secure his good fortune better.

It might even be said that they had their commandments from God, and Epictetus showed them as graven on the conscience—a surer book than a table of stone or brass, if everybody knew how to read them there and conform to their precepts. "Jupiter gave thee his orders when he sent thee here: Not to covet others' goods, to love fidelity, modesty, justice, humanity. Follow these commandments, thou needest nothing else; thy conscience will truly be the temple into which God Himself has come." "What is it to be united to God?" asks Epictetus again. "It is to desire

¹ Seneca, *Epist.*, 108 and 109. On the moral character of pagan philosophy in the two first centuries of the Empire, see two excellent works: *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, by M. Havet, and *Les Moralistes sous l'empire romain*, by M. Martha. Two other works: *Histoire des théories et des idées morales dans l'antiquité*, by M. Denis, and the thesis of M. Aubertin, on *Sénèque et Saint Paul*, have also shown the moral and religious value of the pagan philosophy at that period. [We may add to this list Mr. Pater's *Marius, the Epicurean* (London, 1885), a very thoughtful as well as picturesque book.—*Ed.*]

what he desires, to avoid doing what he does not wish. How is this to be reached? By well understanding his commandments." Seneca has said: "Deep repentance almost restores innocence," and Juvenal: "The sin which you desire to commit is a sin committed." These are Christian expressions. They even believed in the reversion of faults, in the punishment of the crime falling upon an innocent descendant:

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues.*¹

Fortunately the juriconsults did not apply it. Nevertheless, this morality was that of the Pentateuch: "visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation;" and it may be that this morality might still be the best, since it would establish a bond of close joint responsibility between the generations.

In social morality Plato and Aristotle had committed two great errors: they accepted the despotism of the State and slavery.² Rome kept both, but with most important modifications. The State had become so great that the citizen was lost in it, and the man was again found, with the sentiment of human dignity superior to all positive law, and that of true liberty in submission to the universal reason. Then, above the city, which still kept its members in close thralldom, there was formed a moral city, in which we shall presently see that many dwelt in spirit and in truth.

As regards slavery, the finest expressions touching the common origin of men are in the works by Seneca and the discourses of Dion Chrysostom. In their case also virtue "is not interdicted to any one; all are called to it, the free, the freed, slaves . . . we all have the same father, Heaven;" and Dionysius Cato writes: "When you buy a slave, remember he is a man."³

We have seen charity exhibited in municipal life, in the

¹ *Sat.*, i. 4. *De Ira*, iii. 36; Havet, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 274; Denis, vol. ii. pp. 64 and 248. *Medit.*, iv. 6, *ad fin.* *Ibid.*, i. 25; iii. 8 and *passim.* *Medit.*, iv. 1. *Hor.*, *Carm.*, iii. vi. 1. Elsewhere (*ibid.*, I. xxviii. 30-31) he says again: "Are you not afraid to leave him to atone?"

² Janet, *Histoire de la science polit. dans ses rapports avec la morale*, p. 256.

³ *Unus omnium parens mundus est* (*de Benef.*, iii. 10, 28; Dionysius Cato, in the *de Moribus ad filium*, iv. 44). By its doctrine of equality and responsibility before God, Christianity made masters juster and milder; but in teaching that this life was only a probation, during which we ought to accept our condition, it tended to perpetuate slavery, and that is what happened.

practice of the government, and in the sentiments expressed in the sepulchral inscriptions; let us see it also in the theses of the doctors: "It is not sufficient to be just, but to be also doing good, even towards slaves, even towards one's enemy: you must love him who strikes you."

Listen to this quite Christian utterance: "The unfortunate is hallowed;¹ he wears the sacred livery of distress."² "It is a small thing not to do harm to others. Oh! what delightful praise of a man to say that he is kind to his fellow man! Is there any need to repeat that we should aid the shipwrecked, show the way to the wanderer, share one's bread with the hungry? What is the good of so much talk when a word suffices to teach our whole duty: We are members of the same body—members of God?" Juvenal's harsh voice softens in speaking of a friend's afflictions, and the tears come to his eyes on meeting the coffin of the maiden carried off in her prime, at the sight of the tomb in which the little child lies under the cold dark earth. He asks himself what separates us from the beasts, and replies: "It is that the good man does not regard the misfortune of others as being strange to him."

"What sect," Seneca again said, when speaking of the new Stoicism, "what sect is more friendly to man, more solicitous for the common weal?" And Montesquieu thinks as Seneca does.

The first principle of public morality is obedience to the law; no one has spoken of this in more magnificent terms than these philosophers who have been called rebels against the imperial authority. Some doubtless did conspire, and many, like so many others, detested tyranny. Under Vespasian and Domitian we have seen some of them driven from Rome or even executed. This was not persecution against philosophic liberty, but an affair of police respecting malecontents who were wrongly believed to be dangerous.

In reality, the preference of the Stoics was in favour of a

¹ Seneca, *Epigr.*, iv. 9: *Res est sacra miser*. We can note the progress made by the idea of charity, from Plato to Seneca, by comparing this passage with that in the *Republic*, ii. 28, in which the head of the Academy shows himself without pity for him whose misfortune was a punishment of vice or crime.

² *Ad Helviam*, 13. Ovid condemned him, *vilia qui quondam miseris alimenta negaret* (*Trist.*, v. 8, 13).

government by one only.¹ If it is quite natural that Seneca should show his respect for the powers that be,² and Epictetus, his contempt for greatness, let us not forget that it was a principle of the sect not to be occupied in public affairs, and one of its doctrines to submit wholly to the law: doubtless to the law revealed by conscience and reason; but also to that which the force of things had established. It is the definition given by one of them that Justinian has placed at the head of his *Pandects*. "Law is the sovereign mistress of divine and human things, the judge of good and evil, the rule of the just and unjust; it prescribes what ought to be done, it forbids what ought not to be done."³ These noble words go beyond the idea of ordinary justice. Chrysippus, like Cleanthes, dreams of "the law common to all beings," of a Cosmos harmoniously ordered which includes God, nature, and man, all subjected to "the law," and this submission was the faith of Marcus Aurelius. Yet the crowned sage had no doubt about his power, the order on earth seeming to him to form part of the universal order.

The Stoics carried their heads so high only because they believed in their possession of an emanation from the universal reason, a spark of the divine word. "We have our body," said they, "in common with the animals, but our soul is a particle of the divine soul. We are sons of Jupiter and a god is within us."⁴ S. Paul had expressed the same thought though reversing its terms: "We are in God," and Malebranche employs it to derive from it his whole philosophy.⁵

At bottom, the Stoic school, in spite of the profound differences which separate it from Christianity, makes, as this does, the soul predominate over the body; it preached separation from perishable things, and it demanded the exercise of the most austere virtues. It was a teaching of renunciation and

¹ Seneca, *Epist.*, 95. Juvenal, *Sat.*, xv. 130-151. *De Clem.*, ii. 5.

² *Epist.*, 14; *de Benef.*, ii. 20: *Cum optimus status civitatis sub rege justo sit*, and in twenty other places.

³ *Digest*, i. 3, 2.

⁴ Epictetus constantly returns to this thought; cf. *Entret.*, i. 3, 9, 12; ii. 8. Manilius had already said in the time of Augustus: *An dubium est habitare deum sub pectore nostro* (*Astron.*, iv. 884).

⁵ *Non longe est (Deus) ab unoquoque nostrum: in ipso enim vivimus, movemur et sumus*. *Recherche de la vérité*, lib. iii. illustration 10.

abstinence, ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου, which, as its ideal, had an immovable serenity, complete self-control, the soul superior to every emotion, ἀταραξία.

But this virile teaching, ἀνδρωδεσπότη, so skilful in tracing the theory of duties, and which so raised the sentiment of human dignity, exceeded its aim by going beyond nature. It demanded too many useless sacrifices and not enough necessary actions. Man is indebted to God for the development of the intelligence and activity which he has received from him. Stoicism, suitable for creating hermits and martyrs, has done so; it has even indirectly prepared souls for being martyrs for another cause; but, if it had become the law of civil life, it would not have formed citizens.¹ As an excellent rule for the individual and the interior life, this philosophy of disdain would have been a hateful rule for society and social relations. Christianity has had institutions which have exhibited the same character and produced the same results. Yet, if the best doctrines are those which at one and the same time form the man and the citizen, it will be a good thing at all times that a voice, a book, a school, should call us to show contempt for riches, honours, and power, and esteem for the true goods, those of spirit and conscience.

Happily nature leads into inconsistency the minds in revolt against her, and society resumes her rights. The Stoics of the imperial period by no means shut up their souls in a proud solitude. They wanted to gain the world and went into it to bring it to themselves. Almost the whole of Seneca's work is a continuous preaching, and Persius exclaims: "Come hither, young and old; come and learn from him who has taught me

¹ Seneca says (*Epist.*, 5): "The end of all philosophy is to teach us to despise life," and this contempt of life is the whole teaching of Epictetus. We have already shown (vol. iv., p. 540) that Epicureanism and Stoicism turned from public affairs. The bad constitution of the Empire, in allowing tyrannies like those of the last days of Tiberius, and the reigns of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, had given a new force to the teaching which took away interest in active life. Yet if the imperial despotism found some proud minds to take refuge in the calm region of thought, it must be acknowledged that a much more general cause attracted them to it. The direction which minds take depends so little on the form of government that the greatest philosophers of the Middle Ages, of Germany and France, do not belong to periods of liberty. With what a weight did imperial despotism rest on Epictetus, Persius, Plutarch, Dion, Maximus of Tyre, and many others, included in whom is that Demetrius who braved two tyrants? Did Richelieu prevent Descartes from writing the *Discours de la Méthode*, and did Frederick II. stop the daring critical philosophy of Kant?

the real end of existence; come and make provision for life's voyage."¹

We possess a conversation of Epictetus with a young man who was preparing himself for that apostleship: "Before all," he says to him, "must the future teacher of the human race himself undertake to extinguish his own passions and say to himself: My own soul is the material at which I must work, as does the carpenter at wood and the shoemaker at leather." Thus prepared, he ought to know further that he is Jupiter's ambassador to men. He must preach by example, and to the disinherited who lament their lot he should say: "Look at me; like you, I am without country, house, goods, slaves. I lie down on the bare ground; I have neither wife nor child, I have only the earth, heaven, and a cloak."² There-



The Infant Hercules suffocating Serpents. (Capitoline Museum.)

fore, as a divine type, Stoicism had chosen, from among the lords of the old Olympus, Hercules, the destroyer of monsters, the god of strength, but of strength used for a good cause. Changed into a moral hero, the son of a mortal and of the father of the gods ought to aid men with good-will in destroying the animal nature in us: passion, egotism, anger, cruelty. "You carry within you," Epictetus used to say, "the Erymanthean boar and the Nemean lion: subdue them." This imagery was familiar

¹ *Sat.*, v. 64.

² Martha, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

to the popular preachers; we meet it again in one of Dion's discourses.¹

Thus, Stoicism had with the times become an active virtue; it was animated by the spirit of proselytism, and in spreading amongst the multitude it had necessarily lost some of its false rigour. This current of moral philosophy which reached the depths of so many souls left there a fruitful deposit, a grand principle of honour and saving power, respect for oneself and others, with that thought which is the religion of superior minds: "I do not wish to violate in my own person the dignity of human nature." For this it has in its turn merited the respect of posterity. "At that time," says Montesquieu, "the sect of the Stoics spread and gained credit in the Empire. It seemed as if human nature had made an effort to produce from itself this admirable sect, which was like plants growing in places which the sun has never seen. The Romans owed to it their best emperors."²

Morality is eternal, but acquaintance with it is not so, so that progress consists less in the discovery of new principles than in the development of the native principles in the midst of numbers from day to day more numerous. This is the work that philosophy had undertaken, and we are going to see in what measure it succeeded.

The morality of the Porch, transformed by the new spirit of the universal city, has been written down, and what is of greater worth, practised by two men, one of whom was perhaps the friend of an emperor and the other became himself emperor. Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus are the real heroes of the Stoicism of which Seneca was only the elegant preacher, for they both conformed their lives to their teaching. We have spoken at length of the former and his *Meditations*, because it was impossible to separate his moral from his political life, and we know the judgment pronounced by Pascal on the latter, whose work was one of his favourite books.³ "This great mind," said he, "is so well

¹ See in discourse iv., *de regno*, the Libyan Fable, or the monsters of Libya, half-women, half-serpents, slain by Hercules.

² *Grandeur et décadence des Romains*, chap. xvi.

³ Epictetus, born in the middle of the first century at Hierapolis, in Phrygia, and deceased about 117, was, according to Spartianus (*Hadr.*, 15), the friend of Hadrian. Zeller (iii. 1, 960, n. 4), the recent historian of philosophy, is doubtful on this point. We have no work of his,

acquainted with the duties of men, that he would deserve to be worshipped had he well known also his impotence. . . . While he was but dust and ashes, after having so well understood what is one's duty, see how he loses himself in the presumption of what one can do. He says that God has given to every man the means of discharging all his obligations; that these means are always in our power; that we must seek happiness by means of what is in our power, since God has given it for that end: we must know what there is in us of freedom; that property, life, esteem, are not in our power, and do not therefore lead to God; but that the mind cannot be forced to believe what it knows to be false, nor the will to love what it knows must make it unhappy; that these two powers are therefore free and that it is by them we are able to make ourselves perfect; that man can by these powers know God perfectly, love Him, obey Him, please Him, be cured of all vices, acquire all the virtues, make himself holy, and thus become a companion of God."¹

These principles, which, in Pascal's estimation, are "a diabolical vain-glory," were in that of the pagans "the good news," for it taught them that man can raise himself by his own strength to the highest degree of moral perfection. Thus the popularity of the *Enchiridion* was immense: "Everybody reads it," said Origen in the third century, and S. Nilus in the fourth made it the rule of his monks. This was just, for in recommending celibacy to the philosophers Epictetus had prepared that of the monks, and his work commenced that knowledge of the inner life, the rules of which Christianity has given in another fine book, the *Imitation of Jesus Christ*, which has both saved and destroyed so many generous minds.

Marcus Aurelius gave besides to this philosophy already so pure another characteristic: he made it indulgent. He placed

but Arrian, his disciple, had collected his teaching and has preserved it in the *Conversations* (or *Meditations*) and the *Manual*, which summarizes it, and which is full of noble thoughts, sometimes enhanced by the masculine beauty of the style.

¹ Pascal, *Entretien avec M. de Saci*, in his *Pensées de Pascal*, by M. Havet. S. Ch. Borromeo read assiduously the *Manual* of Epictetus. "The whole philosophy of Epictetus," says M. Janet (*op. cit.*, p. 259), "rests on the distinction between what depends on ourselves and what does not. The actions of the soul, volition, desire, renunciation, are in us and belong to us; but goods and evils are nothing to us. Hence a complete indifference for all that which, not being in our power, ought to be in our estimation as if it did not exist."

strength in mildness and found something masculine in gentleness. "Love men," said he, "with a real love," and he reproaches himself for not having yet sufficiently loved them. It was not sufficient to pardon injuries, "we must love those who harm us. . . . Against ingratitude nature has given mildness. . . . If you are able, correct them; if not, remember that you possess benevolence in order to practise it towards them, and that in doing good to others you are doing it to yourself."

In the heart of Marcus Aurelius, Stoicism became a law of love: moreover, one might say that, "by him, profane philosophy was led to the very confines of Christianity."¹

Humanity always possesses some souls who take their flight far above human interests. Six centuries earlier, Sâkyamouni had in India shown the same spirit of universal charity,² caused them to hear similar language respecting kindness and love, and given moral purity as the sole basis of his religion without dogma or theology, like that of Marcus Aurelius, and also like that, unhappily without effect.

Plutarch did not belong to the Porch; his strongest attachment is to the Academy. But it is of no consequence. The doctrines were then so confused that the founders of the schools would have been unable to recognize their disciples. Plutarch has no system, and the *inania regna* of metaphysics have little attraction for him. His philosophy is restricted and takes pleasure in the details of practical morality, receiving from all hands what can aid in well regulating life. History serves him for nothing else: his *Vite* are morality in action. Pure speculation, which will soon revive, was for the time checked; but this time was marked by a manly effort to place humanity in a better way: a grand enterprise in which Plutarch was one of the most laborious workers. His life was simply a long teaching; by word, so long as he taught; by his writings, so much as he could write.

¹ Martha, *op. cit.*, p. 263. S. Jerome says: "The Stoics are very often in agreement with us." (Isaiah, cap. x.)

² The same spirit exists in the ancient Egyptian religion. The supreme virtue demanded of the Egyptians at the last judgment was *charity*; the ritual employs on this point the same expressions as the Evangelist: to give bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, shelter to the homeless, etc. (Chabas, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1873, p. 63.)

"Philosophy," he says, "does not propose to itself, like sculpture, to represent personages, who, on an immovable base, are inanimate blocks of marble; it seeks to give life to what it touches; it wants to make creatures fit for action."¹ As Christianity was already doing, he preaches immortality. "Epicurus," he says, "cuts away our hopes; and yet so lively are they that all would try to fill the sieve of the Danaïdes rather than give them up."² From Charonea went forth unceasingly counsels, consolations, directions even for public life. "The Egyptians," he says, "used to exhibit the sick person before his house, in order that the passers-by might point out to him how they had been cured." He would have desired likewise that every one should benefit others by their experience for the cure of the soul's ills.³



A Danaid. (Statue in the Vatican.)

Thus, in a small town of Bœotia and in the capital of the world, in the prince's palace, under the gilded roof of a minister, and in the humble abode of a philosopher, the same thoughts exercised men's minds, here written in Latin, there in Greek, but equally traversing the world. As in every civilized society is found nearly an equal

¹ In the treatise: *Cum principibus philosophandum esse*, 1.

² In the treatise: *Non posse suaviter*, etc., § 27.

³ Gréard, *de la Morale de Plutarque*, especially § 2 of cap. 1.

amount of human weaknesses, it is by the ideal that a people proposes much more than by individual failures that we mark the level of a nation's morality. As regards history personal responsibilities exist. But is this ideal a lofty one; has it a virtue that charms and attracts: will you guide with confidence your judgment by it, in spite of contrary facts? Is it by Torquemada or by the Gospel that Christianity should be judged by you?

The philosophers placed their ideal high,¹ and they had the desire of leading men to it, since the duty devolved on them of carrying on the higher education of Roman society.

Philosophy had, like the Church of the present day, found four means of acting on the world. It furnished high families with spiritual directors and preceptors. For those who could not afford the luxury of a domestic philosopher it had spiritual directors who received visits for consultation and masters who opened schools; for the masses, its missionaries travelled about the country; and on important occasions its preachers of note made it their business to edify the court and city. Do not feel astonished at these statements. If they belong to the discipline of the Church, what they indicate was much in use in pagan Rome.

The resident philosopher, "the friend," as an inscription terms him,² the *monitor*, the "soul's guardian,"³ who was sometimes

¹ M. Denis thus sums up the belief of the philosophers of that time: "To know God and to love Him, to place one's liberty in obedience to the laws of the sovereign Master, and this obedience in resignation, self-respect, and in love for men; to attend to the purity of the soul, and daily practise a sort of examination of the conscience; to yield oneself, as regards all that does not depend on free will, to Providence, and heartily to pray the Father of gods and men to come in aid of virtue: this is the true worship that the sages paid to the eternal reason." (*Op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 248.) In cap. xvii. of his *Histoire des religions de la Grèce ancienne*, M. Maury has collected a quantity of evidence proving that "all the moral ideas which Christianity has sanctioned were already found more or less developed in the teaching of the poets and of the pagan worship" (vol. iii. p. 62). M. Havet has given the same demonstration (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. capp. xiv. and xv.). In fact, man finds nothing new in morality, because there are not two human natures; but, in time, principles are more clearly distinguished and practised by a larger number. In that alone consists moral progress, and this progress serves to estimate the relative worth of civilizations.

² Q. *Ælio Egrilio Evareto philosopho, amico Salvi Juliani* (Henzen, No. 5,600). This Salvius Julianus, the son of the author of the perpetual Edict, was, according to Borghesi, consul in 175.

³ . . . *Sit ergo aliquis custos* (Seneca, *Epist.*, 94), and *opus est adiutore . . . coactore* (*ibid.*, 52). See all that Aulus Gellius, who is not an enthusiast, relates of the relations of Taurus with his disciples; he had been a witness of them (i. 26; vii. 13; x. 19; xvii. 8; xviii. 10; xx. 4). Epictetus did not spare his disciples any sort of reprimand (*Convers.*, i. 16; iii. 1; iv. 2).

called "my father,"¹ was met with in all the great houses, and Persius has pointed out in magnificent terms what moral influence he could there exercise.² Formerly one died, like Cato of Utica, while reading the *Phædo*. Now the *Phædo* was in the library, but besides there was near some one able to make comments on it in every state of affairs, as that Canus whose strange peace of mind I have referred to, and who, on the way to execution, had been accompanied "by his philosopher." Plautus, Thræsea, at their last moments dismissed their wives and relations and conversed with a philosopher on those grave questions which then occupied their thoughts, just as we call a priest to our bed-side to receive some comfort on our final journey.

Seneca well describes this new character of philosophy which avoids the discussions of the school.³ "Ah! this is not the time to be amused with feats of dialectic: philosopher, it is the infirm and wretched who send for thee. Thou oughtest to take help to the shipwrecked, the captives, the needy, the sick, to those whose head is already under the axe: thou didst promise this. To all those fine discourses which thou canst supply, these afflicted ones answer in one word: succour us. Towards thee do they stretch forth their hands; from thee do they implore assistance respecting a life wasted or which is going to ruin; in thee alone are their hopes. They beseech thee to draw them from the abyss in which they are struggling, and to hold up, before their wandering feet, the wholesome light of truth."

Philosophy had the ambition also of penetrating the court. Plutarch forced an entrance for it there. "If the sage," says he, "whose intercourse is confined to individuals, gives them serenity, calm, and sweetness, he who shall put the soul of a prince in the right direction will extend to a whole people the benefit of his philosophy." A good while before him it had succeeded in becoming known there. Augustus had "his philosopher," Arcus, the confident of all his thoughts, "of all his soul's movements." When Livia lost her son Drusus, it was of him she asked consolation

¹ At least, that is the name given by Seneca to Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, and by Apuleius to the priest who had initiated him into the mysteries of Isis.

² Persius, *Sat.*, v.

³ Denis, *op. cit.*, ii. 66.

in her grief.¹ Nero had Seneca, who for some time restrained his natural perversity, and many others whom Tacitus maintains that he took delight in exciting to disputations.² Nerva, Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, were surrounded by philosophers who had an official position, were counted amongst the prince's friends (*comites*), and, like them, received a stipend from which Lucian derives a pretext to accuse them of greediness.³ One might call them the almoners of our kings. It seems that under Trajan the post could not have been very lucrative. Yet this prince wished to hear the most illustrious of them, Dion Chrysostom. We still possess the discourse which the philosopher addressed to him on the duties of royalty, and which Pope Nicholas V. caused to be translated into Latin for his own use.

Many kept schools, for which some charged fees, others were gratuitous.⁴ The former derived a profit for their learning which we regard as legitimate, but which the austere blamed. "These are," Nigrinus used to say, "only stores and shops, these schools in which wisdom is sold and supplied like goods."⁵

Others, after the example of Epictetus and Nigrinus, one of those rare philosophers who had found favour with Lucian, lived in poor dwellings, philosophizing quite alone or with those whom their renown attracted, and who came to submit to them *cases of conscience*. Aulus Gellius, charged by the prætor to judge a difficult case, found himself in great embarrassment: *proofs* were wanting; must he decide according to the well-known *morals* of the two adversaries? He adjourns the matter and hastens to consult his master Favorinus.⁶ This latter did not wait till they came to him. One day he was told that the wife of one of his pupils was confined: he at once starts off, and in the name of nature and philosophy goes away to direct the husband that his wife should nurse her baby.⁷

¹ Seneca, *ad Marc.*, 4: *philosopho viri sui* . . . Seneca says to Livia, by the mouth of Areus, that he has known: . . . *omnes quoque secretiores animorum vestrorum motus*.

² *Ann.*, xiv. 16.

³ *The Parasite*, 52.

⁴ *Vies des anciens orateurs grecs*, by Bréquigni, vol. ii. p. 140.

⁵ Lucian, *Nigr.*, 25.

⁶ *Noct. Att.*, xiv. 2.

⁷ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xii. 1. Rousseau has done the same, and has in part gained his cause. Was Favorinus as successful in the higher classes of Roman society? One cannot

They were sent for in times of affliction, and Dion complains that they waited so late before sending. "Just as remedies are bought only in a serious illness, so they neglect the philosopher so long as one is not too unhappy. Take the case of a rich man, he has a large income or vast domains, good health, wife and children doing well, credit, authority; well, this happy man will not feel any wish to listen to a philosopher; but let him lose his fortune or his health, he will at once more readily give ear to the philosopher; let now his wife, or son, or brother, be at death's door, oh! then he begs the philosopher to come; he will send for him to obtain some consolation, to learn from him how to support so many misfortunes."¹

Lastly, philosophy had its wandering missionaries, who carried it with the eloquence and ardour of the apostolate to all parts of the Empire, equally to small and great, even to the ears of women and slaves.²

Often was to be seen appearing in the circus, the theatre, in assemblies, a Sophist who demanded silence "in the name of immortal nature of which he was the faithful interpreter." He was thought to be "a divine messenger," like the Christian preachers whom Bossuet grandly calls "God's ambassadors," and he said to the noisy crowd: "Listen to me, you will not always find a man to come to you with free truth, without concern for glory or money, with no other motive than his solicitude for you, and resolution to bear, if need be, jeers, tumult, and cries."³ It was not to satisfy a childish vanity which these popular orators desired. Musonius loved to repeat: "When a philosopher exhorts, warns, advises, and blames, or gives a lesson in morality, if the audience, entranced by the graces of his style, overwhelms him with mercenary praises, be sure that all are then wasting their time. I no longer see a philosopher teaching souls, but a flute

be positive, but cannot say absolutely the contrary. See, in Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 1,092, an inscription with these words: *matri et nutrici sue*. It has reference to a person of importance, a priestess of Livia at Eclanum.

¹ *Orat.*, xxvii. Cf. Martha, *op cit.*, p. 301.

² *Senserunt hoc stoici qui servis et mulieribus philosophandum esse dicebant* (Lactantius, *Inst. div.*, iii. 23). Cf. Martha, p. 294.

³ These are the words of Dion (*Orat.*, xxxii.), and he was quite conscientious in his part, for he urged the other philosophers to turn to the multitude, *εἰς πλῆθος*. Cf. Martha, pp. 294 and 304, n. 1.

player tickling their ears. . . . When the words are useful and salutary they listen in silence."¹ Would not these be called the strict requisites of a Christian sermon?

The most famous of these nomadic preachers were Dion Chrysostom and Apollonius of Tyana. The latter has a bad name at present: he has been called the "Don Quixote of philosophy,



Apollonius of Tyana. (Marble Bust in the Naples Museum.)

riding through the world in quest of struggles and adventures,"² and Philostratus has strewed his path with miracles which make us smile. But while disengaging this personage from the marvellous with which following generations have invested him, to oppose him to the God of the Christians, he continues, perhaps, one illuminated, but for certain a man who, by his asceticism and morality, approaches closely to Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. His biographer says: "As he went he redressed the ill he met with, holding wholesome discourse everywhere with those who listened to him."³

Dion, who had at first been only a rhetorician greedy of praise, when once a convert to philosophy took it everywhere, even to Trajan's palace, where he spoke with a legitimate pride, which was given him by his exile, of his laborious life in the midst of the barbarians, and his constant warfare on behalf of moral truth.

¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, v. 1.

² L'abbé Freppel, *Apol. chrét.*, p. 94.

³ *Apoll.*, iv. 4. Philostratus shows this (iv. 2) in trying to persuade the Ephesians to give up all for philosophy, and some lines further on he relates his charming parable of the birds who give warning and aid to one another. It might be a Gospel text.

"Do not fear," he used to say,¹ "that I wish to flatter you. Formerly, when everybody believed himself obliged to lie, I alone had no fear of speaking the truth at the peril of my life; and now that I am permitted to speak freely I should be truly inconsistent to give up my freedom when it is tolerated! And why lie? To obtain money, praises, glory? But money I have never consented to receive, and my fortune I have given up."

And when he is seen placing well-doing in the front rank of the duties of royalty, we remember that Trajan was the founder of the charity institution, and that the Antonines modified the whole imperial legislation by making it more humane. Eighty of Dion's discourses have come down to us in which are revealed the honourable man, the good citizen, the elegant orator, and the irreproachable moralist.

Ulpian will soon say of the juriseconsults: they are the priests of the law. Seneca had already said of the philosophers: they are the priests of truth,² true prophets,³ truly inspired; and this part was so well sustained that Plutarch repeats the expression. Do we feel authorized in thinking that this great work was useless, that this vigorous effort to lead society in a better way did not succeed at all in doing so? The preaching quietly begun at Rome by Cicero in the name of duty, by Horace in the name of good sense, so brilliantly continued by the whole Empire from Thrasea to Marcus Aurelius, in the name of the dignity of human nature and its most elevated sentiments, produced the moral reaction which so many facts have shown us. The Roman collections of sermons of the first two centuries certainly effected numerous conversions. Notwithstanding, in the midst of this society troubled by so many different religions, the disagreement, always so great between doctrines and conduct, continued more conspicuous than it had

¹ *Orat.*, i. Cf. Martha, p. 303.

² *Antistites* (*Quest. nat.*, vii. 32), and *hæ litteræ . . . infularum loco sunt* (*Epist.*, 14, 11). Plutarch considers it acting in a priestly character as regards those who consulted him, and not satisfied with regarding the philosopher as a priest, he places him even above, not without reason, for the pagan priests have been nothing but celebrants, who left religious and moral teaching at first to the poets, later on to the philosophers.

³ *De Vita beata*, 27. Galen similarly understood the philosopher's functions. See Daremberg, *Galien considéré comme philosophe*, p. 17.

been at other periods in which the same belief and discipline were prevailing.

This clergy, in fact, of a particular sort, without hierarchy or rule, without dogma or theology, was going at random, according to the inspiration and tastes of each. Many impostors were included in it, finding in this profession the means of living a lazy life.¹ There were seen also some enlightened ones and some fools, like that Peregrinus who from vanity mounted a funeral pile at Olympia.² Consequently, one need not be astonished that the philosophers excited the ridicule of Lucian, as the monks did that of Erasmus and Hutten. A Christian who became a heresiarch, Tatian, said of them: "What is there so grand about your philosophers? I see nothing extraordinary in them, unless it be that they let their hair grow long, attend carefully to their beard, and leave their nails as long as animals' claws. They make it known that they have no need of any one; yet they need a carrier for their wallet, a turner for their staff, a tailor for their cloak, rich men, and a good cook for their greediness. This grand philosopher declaims with assurance, insults those who refuse him, and if one has done him wrong he avenges himself."³

The satire, truly, is not cruel, and we admit that there were more ridiculous things, even vices, than Tatian points out. Lucian has said much more about them.⁴ But we do not strike the dead, and philosophy must have been singularly active at this period to cause the satirist of Samosata to lay the blame so often on the philosophers. Besides, he is the enemy of certain philosophers, but not of philosophy. He styles her Jupiter's daughter and makes her say: "The majority of men, the mass of the people, hold me in great honour and admire me; they fall little short of worshipping me, while not understanding me very much." Then she explains that while seeing the multitude show the most profound respect to her true disciples, tolerate their freedom, seek their friendship, listen to their advice, yield to their slightest reproach, "a crowd

¹ Aulus-Gellius, ix. 2. Lucian, *Eunuch*, 8, 9. In this passage Lucian says that the philosophers accepted as official professors received from the Emperor a stipend of 10,000 drachmæ.

² *Id.*, *Peregr.*

³ Tillemont, ii. p. 460.

⁴ Especially in the *Icaromenippus*.

of despicable men had assumed the philosophers' cloak, as if that was enough for attaining all."¹ The pitiless scoffer himself affirms the importance of this teaching, at once popular and elevated, which took the place of that which the priests did not supply. During two centuries, philosophy was at Rome, as in France after Louis XIV., the religion of polite society, and the emperors so thoroughly recognized its utility that they granted official immunities to the philosophers.²

Thus, whether the Romans had spread their organizing spirit among the provincials, or in the anarchy of divine things the peoples had sought a fixed point where the troubled conscience could rest, it was found that the general reason elaborated in the depths of the intellect of some superior men had disentangled from the mass of legends and metaphysics a morality, rules of conduct, a religion quite human, without very certain divinities, but not without efficacy. A writer of authority has said: "Philosophy had become so practical, so attentive to the most delicate wants of the soul, so enamoured of inner perfection, that its teaching, in spite of the diversity of dogma, deserves the honour of having come close to the Christian rule of life."³

The philosophers had then clearly seen that there was need, first of all, to attend to the task of the moral perfecting of the individual, and that society could be ameliorated only by commencing to ameliorate men.⁴ The whole social reform was in their estimation, as it ought to be for us, a question of education. Their preaching, being combined with the efforts made with the same intention by the Flavians and Antonines, had restored in many houses that severity of manners the restoration of which Tacitus testifies, and which has helped us to find once more an honourable social state where one expected to see only debauchery and corruption. Humanity was therefore itself seeking its own salvation, and from Socrates to Marcus Aurelius some had found it, those whose "souls naturally Christian," made an approximation

¹ *The Fugitives*, 3 and 12.

² Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 66.

³ Martha, *op. cit.*, p. 70. On the whole question of the moral philosophy of the period of the Antonines, see also Friedländer, vol. iii. pp. 543-612.

⁴ See *Progrès et morale*, by F. Bouillier, p. 328.

to those sages to whom the tradition of the Church has promised a happy life.¹

III.—THE STATE RELIGION.

Man is a religious being, because his reason shows him a law beneath phenomena; in the law, a cause and a consequence, that is to say, a principle and an end, two things which are connected to constitute *order*, and this supposes an Orderer who has made the properties of matter to unite in producing a determinate effect. This concatenation of things even the savage sees confusedly, but in a way which impresses his mind, and all religions result from this sort of unconscious reflection. *Celi enarrant gloriam Dei*, this is the involuntary cry of humanity; the whole metaphysic of the philosophers is contained in these four words.

In face of the incomprehensible there is then early awakened an insatiable curiosity, as from death is born the fear of destruction. On the one hand, man desires to know; on the other to survive; even when he has not a clear view of this immortality, he has yet sought to secure, for the struggles of life, the help of divine beings by gaining their favour. Religions are born, from the earliest days of the world, from this need, from this fear, and these interests.² The sentiment of the divine, with the hopes it gives of *salvation*³ here on earth or in another existence, is found in the depths of human nature, and the impotent but noble search into what precedes and what follows this life⁴ is the characteristic sign of

¹ Cf. l'abbé Gerbet, *des Doctrines philosophiques sur la certitude*, pp. 37 and 106. A number of Fathers of the Church had declared that the pagan philosophy had been a preparation for the Catholic faith. See below, pp. 743-4.

² *Primus in orbe deos fecit terror* (Statius, *Thebaid*, iii. 661). As regards selfish calculation, it is found in all the invocations which, from India to Italy, are almost identical. "It is less a question of obtaining the good-will than of enchaining the liberty of the god. The Brahmin who knows the ritual does as he likes with heaven, and by means of heaven he is master of the world. The Italiote, without going so far, believes that if he continue faithful to all the sacred prescriptions, the god on his part will also not fail in his duty." (Bréal, *les Tables Eugubines*.)

³ The word *salus* had especially the meaning of conservation, prosperity, healing. See the forms of prayer which are found in Cato (*de Re rust.*, 141), and a number of inscriptions *pro salute principis*.

⁴ Strabo, wishing to explain the origin of religion, says: *φιλειθέμων γὰρ ἄνθρωπος* (I. ii. 8), and man has been defined a religious animal.

humanity. Together sorrow and religion have begun; together they will end.

This great human fact has had two consequences: one for society, the other for the individual. The religious sentiment being very complex, there are found composing it fear and love, calculation and carelessness,¹ egotism and devotedness, pride and humility. According as one of these elements has gained the mastery, the sacerdotal classes have in different countries presented very different characteristics, from the timorous penitent to the implacable pontiff who rules all in the State, while regarding his own thoughts as inspirations from on high. On the other hand, the essential element of a religion is the marvellous, since the unknown and inaccessible form the domain reserved for the gods. Hence it has followed in all times, even in an entirely scientific age, that under all forms, even the strangest, faith in the supernatural has existed. The grave Strabo used to say: "The poets have not been the only ones to invent legends; the magistrates, legislators, have also, in the common interest, spread them among the peoples; the more marvellous they are, the more they are liked. . . . Women and the masses, not being led to piety by philosophy, are induced by superstition; and the latter possesses efficacy only by the fables and miracles which are commingled with it."² Strabo is wrong: the peoples themselves make their legends, just as they make their mode of speech, and the poets, the enthusiasts, the clever believers, serve later on only to arrange them.

Now the philosophers in the time of the Empire, who wanted to found a religion, those especially of the dominant school, absolutely needed this effective instrument. With their desert heaven, since their gods were only a blind fatality, with their manly teaching of duty, with no other reward than that of a satisfied conscience, their proud attitude before destiny of which they

¹ The Romans used to live with their gods as the lazzaroni do with their saints. At the *lectisternia* they ate with them; at the games of the circus they brought their statues to take part in the festival. Dion (xlvii. 40) relates that at the time of the battle of Philippi, the ear of Minerva was broken while the goddess was being brought back from the circus to the Capitol.

² Strabo, *ibid.* Maximus of Tyre says the same thing (*Dissert.*, x. p. 165, edit. Reiske). Plutarch (*Marr. Prec.*, 19), according to Plato (*Laws*, x. 15), recommends Pollianus not to allow his young wife to introduce into his house minute devotions and strange superstitions. In the dialogue of Minucius Felix, the pagan reproaches the Christians also for abusing the credulity of women.

asked nothing, and in face of the nothingness which they regarded without fear, Stoicism was made for the choicest spirits and not for the mass. "Two things," says Kant, "fill the human mind with awe, the starry heavens above and the moral law within." Of these two things, the Stoics looked only at the second, and that, too, in a certain way. Thus this morality without dogma, this philosophy without metaphysic, this reason without the marvellous, which was satisfied with exaggerating nature, had no hold on uncultivated minds, or seemed insufficient to souls which the need of a higher ideal tormented. It is said in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*: "Faith is the evidence of things not seen," and the teaching of Tertullian may be summed up in one profound expression: *Credo quia absurdum*,¹ I believe, because I do not understand. In Stoicism all was understood; it was unable to bring the world over, and if it entered upon a struggle with religious teaching which opened up the heavens closed by Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno, it was conquered in advance.

Did polytheism preserve at least enough strength to keep that society, which it had held during so many centuries and by such powerful ties, or were its marvels worn out by long use?

Hellenism had for a long time cradled infancy with pious stories or terrible legends, charmed the imagination and senses by ceremonial pomp, and kept hold on hearts by that poetry of the heavens which so well responds to our instinctive ideal, or subdued minds by the terrors of Erebus. But a time came when the vague pleasures of the Elysian Fields seemed insufficient and Jupiter's thunderbolts very blind. This great God of the Aryan race lost his worshippers, and the statues of other gods tottered like his own in the inclosures of the temples. Solitude and silence came upon these ancient lords of the world and the grass grew on the sacred ways. Yet before passing from life to death, a religion always traverses an intermediate state which can last for centuries. Already mortally affected by doubt, it seemed still to live in men's habitudes. Man with his reason drifts away, or, like the politician, grants nothing but a formal adhesion. Woman, who is all feeling, remains at the temple with her faith and keeps her child there.

¹ For example, in the *de Carne Christi*, 5: *Prorsus credibile est, quia ineptum est; certum est, quia impossibile est*. Some lines higher up he says of himself, *feliciter stultum*.

In all religions the heart has made women the priestesses of the first and last hours.

That paganism had been for a long time in that state as regards the learned and even "for the vulgar," Juvenal is quite ready to assert.¹ Not having, like the Jews, a precise creed inclosed in a book, nor, like Egypt and India, a clergy who pre-



Scenes from the Elysian Fields, on an Italo-Greek Vase in the Munich Museum.

served and defended it, polytheism had seen the newly-formed society, which demanded to be taught something, desert its empty cold temples where nothing was taught. Then took place the magnificent burst of philosophic spirit which did not leave a single way untrodden by which it hoped to attain the truth. At last, worn out with so many vain researches, this powerful spirit gave up ambitious theories, as it had done in the case of the popular beliefs, and sank into a state of doubt. We know what had been

¹ *Sat.*, xiii. 35.

the religion of Lucretius, Cicero, and Cæsar, and what the Pontifex Maximus Scævola and Varro thought of the State worship. The elder Pliny is clearly an atheist. In his case, God, if he exist, is destiny, or what he calls the power of nature; and he divides men into two classes: those who do not take the gods into account at all and those who form a shameful idea of them.¹ The affecting honours of the dead cannot even move this passionless mind: "Our vanity makes our existence last beyond the tomb; we concede feeling to the departed spirits, and we make into a god what has ceased to be man."²

Juvenal³ maltreats "the herd of the gods" and some of their worshippers. Tacitus hesitates between contrary doctrines, but the younger Pliny does not hesitate, and if his friend had left us *letters* in place of *histories*, which demanded conventional language, we should doubtless have seen in them the same religious indifference. It is a remarkable thing that in the 247 letters of Pliny⁴ there is not one serious reference to the gods. Religion, so far as moral influence was concerned, had no existence for him. He will indeed buy a statue to decorate a public place in Como; he will rebuild near his domains a ruined sanctuary; he will build a temple at Tifernum to make a show of munificence; but of the government of the world by the gods, of the part played by religion in the life, he takes no care, and he would willingly say with Lucan: "To talk of Jupiter's royalty is to lie; there is no god who shows care for human affairs."⁵ Pliny believes in *belles-lettres*, in honour, probity, all the civic virtues, and he leaves the immortals to vegetate on Olympus. He does not discuss the question as a philosopher; he does not honour the gods as a believer. They are for him as if they were not, unless he has some public function to perform, because in that case they form part of the traditional ceremonial. Horace in his *Odes* appears as

¹ *Hist. nat.*, ii. 5. Varro Atacinus wrote:—

*Marmoreo in tumultu Læcius jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo. Quis putet esse deos?*

(Fragment of the *Poete lat. min.*, vol. iv. edit. Lemaire.)

² *Hist. nat.*, vii. 56.

³ *Sat.*, xiii. 46 and 86.

⁴ Except the tenth book.

⁵ *Mentimur regnare Jovem . . . mortalia nulli sunt curata deo* (*Phers.*, vii. 447 *et seq.*).

a zealous pagan: mythological piety is one of the conditions of lyric poetry; but when he thinks for himself his gods make a



Bacchus.¹

sad figure, living in a peaceful indifference as regards men,² and without sadness he sees their old sanctuaries crumbling into ruins.³

The author of the *Arts Amoris* undertook, in a time of penitence, to write the *Fasti*; yet he could not refrain from

¹ After a painting at Pompeii recently discovered. The *Gazette archéologique* of 1880 has published it in colours and added a learned dissertation.

² *Sat.*, I. v. 101-103. Long before him Plautus had said: "They relate their misfortunes to Night, Day, the Sun, the Moon, which, I believe, do not at all disquiet themselves about human griefs, our vows, and our fears." (*Mercator*, Prolog.)

³ *Templa ruunt antiqua deum* (*Sat.*, ii. 2, v. 104).

laughing at the devotees who, with a few drops of lustral water, "believed they blotted out their acts of perjury;"¹ and to relate, as Ovid did, the *Metamorphoses* of the gods, he needed only facile verses and very slight piety. A sort of mystic, Apuleius, avows that the ignorant masses are wanting in respect for the gods,



Neptune and Minerva.²

either by showing superstitious reverence or an insolent contempt for them.³ Petronius goes further: he knows how the masters of Olympus were made; and the narrative is very little edifying. He says, "Fear was the origin of the gods. Mortals had seen the lightning falling from heaven's heights, overturning walls

¹ *Fasti*, v. 681, and ii. 45.

² After one of the most beautiful cameos in the *Cabinet de France*. Cf. Chabouillet, *Catal. gén.*, etc., No. 36.

³ *De Deo Socr.* Pliny (x. 97 *ad finem*) writes to Trajan that the temples are being deserted. Plutarch, under Hadrian, wrote a treatise on the decay of the oracles.

to the ground and setting on fire the peaks of Athos; the sun, after having crossed the heavens, returns to its rest; the moon grows old and decreases, but to reappear in its splendour. From hence were the images of the gods spread in every direction. The change of seasons which divide the year increased still more the realm of superstition; the labourer, dupe of a great error, offered to Ceres the firstfruits of his crop and crowned Bacchus with purple grapes. Pales was decorated by the shepherd's hands; Neptune had for empire the sea's expanse, and Diana laid claim to the forests."¹ The gods are therefore of human creation, and it was from the earth that heaven was reached. Here at least Petronius is serious in his impiety; elsewhere he is very irreverent. When Eumolpus, one of his heroes, give the old woman whose goose he has killed two gold pieces, he said to her: "With this you will be able to buy as many geese and gods as you please." Many also confined their hopes in desiring for themselves what a Macedonian wished of the passers-by from the depth of the tomb: "Life and health to you."²

A considerable school, that of Epicurus, absolutely denied the existence of divine beings, and "gave peace to the soul by setting it free from the terrors inspired by prodigies and phantoms, by banishing chimerical hopes and inordinate desires."³ Another, that of Zeno, hardly separated God from nature, or rather identified him with the world of which he was the invisible soul; and some poets, Manilius in his *Astronomica*, perhaps the pious Virgil,⁴ adhered to this powerful doctrine of pantheism, which has appeared in all ages of the world to explain the inexplicable problem of metaphysic: the co-existence of the finite with the infinite, of nature and God, of human liberty and divine providence. Hadrian doubtless held this belief, he who built temples without images or name: a sign of his contempt for the State mythology, of his respect for the impersonal god diffused throughout the universe, who yet did not

¹ *Fragm.*, xxvii.

² Ζή και ὑγίαινε. (Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 39.)

³ Lucian, *Thoughts of Epicurus*.

⁴ . . . Spiritus unus per cunctas habitat partes.

(Manilius, *Astr.*, ii. 58.)

Spiritus intus alit; totamque infusa per artus

Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.

(Virgil, *Æn.*, vi. 726.)

reveal to him at the last hour the secret of the grave. In truth, Plato, Aristotle, and all the philosophers had made breaches with more or less prudence in the State polytheism. But their works belonged to those which reach the higher minds; they did not descend to those below: the little *dialogues* of Lucian spread every-



Epicurus. (Marble Bust in the Musée du Louvre.)

where. This follower of Epicurus had taken as his mission the relentless persecution of charlatans, impostors, and the superstitious. When he made such rude warfare against the old divinities which were passing away, as well as against those professing to replace them, he was certainly an echo of public sentiment, and we know that his books were read eagerly. Listen to what he makes Timon say to Jupiter:¹ "We no longer offer thee any sacrifices, nor crown thy statues, except sometimes by accident at Olympia; yet he who does so does not believe he is fulfilling

a rigorous duty, but simply honouring an ancient practice. Before long we shall see in thee who art the greatest of the gods only a Saturn who will be despoiled of all his honours. I will not tell how many times the thieves have pillaged thy temples; they have gone so far as to lay hands on thyself at Olympia, and thou, who makest such a bluster up above, didst not give thyself the trouble of arousing the dogs or calling thy friends, who, on hurrying at thy cries, would have seized the robbers while making up

¹ *Timon*, 4.

their bundles for flight. But thou, the exterminator of the giants, the vanquisher of the Titans, didst remain seated, allowing thy golden locks to be shorn by the brigands, and that, too, when thou hadst a bolt of ten cubits' length at thy right hand."

Rabelais, Ariosto, Cervantes, by their ridicule killed the expiring Middle Ages; Voltaire and Beaumarchais, the "ancien régime," which was on the point of death. Had they appeared too soon, the implacable deriders would not have been understood, but pilloried or burnt; but coming at the right time they performed in society the function which nature intrusts to the processes of fermentation for accelerating the decomposition of bodies. But life comes forth from death; the *Dialogues* of Lucian, fatal to paganism, helped to clear the ground for a new faith.¹

It was in fact impossible that this audacious raillery at popular beliefs should not greatly shatter them.² The sculptors and painters still largely took advantage of the old staff of the Hellenic legends, because these personages, with their adventures, their features, their costumes, lent themselves admirably to plastic representations. The poets, less fortunate, no longer charmed any one with mythological trifling. Yet temples continued to be built, but for architectural reasons, to embellish a city or decorate a public square; sacrifices were offered up, and, as did Herodes Atticus, even hecatombs, but from vainglory and to have a pretext for giving a festival to a whole people; ancient rights were performed, but from a spirit of obedience to tradition. Even the sceptic, in a time of fear, resumed for a moment the feelings of the devotee, and, for reasons of State, policy preserved them.³

¹ See especially *Jupiter the Tragedian*, the *Aerial Voyage*, the *Assembly of the Gods*, and against the charlatans, the history of Alexander of Abonotichos and of his god-serpent Glycon.

² Philostratus exhibits (i. 2) Apollonius trying to re-establish the worship in the deserted temples. The oracle of Delphi continued dumb a long time . . . *Quoniam Delphi oracula cessant* (Juvenal, *Sat.*, vi. 555), and when the Pythia, in Trajan or Hadrian's reign, began again to speak, it was habitually in simple prose and no longer in verse. In place of three ancient priestesses, only one sufficed. Cf. Plutarch, *On the α* , the treatise *Why the Pythia no longer replies in verse*, and that *On the Decadence of the Oracles*.

³ Horace was frightened at the fall of a tree and at a thunderclap being heard in a clear sky. Sylla, the sacrilegious plunderer of the temples at Delphi, drew from his bosom, in a perilous moment, a gold image of Apollo which he had stolen, and at once addressed a prayer to it. Cæsar, a sceptic, went up the steps of the Capitol on his knees to disarm the anger of Nemesis.

At these periods of reformation the multitude of the timid and simple forms a mass obstinately opposed to new ideas. In his dialogue Minucius Felix introduces a pagan interlocutor who intends to continue faithful to the national customs, out of habit, respect for the law, and also because knowing, as Socrates, that he knows nothing, he does not wish to innovate in such doubtful matters, nor reason on subjects which elude one's grasp during the reasoning process. This is a cautious man. The simple folk, such as the peasants in the heart of the country, small citizens in the towns, poor people everywhere, remained faithful to the old national faith, to their Penates, discreet witnesses of domestic life, to the Manes, the guardians of those whom they had lost, to the ancient rural divinities with whom an interested or timid piety associated the Augusti, the new gods of the Empire. When they passed before the temples of the cities, the chapels of the small towns, the holy places standing at intervals along the roads, might it be but a rustic stone serving as altar, or a sacred tree whose branches bore the fleeces of immolated lambs, they stopped to pay their devotions, or, if in a hurry, they kissed hands to it and muttered a prayer.

IV.—INVASION OF ORIENTAL WORSHIPS.

Thus, in the midst of its prosperity, the age was ill of the sickness belonging to a people in good circumstances who, set free from the cares of the struggle for existence, have full leisure for thinking, even of death. Those men of turbulent nature, born for action, and who during some centuries had acted so terribly, were tired of resting, being satiated with comfort, and being no longer in action were giving themselves to thought. For a long time occupied by the exterior world in which the Greek and Roman genius had lived in the adoration of beauty of form, they retired within themselves and were troubled by questions with which the old races of Latium had never been disquieted. Whence come we? Whither are we going and why do we exist? But humanity was not yet ripe enough for the cold analysis of these terrible problems. It was not reason, mistress of herself, who put them and who wished to solve them. In spite of many revolts, thought,

remaining under the domination of the religious sentiment, vacillating and undecided, was groping after new gods. Men penetrated into uncertain regions, into visible darkness, in the search after the supernatural. It was the beginning of the rupture with the ancient civilization: the religion of the catacombs and tears would succeed the religions of light and joy. As a transition from the one to the other is placed the invasion of Oriental worships.

For a long time we did not perceive transformations of religious thought in pagan society, and nothing was noticed between Homer's mythology and the Nicene Creed, so that the world seemed to have changed front by a sudden revolution. Important works on the history of religious and philosophic doctrines have shown that after the great disturbances produced by the conquests of Alexander and Rome new ideas had circulated in Asia, Egypt, and Greece, incessantly combining in different proportions, and ending by forming a current of idealism absolutely contrary to that which the Græco-Latin civilization had produced. It was a new age of the world of which the philosophers had been the precursors: the end of natural religions and the commencement of moral ones.

At all times it had been the policy of Rome and the character of its religion to give the freedom of the city to the gods of the vanquished, even when the senate refused it to their worshippers. During the Empire the frequency and safety of communication facilitated this religious propagandism. Olympus was peopled with divinities of which Cato knew nothing; the emperors ascended thither, the genii seemed to descend thence or to occupy its avenues, and Rome, the religious capital of the world as it was the political capital, was already styled "the very holy city."¹

These new gods were sought from the direction towards which the world leaned. Commerce, arts, letters, philosophy, even the language which there was a liking to employ—all tended towards the East. The religious spirit took that direction also, the princes even encouraged it; Marcus Aurelius "filled Rome with foreign worships;"² Commodus, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, hastened

¹ *Civitas sacrosancta* (Apuleius, *Met.*, xi. *ad fin.*).

² Capitolinus, *Marc.*, 13. The worship of Cybele and Mithra was installed from this time

on the movement; in his book, *The Errors of Paganism*, written in Constantine's time, Firmicus Maternus seemed to have forgotten the ancient religion of Rome, and to be acquainted only with Isis, Cybele, the Heavenly Virgin,¹ and Mithra. The gods, in fact, now dead did not come to life again: they left their empire to others.

But the spirit of the East is an ascetic or sensual mysticism; it is the religion born of religious enthusiasm, of ecstasy and faith outside every rational conception. The Greek thought, I dare not say the Roman, plunged into it.² At the time when, on Tiber's banks, the gods of the Capitol still kept their credit, Greece had long previously attacked her own. But as she had got the start of Rome in scepticism, so she had also in new paths of religion. All the Greek writers of the second century, except Lucian, are believers. Being adjacent to Asia, she had been first touched by its breath, and it was by Greeks of Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt, that the worships of the East were spread throughout all the provinces of the Empire. The ancient gods were for a moment brought to life. Oracles long since closed were reopened: the Delphian Pythia will regain voice, and Diocletian will piously consult the Didymæan Apollo. Sacerdotal honours were sought after; the number of priests was increased greatly: in the album of the decurions of Canusium for the year 237 there is not found a single flamen's name; that of Thamugas, drawn up a century later, is full of them.

But these religions from the East came with their usual accompaniment of incantations, expiatory purifications and extravagant devotions, which Greece and Rome had not known. Noisy, theatrical, and taking pleasure in tragic emotions, they tended to change the simple faith of the western provinces.³ Such were

in the temple of Apollo, on the Vatican, either at the spot or very near the place where there is now the church of S. Peter. (Becker, i. 662-663.)

¹ The *Virgo* or *Dea celestis* of Carthage was the Syrian Astarte. (Münter, *Relig. der Karth.*, p. 62, and Orelli, Nos. 1,942-4.)

² Pausanias, Dion, Maximus of Tyre, are religious minds. Aristides is one of the illuminated, Ælian a fanatic. There is nothing like these among the literary Latins.

³ From Augustus's reign there were temples to Isis at Rome, outside the pomerium (Dion, liii. 2). But this Egyptian divinity soon had princes as worshippers: Otho (Suet., *Otho*, 12), Domitian, who built an *Iseum* and a *Serapeum* (Eutropius, vii. 23), Commodus, etc. (Lamprid., *Comm.*, 9); in the third century it had sanctuaries even in Germany. (Orelli, No. 1,892.)

the worships of the sun gods, Adonis and Atys, whose death and resurrection, symbols of the renewal of the seasons, gave occasion for festivals in which the Oriental populations exhibited all forms of exaggerated grief and joy: fasting, funeral lamentations, flagellation with a disciplinary scourge whose cords were armed with small bones; even blood, wounds, horrible mutilations, or joyous hymns, orgiastic dances, and obscene songs; such continued certain rites in the worship of Cybele and Mithra.

Prudentius describes¹ one of these sacrifices made to the *Great Mother*, Cybele. He exhibits the crowd hurrying from a distance to the festival, for the one who gave it exhibited all the magnificence which his fortune allowed him, and the clergy appeared in all their pomp. In the neighbourhood of the temple a ditch was dug, and at the sound of sacred instruments the neophyte descended into it, clothed in a magnificent dress, his face surrounded by bandlets and his head encircled with a gold crown. Above the ditch, covered with planks having openings, a bull was led, whose horns were gilt and his flanks half hidden by garlands of flowers. The temple attendants made him fall on his knees, and a priest armed with the sacrificial knife opened a large wound from whence the blood flowed in streams. The ditch was filled with a hot vapour; the initiated, with extended arms and head thrown back, tried to prevent a drop of this blood from reaching the earth before having touched him. His ears, eyes, lips, mouth, his whole body was covered with blood. When he reappeared streaming "with the vivifying rain," instead of being an object of disgust and horror,² he was regarded as a happy man, "regenerated for eternity."³ And this rich man was envied for buying by means of a hideous sacrifice the repose of perhaps a guilty conscience and the favour of the gods, which could no longer be acquired by the offering of a pigeon, a few grains of incense, and an honest life.⁴

¹ *Hymn*, x. vv. 1,021 *et seq.*

² *Procedit inde . . . visu horridus* (Prudentius, *Hymn*, x. 1,045).

³ *Renatus in æternum taurobolio* (Orelli, No. 2,352). Some devotees repeated this baptism monthly, that of the *criobolium*, or sacrifice of a ram, which cost less. See, in Firmicus Maternus (*de Errore prof. relig.*, 28) a curious passage in which he opposes the remission of sins obtained by the blood of Christ to the bloody baptism of the taurobole . . . *Polluit sanguis iste, non redimit.*

⁴ The *taurobolium* and the *criobolium* became frequent reckoning from the Antonines. See Orelli, Nos. 2,322-2,355. The taurobolium was sometimes offered for the purpose of obtaining

The priests of these religions were no longer, like those of Rome, charged with offering prayers in the temple for the Republic, and when not so employed becoming citizens and magistrates. Set apart for the service of the god or goddess, they formed a real



The Taurobolium.¹

clerical body, whose only professed cure was of divine things, and they wore a particular dress, which the Church has imitated with the same happy facility which has caused her to preserve, under Christian names, so many festivals, ceremonies, and pagan customs.²

the cure or the health of a prince: thus at Lyons for Marcus Aurelius (Orelli, No. 2,322), and at Narbonne, where the first personage of the province, the augustal flamen, performing the sacrifice "in the favour" of Septimius Severus, who was suffering much from gout, received in his stead the regenerative blood (Gruter, xxix. 12). The same was done also "for the preservation of the city" (Robert, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1872, p. 474). Purification by water was obligatory for all material impurities, such as touching a corpse, etc.

¹ Restoration taken from the Memoir of M. de Boze, on the inscription on the taurobolic altar found at Fourvières in December, 1704. (*Mem. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. ii. p. 473 and pl. 16.)

² The priests of Cybele wore the tiara, which has become the episcopal mitre. Plutarch

After the bloody baptism of the taurobolic sacrifice, the officiating priest became the spiritual father of the initiated, whom he marked on the forehead with a sign of consecration to the god.¹ Egypt already possessed cloisters in which "the servants of Serapis"² were secluded, and those of Mithra, Isis, etc., were united in religious brotherhoods in which they passed through different grades of initiation.³ The monastic life, as well as the eremitic, had begun in the wildernesses in the neighbourhood of the Jordan and Nile: the Essenes, who led a communistic life and practised abstinence, did not permit women to approach their abodes; the Therapeutæ lived in the desert engaged in meditation, fasting, and prayer, in the midst of ecstatic illuminations.⁴

"It is the war of Actium which is beginning again," exclaimed a philosopher later on, while cursing these Oriental religions with which he confounded Christianity. "The monsters from Egypt dare to hurl their darts against the gods of Rome, but they will not prevail."⁵ The government also grew anxious respecting these violent worships which troubled men's minds,⁶ and so much attracted those whom the frigid severity of the ancient rites now left unmoved. These emotions, expected by the matrons from the new religions, were not spared them: frightful sights, sacred pomp, mysterious words, infinite promises,

speaks of the priests of Isis having *λινθοστολίας καὶ ξένης* (Isis and Osiris, 3). This *ξένης* was the tonsure of the whole head (Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.*, i. 23). The assistants were sprinkled with Nile water, considered as holy water (Juvenal, *Sat.*, vi. 25; Servius, *ad Æn.*, xi. 116). Apuleius says that at the end of each service in the worship of Isis, one of the priests mounted an elevated chair at the temple door and said prayers for the emperor and empire, after which he pronounced the sacred formula: "Let the people retire." *Λαοὶς ἀφεςαίς*. And the crowd withdrew, kissing the feet of the statue of the goddess. (*Met.*, xi. *ad fin.*, etc.) The abbé Fleury has shown in his book on the *Mœurs des chrétiens* how many ancient customs have been preserved by the Church.

¹ See the end of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius: *Complexus sacerdotem meum jam parentem*, and Boissier, vol. i. pp. 398 *et seq.*

² Cf. the papyri of the Serapeum of Memphis, interpreted by Hase and Peyron.

³ There were twelve of these requiring laborious proofs, which lasted forty-five, fifty, and even eighty days, after which the initiated was baptized, marked on the forehead with a sign of consecration to Mithra, and he then made an oblation of bread and wine, accompanied by mysterious words, etc. Cf. Layard, *Recherches sur le culte de Mithra*.

⁴ On the Essenes and Therapeutæ, see the curious details given by Philo and Josephus.

⁵ Maximus of Madaura (S. Augustine, *Epist.*, i. 16).

⁶ See the severities enacted at title xxi. of book v. of the *Sententiæ* of Paulus against the *raticinatores qui humana credulitate publicos mores corrumpunt*, by whom . . . *populares animi turbantur*; and against those who *novos et usu vel ratione incognitas religiones inducunt ex quibus animi hominum morvantur*.

even rude penances, everything stirred these fearful souls and secured them. See, in Juvenal,¹ how they flock to the Oriental superstitions and how great is their docility. "This one in the depth of winter goes, under the threat of her priests, and breaks the ice of the Tiber to plunge in three times, then she crawls on her lacerated knees round the field of Tarquinius Superbus. Another, if the fair Io orders her, will go to the extremity of Egypt to draw water from the burning Meroë, which she will bring back in order to sprinkle the sanctuary of Isis, near the cradle of Romulus." Has she committed what the priest regards as an act of impiety: tears and certain words that she mutters bring her pardon from Osiris; after which she can begin again, for the remission of faults is promised; not what Christians will call the circumcision of the heart, but the practice of certain religious exercises. Devotion takes all forms. We see the rigours of piety which remind us of the *richis* of India or of certain monks of the Middle Ages,² and convulsive dances like those of the spinning dervishes.

Other women consult the Jew, the Chaldaean, the Phrygian augur. It costs them somewhat, but they give freely to the priest, the temple, the idol which they decorate in sumptuous dress, on condition of treating it, if it do not hear their prayers, like the Neapolitan lazzarone who treats the saints with whom he is dissatisfied by loading them with insults and blows. A long time ago a character in Menander had complained on the Athenian stage that the gods were ruining the husbands. "Our wives," said another, "need as many as five sacrifices a day."³

For initiation into these mysteries of Mithra,⁴ the mediator between the Supreme God and men, a fast of fifty days was required, longer than the Ramadan of Islamism, eighteen days devoted to trials or to different penances and two to flagellations. The priests of the Enyo of Comana, like the *aïssaoua* of Algeria, juggled with swords and gave themselves cruel wounds; the Galli

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.*, vi. 523-530.

² *Ceno contaminari, desiderare in sterquilino projicere se in faciem, turpiter sedere*, and the whole treatise by Plutarch, *De Superstitione*.

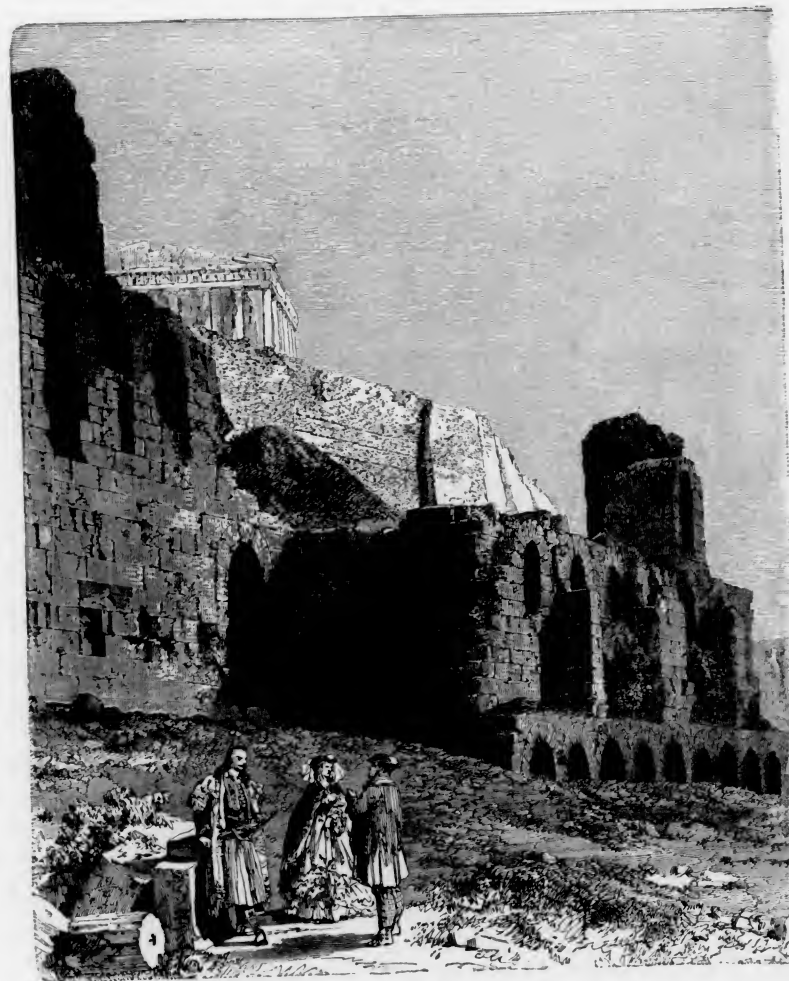
³ Strabo, vii. p. 297.

⁴ Mithra signifies in Zend: sun and love. It recalls *Eros*, or creative Love, and *ἐρμουργός*, of the theogony of Hesiod and Parmenides.



Isis suckling Horus. (Egyptian Bronze of the Ptolemaic Period. Louvre Museum.)

of Cybele emasculated themselves, as do at the present day the Russian *scoptzi*, and a multitude of vagabonds who were called



Remains of the Theatre of Herodes at Athens.

priests of any divinity, but in fact practised suspected callings, begging while hawking prayers, talismans, philtres, and in addition, like Tetzels associates, indulgences for the remission of sins. Never has a band of gypsies caused so much disgust as the priests

of the Syrian goddess of whom Apuleius has left us a hideous picture.¹

There existed then what is often seen, plenty of the show of



Mithra sacrificing the Bull.²

religion and little religion. Obedience to the prescription of a ritual, especially the accomplishment of expiatory rites, which formed the principal characteristic of Oriental worships, seemed to be sufficient for constraining the will of the gods, giving them

¹ *Met.*, viii. *ad fin.* Plato had already exhibited (*Rep.*, ii. 7) the religious charlatans sitting at the door of the rich to sell them secrets with which the latter could atone even for a crime committed by themselves or by their ancestors. They received, says Apuleius, some small pieces of money, a cruise of wine, some milk, cheese, and flour, and used to go thus wandering about the country, which they were bespoiling . . . *ad istum modum palantes, omnem illam deprædabantur regionem.*

² Group in the Vatican. This sacrifice, made at the winter solstice, indicated the combat and victory of the god of day, the Sun, over the bull, the symbol of the powers of night. The church of S. Clement, at Rome, is built on a sanctuary of Mithra. Cf. *C. I. L.*, vi. No. 3,725.

satisfaction, and calming all remorse. The result was that religious practices did not always turn to the advantage of morals, because a religion which is confined to external observances, instead of reaching the heart, becomes perfectly reconciled with moral disorder.¹

Yet a truly religious spirit found the means of striving towards moral perfection, being engrossed with divine things; and the extravagances of others no more turned such aside than our *fabliaux*, the fête of fools, that of the ass and some strange sculpture in our churches turned aside, in the Middle Ages, the faithful from the elevated teaching of the Catholic Church. The fastidious kept away from the obscene or coarse rites of Dionysos and Aphrodite, of Sabazios and the Syrian goddess, to become initiated in mysteries in which the religious spirit had slowly purified the divine idea, by disengaging it from the ancient naturalistic conceptions. The priests revealed to them nothing that was not known abroad, but they had preserved a religious service which struck the imagination and left a profound impression on the mind. See how grave Apuleius becomes after his initiation into the mysteries of Isis. "Prostrate before the goddess, with my face on her divine feet, I washed them for a good while with my tears, and with a voice more than once choked with sobs, I addressed this prayer to her:

"Holy goddess, eternal source of salvation, thou that protectest mortals, who lavishest on them in their ills the love of the tenderest of mothers, not a day, not a night, not a moment elapses which is not marked by one of thy blessings. On the earth, on the sea, there art thou always ready to extend us a helping hand, to unwind the inextricable network of the fates, to conjure away the evil influence of the constellations. Thou art venerated in the heavens, respected in hell, and by thee the globe revolves, the sun shines, the universe is ruled, hell restrained. At thy word the spheres move, the ages pass in succession, the immortals rejoice, the elements are set in order. A sign from thee makes the winds blow, the clouds collect, the seed germinate, the buds open. Thy majesty is feared by the bird flying in the air, the

¹ See Lucian, *The Syrian Goddess*, and all the indications which M. Maury gives respecting prostitution being established in the temples, vol. iii. pp. 169, 176, etc.

savage beast roaming on the mountains, the serpent hidden in the hollow of the earth, the sea-monster in the bottomless abyss. But as I cannot attempt the height of thy praise, I will offer unto thee the service of my heart. Thy holy image will remain graven on my soul and always present to my thoughts."¹

We see what direction the religious sentiment was taking. Under the double effort of the philosophers and priests of the new worships, urging society by different roads towards a common end, it revived and showed itself in some by the violence of carnal devotions, in others by an ecstatic piety. For the ancient marvel, which was perishing, a new supernatural was being substituted. The pure air which had for so long enveloped the Hellenic Olympus was charged with mists; the lowering heaven of the Latin divinities was becoming confused and disordered. The medley which Lucian exhibits in the assembly of the gods, in which Anubis, with a dog's head, sits beside radiant Apollo, is found also in beliefs. Apuleius was very right in giving us the graceful and sad myth of Psyche. As being the lover of Eros, pagan society, seized with impatient curiosity, desired to pierce the darkness which hid the divine spouse. An ardent inspiration carries many minds towards the unknown, and they ask the road to it from those who profess to lead men thither. The whole world, Pagans, Christians, and Jews, believed in magicians,² beginning with the government, who had great fear of them. The law against them was atrocious: it condemned to the flames all who practised magic, and to the wild beasts those who studied it.³ Its reputation was only the greater for this reason, and its mysteries, its lies, added to the mental confusion. Moreover, prodigies were not less numerous than in the best days of Roman credulity. The elder Pliny, who does not believe in God, although he believes in

¹ *Met.*, xi. *ad fin.* Plutarch, at the beginning of his treatise, *On Isis and Osiris*, regards the goddess as the divine wisdom. She communicates her gifts to those who, by their disinclination to passion, their assiduity in pious exercises and rigorous abstinences, aspire to the knowledge of the Supreme Being. As far back as Orpheus (Pausanias, ix. 30) is carried the institution of mysteries which required purifications, by whose aid they believed sins were blotted out and sanctification attained. On the writings composed under the name of Orpheus, see Maury, *op. cit.*, cap. xviii., devoted to the *doctrines orphiques*.

² See what S. Irenæus (*Adv. her.*, ii. 48) says of the *inspiratio demoniaca*, and Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 2.

³ Paulus, *Sent.*, v. 23, 15-18.

virtue, accepts predictions, miracles, and relates them with imperturbable gravity. Therefore the serious examination of victims' entrails was kept up. Dreams were examined for revelations of the future,¹ and the Chaldæans drew up "schemes of nativity," which became sometimes sentences of death when they promised a great fortune to the contemporaries of Tiberius, Domitian, or Caracalla. The astrological predictions and the Sibylline verses supposed that fate had fixed everything beforehand; the oracle, on the other hand, led one to suppose that the gods freely interfered in mundane affairs. The same man did not the less have recourse one day to the Chaldæans and another to the oracle of Abonotichos, whose scandalous history Lucian has preserved for us.²

The immutable laws of nature pursue their course, and yet many believed that they saw miracles. As those mostly sought after were those that gave health, all who were interested multiplied and adorned the accounts which were circulating about them. And, in fact, some seemed to succeed. In the temples of Æsculapius, the preparatory ceremonies, prolonged fasts, purifications, sacrifices, strange remedies, and in certain cases efficacious ones, and lastly the night passed in the midst of the sacred serpents, in presence of the god, who did not fail to appear in the sick person's dreams, or to speak to him when half asleep, caused a salutary shock to the imagination.³ Then faith, and nervous excitement, and some mysterious remedy assisting, there took place phenomena which the science of those days could not explain and which were then of necessity attributed to divine action. "A man named Euphronios," says Ælian,⁴ "had allowed himself to adopt

¹ Galen determined to study medicine, in accordance with a dream of his father (*Meth. med.*, ix. 49), and another prevented him from accompanying Marcus Aurelius in his expedition to the Danube, unless he imagined it to afford himself a pretext for staying at Rome. However, he believed in it, as everybody did then, and did not even doubt the power of enchanters. (Daremberg, *op. cit.*, p. 23.) Artemidorus, of Ephesus, under the later Antonines, had written in five books an *ὄνειδοςερμηνεύων*, or *Dream Interpreter*. He believed that dreams revealed the future. Plato, Cicero, Marcus Aurelius, thought the same, and the whole of the Middle Ages believed as they, that in sleep man could enter into relation with the spirits of the dead. This is still the belief of the Red Indians.

² *Alexander or the False Prophet*; see also *the Liar*.

³ A number of inscriptions bear: made by the order of such or such a god, *ex præscripto, jussu, imperio*. See Orelli, Nos. 1,214, 1,445, 1,475, etc. On the *Astrology*, the consulting of the gods by means of *oracles* and *lots*, on *amulets*, *abracadabra*, *ἰσίοια γράμματα*, the evil eye, etc., see Marquardt, *Handb.*, vol. iv. pp. 100-136.

⁴ Ælian, *fragm.*, 89. This Roman of Præneste, who wrote only in Greek, and that, too,

the follies of Epicurus and had hence fallen into two great evils, impiety and profligacy. Attacked by a malady which the physicians could not cure, he was carried by his relatives to the temple of Æsculapius, and in the night, during sleep, he heard a voice which said: 'In the case of this man, there is only one means of restoration, viz., to burn the books of Epicurus, to knead these sacrilegious ashes with wax, and to cover the stomach and chest with the compound.' He executed the order of the god and was at one and the same time cured and converted. Ælian relates most coolly a number of other marvellous cures.¹ The water of the fountain of Æsculapius at Pergamus was a specific for many disorders, and some *ex-votos*, hung up in the *asclepieions*, hands, feet, or legs of clay, as one sees in certain of our churches those of wax, pieces of gold and silver thrown into the holy wells, bear witness to the miracles.² Inscriptions still preserve the grateful remembrance of those who, by the god's favour, had recovered health or sight. Thus this divinity willing to give aid had temples everywhere, even at Paris, on the spot where the Christian cathedral has been raised, and it seems to have taken, in the adoration of the men of those days, the place of Jupiter. Serapis at Alexandria was another great healing deity. All the divinities, even the heroes who had not been admitted to the highest honours of heaven, possessed this privilege, or rather had received it from their confiding worshippers.

On the other hand, the gods took vengeance by sending ruin, sickness, infirmities, or death, on the sacrilegious. Isis made blind

so well, that he obtained the name of *μολύβριος*, had composed, besides his *Varia Historia* and his treatise *De Animalium Sollertia*, a book on *Providence*, and another on the *Manifestations of Divinity*, of which only some fragments remain.

¹ See in the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, a bold, untranslatable account of the cures effected in the Asclepieion. Juba, king of Mauretania, relates that a plant was found in Arabia able to raise from the dead. (*Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 479, fr. 57.)

² *C. I. L.*, iii. No. 987; *C. I. G.*, No. 5,980. See in the *Bulletin de la correspondance hellénique*, the inventory of the Asclepieion of Athens by MM. Girard and Martha. Near Santa Maria de Capua there were found at the same time as the ruins of a temple to the Nurse Goddess, *κουροτρόφος*, nearly 30,000 *ex-votos* in terra-cotta. It was a manufactory standing at the gates of the temple, where devotees procured at low prices arms, heads, legs, etc. (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions*, etc., 1879, p. 304). Ælian (*De Anim. Natura*, 49) calls Æsculapius, *νόσων ἀντίπαλον*; elsewhere he thus invokes him: 'Ὁ βασιλεῦ καὶ θεῶν φιλοφρονεῖσθαι Ἀσκληπιέ. The same title appears in an inscription of Thasos (Miller, *Mél. de philol.*, i. 36). Cf. Aristides, *Orat. sacræ*, i. and ii., and *Orat. in Æscul.* [A large number of inscriptions on cures by Æsculapius have also been found in the recent excavations at Epidaurus.—*Ed.*]

those who perjured themselves in her name, and Ovid saw at Tomi some of those unfortunates who wandered through the city confessing their faults and the just wrath of the goddess.¹

The priests who carefully maintained all this credulity and often shared it, sometimes ascribed to themselves miraculous power. Some professed to drive away demons and deliver those possessed; others by secret charms, healed the sick; it was even said that the priests of Serapis raised the dead.

The eighteenth century saw a mental state in some respects similar: the ancient faith growing weak, and under the very eyes of the triumphant philosophers the miraculous cures by the deacon Paris, the visions of the illuminated, and the magnetic trough of Mesmer. In our own, before the eyes of science attesting the permanence of general laws, somnambulism, table-turning, spirits, spirit-rapping, and the wonderful water of the Salette have found countless disciples. A work with the title: *Des erreurs et de la vérité* was praised in the hearing of Voltaire. "If it is a good one," he replied, "it ought to contain fifty folio volumes on part one and a half page on the second part." We are extending the half page, but slowly!

V.—EFFORTS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS TO SATISFY THE RELIGIOUS FEELING OF THE DAY.

Yet the philosophers did not renounce the idea of lifting the intellectual world from the anarchy in which it was so grievously struggling, and they expected to succeed: some by giving up those gods "who governed so ill;" others by constructing a theodicy acceptable to those minds which had not yet been affected by the intoxication of mysticism.² We are acquainted with the former; let us see how the latter strove to establish and extend the belief in the divine unity and the immortality of the soul, in the punishments and rewards of another life, in the relation with the Divinity in this life by the mediation of Genii.

¹ *Pont.*, i. 53. Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.*, xiii. 92.

² Epictetus (*Convers.*, i. 12) lays down that there are, as regards the gods, five systems: 1. They do not exist. 2. They exist, but are perfectly indifferent to everything. 3. Their providence extends only to heavenly things. 4. They are engaged both with heaven and

Monotheism, imperfectly apprehended by primitive peoples, which is the basis of the Vedas as it is of Hellenism, and which the Semitic peoples had naturally preserved in their double desert of the sky and land of Arabia, had been, in India and Greece, covered up and hidden under the rich drapery which the poets had drawn across the entrance of the sanctuaries. Anaxagoras rediscovered it in Athens, Cicero at Rome. As the interpreter of the purest speculations of Greek thought, Cicero had reached the idea of the divine unity and the immortality of the soul, not as the result of rigorous deductions, but by a noble impulse of the heart. The Stoics had replaced the incomprehensible God of Plato, the solitary God of Aristotle, by a living God who penetrates and fills the universe with his own life,¹ and they delight to repeat the magnificent verses² in which Cleanthes shows such an ardent faith in the eternal reason. But their Soul of the world, not being distinguished from the universe, was but a force, and their Providence, the necessary chain of causes and effects, was only Destiny. Now loving hearts asked for a more personal God, less inaccessible to imagination and prayer, and many began to find Him. What influence did the Jewish idea exercise of that Jehovah who would not permit any rival? We cannot say; the Jews used to slip in everywhere; the *proselytes of the gate* whom they had converted must have helped on the development begun within paganism by the Platonic doctrines, and which led polytheism to deism. One does not feel astonished that the Jew Philo, who is so thoroughly Greek while continuing thoroughly Oriental, separates God from the world, "as the artist is distinct from his work;" but a true pagan, Plutarch, reached the same truth. Plutarch was at that time the most illustrious representative of the Academy. He had recognized the two currents which were carrying minds—the one to atheism the other to superstition.³ He placed himself between the lowly and the proud, tried to raise the former from their cowardly desertion and to bring back the latter to the conception of a good and just God like that of the

earth, but only in a general manner. 5. Man does not make a movement without their notice. This last system is his own.

¹ Vacherot, *Hist. de l'école d'Alex.*, i. 93.

² The *Hymn of Jupiter*.

³ Gréard, *Morale de Plutarque*.

Timæus of Plato: the one God, unchangeable, the Creator of the worlds which He has arranged and preserves, presiding from the highest heavens over their courses. "Jupiter," he says, "was not brought up in the odoriferous caves of Crete, and Saturn did not devour a stone in the stead of his son. The principle and cause of his own eternal existence, he was from the beginning and he will always be. Nothing escapes his notice, neither the summits of the mountains, nor the sources of the rivers, nor the cities, nor the sands of the seas, nor the countless stars. He has given us all that we possess; in him are the beginning and the end, the measure and destiny of everything.¹ . . . Enveloped in a body, the soul has no real communion with God; but it can touch Him lightly, as in a dream, by philosophy." We see ourselves already on the route which leads to mystic contemplation and to ecstasy; and Numenius falls into them.²

At the entrance of the sanctuary Plato had written: "It is difficult to discover the author and Father of the world, and when He has been found, it is impossible to make him known to men." In spite of this hopelessness, the doctrine of the divine unity spread little by little outside the sanctuary. We see it dawning at Rome in the last days of the Republic; under the Empire it made much way in men's minds. The people came to it as well as the philosophers, for the unity of the divine principle was at the foundation of the Oriental religions, which were gaining such ascendancy. The Isis of Apuleius³ is the supreme divinity adored under numerous names: *Isis myrionyma*;⁴ the Serapis of Severus and Caracalla,⁵ the Sun-God of Elagabalus and Aurelian, the Good, the Merciful of the Palmyreans, the Ahoura-Mazda of the Persians, especially Mithra, "the invincible sun," which is

¹ *Isis and Osiris*, 24.

² This Numenius lived in the time of the Antonines; his works are known to us only by some curious fragments which Christian authors have preserved. See Vacherot, *op. cit.*, i. p. 324.

³ See above, p. 712.

⁴ Orelli, Nos. 1876-7. An inscription at Capua (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 3,580) says: *Una quæ es omnia dea Isis*. This was the case also as regards Atys, Serapis, and Mithra.

⁵ Serapis was confounded with the Sun. A procurator of Egypt had erected for the welfare of Trajan an altar to the Sun-Jupiter, Grand Serapis; Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. pp. 106, 153, 206, etc. The colossus of Nero had been consecrated by Hadrian to the Sun. (*Iladr.*, 18.)

everywhere adored, are, each for his own followers, "the Lord of the world to be blessed for evermore." Moreover, Maximus of Madaura will echo the feelings of many pagan souls when he writes in his beautiful letter to S. Augustine: "What a fool, and utterly deprived of reason, is the man who does not regard as absolutely certain the existence of only one God who, without beginning and without having begotten any like himself, is yet father of all the great things of the universe?"¹

The Roman reckoned with his gods. He rendered them worship on the condition of their rendering him services. Towards them he showed respect and fear, but no love.² But humanity gathers up along the route of its slow intellectual and moral evolution, ideas and sentiments which it did not at first possess or only obscurely. Respect, fear, calculation, do not compose true religious feeling. Certain minds separated from the earth by suffering or meditation require the mysterious pleasure which man experiences in drawing near by adoration to the Omnipotent and the pride which this communion with God communicates. This love divine the Romans are about to know; by this too they draw near to Christianity which has made of this feeling the pledge of faith, the guarantee of salvation. A positive thinker, a learned man, the physician Galen said: "Why dispute with those who blaspheme? It would be to profane the sacred language which ought to be kept for the Creator's praises. True piety does not consist in sacrificing hundreds of victims and offering him delicious perfumes, but in acknowledging and proclaiming his wisdom, power, and goodness. . . . He has proved his goodness by the benefits

¹ *Equitem unum esse Deum summum sine initio, sine prole naturæ, ceu patrem magnum atque magnificum, quis tam demens, tam mente captus, neget esse certissimum?* (S. Augustine, *Epist.*, i. 46). Horace had said in the time of Augustus: "Jupiter has neither second nor his like."

. . . . Nil majus generatur ipso,
Nec viget quidquam simile aut se undum.
(*Carm.*, I. xii. 17-18.)

² I have pointed out in many places in vol. i. that the ancient religion of the Romans was a contract between the gods and their worshippers. In the time of the second Punic war Rome promised sacrifices and games to its gods on condition that they would give them the victory, if not, they would not. Divine love came in later with philosophy; there is a little in Cicero, much in Seneca, still more in Epictetus. M. Havet, in his learned book on the *Origines du christianisme* (vol. ii. pp. 22, 132, and 275-1), concedes the *caritas deorum* to the pagans. The chronological distinction which I have just made puts us, I think, in agreement.

with which he loads his creatures, his wisdom by the order which he has placed in all things to make them subsist, his power in creating everything in perfect conformity to its end. Let us then raise our hymns and songs in honour of the Lord of the Universe."¹

This God Epictetus wished to be loved and that his benefits should be unceasingly celebrated: "Since you are blind, you, the great mass, each one of you ought to repeat for the rest the hymn to the divine. If I were a nightingale I should sing; as a man, I praise God. This is my employ, and this will I accomplish so far as I can. Say with me, God is great." This is the spirit of our Psalms, *Laudate Dominum*.²

Here we have pagans arriving at the idea of the divine unity, of Providence and the adoration due to it. But how did they reconcile this idea with their paganism? Very easily. Seneca had said: "God has as many names as the different actions he performs. Thus, he is Bacchus as father of all things; Hercules, in regard to his invincible power; Mercury, because he is reason, number, order, and science."³

And three centuries later Maximus of Madaura repeats that the secondary divinities are only the attributes of the supreme God spread abroad through the earth and honoured under different names, because we are ignorant of the actual name of the only God. In addressing prayers to them it is *He* whom they adore.

One of these divine *virtues* assumed from day to day a more



Chartier
Pallas.³

¹ *De Usu partium*, iii. 10. Kühn, vol. ii. p. 237.

² Psalms cxii. and cxvi. It is the spirit of Epictetus, not the form, for the *Meditation*, i. 16, is a disjointed note where I had to make some transpositions. The *Preface* chanted at all masses says also: . . . *hymnum tue glorie canimus*.

³ Marble bust with the eyes of enamel. It was found at Tor Paterno (Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, No. 197).

⁴ *De Benef.*, iv. 7 and 8.

elevated character. Minerva, who in the ancient naturalism had represented air and water, subtle and pure matter, had afterwards



Minerva armed.⁴

personified intelligence. "After Jupiter," says Horace, "Pallas has the highest honours."¹ For the poet Olympus is still a court where the goddess sits by the side of the sovereign. Philosophers going further into spirituality made of her the thought of the only God. The heavenly virgin, born of Jupiter, became the spotless wisdom, the word of the Lord of the universe. S. Justin was astonished at it, for how can "the word be a woman?"² But the rhetorician Aristides, his contemporary, explains without much difficulty the profound myth in which the λόγος θεῖος of Plato was hidden under the legend.³ "Jupiter withdrawing into himself, conceived the goddess in himself, and begat her of his own substance. She is truly his daughter, of an origin absolutely identical. Never leaving her father she lives in him, and with him, as if she were consubstantial with

him. . . . As the sun appears with all his rays, so Minerva came forth from the paternal head fully equipped with her gifts. In

¹ *Proximos illi (Jovi) . . . occupabit Pallas honores.*

(*Carm.*, I. xii. 19-20.)

² *Quod quidem perridiculum nobis videtur* (S. Justin, *Apol.*, i. 64).

³ According to Plato, the One has begotten the Intelligence. (Vacherot, *Hist. de l'école d'Alex.*, i. 305.)

⁴ Statue called Minerva Poliades, found in the sixteenth century on the Esquiline, near the temple of Minerva Medica (Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, No. 114).

the assembly of the gods her place is next to Jupiter. Both of them have on every matter but one will. It may be concluded from this that Minerva is the form of Jupiter, since whatever Jupiter does Minerva does it with him. So one may attribute to her all the works of her father."¹ In the Alexandrine period Isis had the same position relative to Ammon. She was wisdom, justice, the soul of the Supreme Being, the mediator between the world and him.²

Philo, whose influence had been so considerable on the school of Alexandria and even on certain Fathers of the Church, had developed, since the time of Augustus and Tiberius, the theory of the triune God whom Egypt, Chaldaea, Persia, India, Pelasgic Greece, and Gaul had adored. From the bosom of the Eternal, hidden in the impenetrable depths of his essence, had come forth by a first emanation "the eldest son of God and the most ancient of the angels," whom Philo also calls "the divine man," because man on the earth had been created in his image.

This first-born of God, Creator of the universe, is the *Interior Word*, or the divine wisdom which governs the world. In its turn it begat the *Word Expressed*, or speech, the spirit which vivifies beings by his grace, "the heavenly Virgin acting as mediatrix between God who offers and the soul which receives." This Platonist Jew, who recalls one of the oldest beliefs of the Aryan race—how far is he from the Jehovah of Moses, but still



Ammon.³

¹ *Ἀεὶ πάριστό τε καὶ συνδιατῆται, καθάπερ συμπεφυκῖα . . . κοσμηθεῖσα* (Aristides, in the discourse entitled *Ἀθηνᾶ*, pp. 10 and 16, edition of Canterius. Born about 117, he wrote in 175 his *Sacred Discourses*. Waddington, *Chronol. de la Vie d'Aristide*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inser.*, 1867, p. 203).

² *Isis and Osiris*, 2. Cf. Maury, *op. cit.*, ii. 280.

³ "*Hermes*" in marble, found at Herculaneum (Naples Museum, No. 114).

how he prepares an alliance between those of the ancient law and those of the new!¹ Numenius, who said concerning this great Alexandrine Jew: "Is it Philo who platonizes or Plato who philonizes?" admitted an analogous trinity, formed by emanation from the supreme God.²

The God of the Stoics lost in the bosom of the universe became then the personal God, uncreate, eternal, who has produced all things and who governs creation by his Word, as Caesar governs the Empire by his wisdom:³ one only God, one only prince, the two beliefs attracted one another; later on it will be said: one law, one king.

This conception, found at the beginning of our era at Alexandria, which was declared with variations, not now to be noticed, by Plutarch under the Flavians, Aristides under the Antonines, Maximus of Madaura under Theodosius, the Platonists in all periods, was perpetuated through the four first centuries of the Empire. It may be reduced to the terms which formed the basis of the theological teaching in the school of Plato: God, incomprehensible to us in His essence, manifests himself in the external world by the harmony of creation; in the heart of man, by conscience; in the world of ideas, by the Word, the archetype of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good, the eternal truth which enlightens men, the divine mediator between the human race and God. In a word, two grand conceptions arose above the confused beliefs: that of a first principle, the only God, and that of the λόγος, both the providence of God and also the light of spirits.⁴ These ideas took such a hold that S. Justin considered the pagan philosophy as the unconscious and obscure reflection of the divine Word of which Christ had been the brilliant and complete revelation.⁵ Under the Christian form of three hypostases of one and

¹ Nevertheless, the doctrine of the Logos existed already in *Ecclesiasticus*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Book of Wisdom*, from which S. John raised it to a sublime doctrine.

² Cf. Ritter, *Hist. de la philosophie*, iv. 427.

³ Quintilian (*Inst. orat.*, v. 10) comes near propounding as a necessary conclusion that, since there was a universal providence, there ought to be only one head to the empire.

⁴ Lactantius (*Inst. div.*, iv. 9) says: "The λόγος of the Greeks est. et vox et sapientia Dei;" and he adds: "Zeno calls λόγος the *rerum naturæ dispositorem atque opificem*." On the λόγος of the Platonists and Alexandrines, cf. Vilhoison, *Theologia physica stoicor.*, p. 443, joined to the edition of Cornutus.

⁵ See above, p. 159. Many believed that in the general plan of education established by

the same supreme nature: the Father, or the divine essence; the Son, or His creative intelligence; the Spirit, or His vivifying power, the belief in one God and in His Word was soon to exercise an extensive sway.

This omnipotent God, Father of men, owes them justice. To show that this justice was done them another dogma must be admitted, that of the immortality of the soul. In the Greece of Homer, and in the Palestine of ancient times, this belief was obscure. The departed Greeks and Romans had in the Elysian Fields a less uncertain existence than the *rephaim* of the Jews in their *sheol*.¹ But although this shadow of life was a miserable recompense, certain philosophers of the last days of Greece had found that it was still granting too much to human nature. The Epicureans, in whose estimation the gods were only phantoms which ought to be driven out of men's imaginations, naturally ended our existence in this world. The Cynics thought the same: "Is the soul immortal?" Demonax was asked. "Yes," he replied, "like all the rest;" and we have read his definition of the free man: "He who fears nothing and hopes for nothing." The elder Pliny did not believe in another life,² and his nephew makes immortality to consist in living in men's memory.³ The Peripatetics were of the same opinion. The man who in the third century was called the second Aristotle, Alexander of Aphrodisias, maintained that his master did not think differently. A good number of Stoics were of that way, after the example of Zeno, and the most perfect of them, Marcus Aurelius, was not sure whether all did not end with death.⁴

God for humanity there had been as it were three successive revelations: by the Old Testament given to the Jews, the philosophy of the Greeks, and the New Testament of the Christians. This was an attempt at conciliation made by honest minds, but an impracticable one.

¹ The *rephaim* are not in *sheol* condemned to eternal sleep, as the story of the Witch of Endor evidences; but the doctrine of penalties and rewards is absent from the *Books of Wisdom*, *Leviticus*, *Deuteronomy*, and *Job*. Situated between Egypt and Persia, that is to say, between the two countries which have professed the most energetic belief in a life to come, Judaea at last settled the uncertainty of its patriarchs on this question, and added to the great principle of the divine unity that of the resurrection and judgment of the dead. It is after the Captivity, especially in the time of the Maccabees, that this belief became popular amongst a part of the Jewish people.

² *Hist. nat.*, vii. 56.

³ *Epist.*, ii. *ad fin.* [Just like the modern Comtists.—*Ed.*]

⁴ See above, p. 217. The stoic school, nevertheless, believed in a temporary immortality till the destruction of the world by fire, when all ended.

Galen, who speaks so much of the only God, remained undecided on the question of immortality: "A knowledge," said he, "not absolutely necessary for the acquisition of health or virtue." Tacitus would also wish to believe with the author of *Somnium Scipionis*, "that there is a place reserved for virtuous men and that great souls are not extinct with the body;" yet for the final farewell he could find these words only: "Repose in peace," which does not express, like the *Requiescat in pace* of Christians, the rest awaiting the resurrection.¹

One is never quite sure of grasping the vacillating thought of Seneca; he well said: "Will you forbid me from seeking to penetrate the secrets of heaven and do you wish me to have my head always bent upon the earth? I belong to too good a place and am born for grander things."² Then, rising on Plato's wings, he sees the souls of the just sojourning for some time above our heads, to be purified from all stain, then shooting into the ethereal sphere and mingling with the sacred flock of the blessed, who draw all knowledge from the source of Truth.³ Unfortunately he had just said in the same treatise: "Be well persuaded that the dead suffer no pain. That hell, which is depicted as so terrible, is but an invention of the poets. Death is deliverance; it restores us to the tranquil sleep which we were enjoying before birth."⁴

These ideas were more widely spread than we think: "You know it," said Plutarch to his wife, "there are those who persuade the vulgar that death is a deliverance from every ill."⁵ Some inscriptions speak of it as an eternal repose, an eternal security.⁶ "Once, I was not; to-day, I am no longer; but I know nothing about it and little do I care."⁷

Here is one which doubtless is of an educated person: "In Hades one finds no bark, no Charon nor Æacus, nor the porter

¹ Tac., *Agric.*, 46.

² *Epist.*, 65.

³ *Ad Marc.*, 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19, and *Epist.*, 24: *Mors nos consumit . . . Consumptis nil restat.*

⁵ *Consol. ad uxorem*, 10: . . . *nullum malum, nullum incommodum esse iis qui soluti sunt corpore.*

⁶ *Quies eterna.* Cf. Or.-Henzen, Nos. 1,192, 4,428, 4,849, and the chapter on the *Sententie sepulcrales*, passim. L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, Nos. 946, 947, 1,546, 1,755, etc.

⁷ Orelli, No. 4,809.

Cerberus. All we whom death sends there are only bones and ashes."¹ Others recall the carnal pleasures of life and advise their use: "You who are still living, eat, drink, amuse yourselves, then come here;"² "where," says another, "there is neither laughter nor joy."³ "So far as I have lived, I have lived; what I have drunk and eaten, that alone is now with me."⁴ This is the inscription of a mercenary soldier; the one that Pope Urban VIII. shattered was still more ignoble.⁵ Certain pagans had no more modesty in life than in death, and there are always some of those impure minds who, when religious faith has gone, are left a prey to the basest instincts.

Yet, much greater was the number of minds to whom an empty heaven and the god of nature were not sufficient. On a funeral pillar are seen Ædipus and the Sphinx: life asking the secret of death. But Death never gives up his secret, and in presence of that Nothing which some accepted, others felt revolted even to the denial of life. "To die," said they after Heraclitus, "to die is to wake again."

Two schools offered a refuge to the spiritually-minded: Pythagorism with its grand doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and, in consequence, trials and successive purifications; Platonism with its hopes of immortality, still uncertain in the eyes of the master, but which now the disciples stated to be precise. Both were to be reunited in the school of Alexandria, which will try to give new life to polytheism: on the one hand in explaining it by means of allegories and metaphysic; on the other, in bringing together, by a powerful effort of eclecticism, the religious traditions of all peoples, under the superior control of philosophy: subtle distinctions, ingenious interpretations, forced agreements, very good for refined minds, incomprehensible to the masses, and consequently

¹ *C. I. G.*, No. 6,298. The scoffs of the literary men have not killed old Charon, for he still lives in the popular beliefs of modern Greece, where the practice of putting between the teeth of the departed the obol which was demanded by the fatal ferryman was perpetuated down quite to the Middle Ages (Friedländer, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 632). The deceased was also offered some *kollyra*, or cakes of boiled corn, dry raisins, almonds, and pomegranate seeds (A. Dumont, *Mém. sur les bas-reliefs représentant le banquet funèbre*).

² *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 1,434.

³ Marini, *Inscr. Alb.*, p. 117, 3.

⁴ Henzen, No. 7,407.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 7,410.

of no influence upon them. But this school only began about 193 with Ammonius Saccas; its history belongs therefore to the subsequent period.

Plutarch, who starts especially from Plato, made a vigorous effort to defend the dogma of the one God, of His providence, and of the immortality of the soul. To the Epicureans who, in order to deliver man from the terrors of hell, deprived him of the hope of eternity, the Chæronean sage replied: "You miserable men to close the gates of another life! You are like a passenger who when driven by the tempest said to his travelling companions: 'We have no longer any pilot to guide us and we cannot count upon the Dioscuri to appease the winds; what does it matter! We shall soon be dashed against the rocks and swallowed up by the waves.'" Another Platonist, Maximus of Tyre, wrote: "The high-born soul will have no regret in seeing the decay and dissolution of the body, as a captive would see his prison crumble to pieces and light reappear with liberty."¹

Loving hearts had not awaited the philosophers to feel doubt about this annihilation. Some inscriptions bear these words in which are conveyed at the same time resignation and hope: "Pluto is not so malicious."² "When you die, you are not dead," said another, unfortunately much corroded.³ "No," wrote a father on his son's tomb, who died in the depths of Numidia, "no, you do not descend to stay with the Manes, you rise towards the stars of heaven."⁴ At the other end of the Roman world,⁵ a mother had carved on the sepulchral stone of her child: "We are afflicted by a cruel wound; but thou, renewed in thy existence, livest in the Elysian Fields. The gods order that he should return under another form who has deserved the light of day; this is a reward which thy goodness has gained thee. Now, in a flowery mead, the blessed marked with the sacred seal invite thee to the flock of Bacchus, in which the Naiades, who bear the sacred baskets, claim

¹ *Diss.* xiii. Plato had already said: "The soul is an immortal life, inclosed in a perishable prison; death is a sort of resurrection. So there are opened up to the soul of the dying sage the sublimest verities."

² *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1862, p. 174.

³ Miller, *Mél. de philol.*, i. p. 37.

⁴ L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 3,421.

⁵ At Doxato, near Philippi, in Macedonia. (Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 129.)

thee as their companion in the solemn processions by the light of the torches."¹

The development of this idea can be followed in the successive transformations of a charming myth, that of Psyche, the human soul, which, purified by love and grief, becomes immortal.

Philosophy and many minds were then in possession of this two-fold idea: the divine unity and the future life, or the resurrection. Men could therefore resume with more force the question of rewards and punishments and arrive at a clearer conception of the existence beyond the grave. Plutarch especially devotes to it two treatises, of *Superstition* and the *Delays of Divine Justice*, which are counted among his best works.² One expression in the latter work sums up his belief of the part played by Providence: "Every guilty person is a prisoner of the divine justice." Sooner or later, on earth or in the other life, in his own person or in his descendants, he receives punishment.



Bacchus. (Marble Bust in the Naples Museum.)

The pagans did not admit any more than the early Christians the pure spiritual nature of the soul.³ The shades, formed of

¹ The study of monumental figures has brought M. Ravaisson to the same conclusions as those gained from the study of written monuments. "In proportion as time advances the outlines by which belief in another life is produced, vague and confused at first, far from being effaced, become pronounced and precise. The ideas regarding the destiny of souls grow higher and higher; increasing honours are paid the deceased. In addition, these ideas and practices extend by degrees to a larger number. At the beginning, it seems as if one were distressed only at the lot of kings and heroes, children or direct descendants of the gods; but in time many others obtain a share in these presentiments, then all, or nearly all. Happiness is reserved for those who resemble the gods; that is an ancient maxim which nothing can change. In course of time, resemblance to the gods is aimed at, or, what comes to the same thing, perfection—ideas which allow all to aim at it." (Ravaisson, *le Monument de Myrrhine et les bas-reliefs funéraires*, 1876.)

² See in Gréard, *Morale de Plut.*, pp. 265-294, the analysis of these two treatises with a commentary.

³ Tertullian, *de Anima*, 5: . . . *animam nihil esse, si corpus non sit*. S. Basil, S.

subtle imperceptible matter, still experienced the wants of humanity with its pleasures and pains. They were hungry and thirsty: hence libations and offerings made at their tombs; the funeral repasts which were celebrated, a kind of communion with the dead;¹ the objects for which they had felt affection placed near them; even the sacrifices of living things, as a horse, a slave, which might serve them in another existence. Achilles immolates captives to serve as a guard of honour to Patroclus in the Elysian Fields, as the warrior of the prairies is buried with his arms and war-horse. Parallel to the world of reality was another world, quite as real for the pagan, of sceptres and phantoms, kind or terrible.

These shades could moreover experience mental pleasures and suffer physical pains, since the belief in another life led those who accepted it to admit pains and pleasures. The popular imagination, so rich as regards the torments of hell, has always been very meagre when the blessings of Elysium are in question. The "happy" of Homer and Virgil have a very dull existence. "Do not console me with talk of death," says Achilles to Ulysses; I should prefer cultivating the ground as a hired labourer to reigning here over all the departed shades." Those belonging to the masses had joys still more vulgar which exhibited pagan sensuality. As for the damned, something better was invented, but how far Plutarch in his description of the abode of the damned falls short of the terrible grandeur of the Florentine poet!² From the fact of living long, humanity has learned more tortures, and its later poets have been able to vary the punishments of the reprobate. In spite of this relative scantiness the old myth of the vengeful Furies caused many believers to tremble, and however incomplete this moral sanction might be, a sanction it was.

Not every sinner falls into their terrible hands. Below the upper region, where virtuous souls were living in eternal serenity,

Athanasius, S. Jerome, sometimes even S. Augustine, have had this material conception of the soul.

¹ *De Superst.*, 4.

² *De Genio Socr.*, 22. Cf. in Plato (*Rep.*, x. *ad fin.*) the relation by Er the Armenian, of what he saw in Hades. Cicero (*Scipio's Dream*), Virgil (*Aeneid*, vi.), Plutarch (*Socrates' Demon and Delays of Divine Justice*), have also tried to reveal to us the mystery of the other life.

but above the abyss where were heard the cries of anguish from the damned, were rocked by the force of a perpetual whirlwind the souls whose obstinacy was not inexpiable. The abyss itself had three circles, three degrees of punishment, some milder, others more terrible. In one presided *Pœna* or Chastisement; in the second, *Dike* or Justice; in the third, *Erinyes* or Vengeance.

This page of the treatise *Delays in the Justice of God*¹ makes one think of the *Divina Commedia* of Dante and of Christian purgatory. The most popular poet of Roman times, Virgil, had a similar opinion. "Some souls," he says,² "are incessantly beaten by winds, others are purified by fire. After a thousand years they are freed from the pollution of earth, but it is to be clothed in new bodies." The resemblance goes no further. For the Christian the other life is the true one; in the case of the pagan, this life is the most certain, and, as a great number thought, the best. Thus many felt real terrors at the approach of that moment when remorse seized them.³ By initiation into the mysteries, attempts were made to reach a state of grace, and by purifications and prayers there was a hope of escaping the expiations of the other world.



Young Hercules.
(Silver Coin
of Rhodes.)

It does not appertain to the historian to say what there is wanting of scientific exactness in all these philosophies, but he is obliged to seek what their influence has been on society. Logic does not govern the world, and fine words, tending to awaken in the depth of the heart the feelings therein hidden, have more effect than the best constructed syllogisms: of this Seneca and Plutarch are witnesses, who, by no means great philosophers, have nevertheless exercised a powerful influence upon general education. Now the inscriptions on the tombs, the imagery contained in them, the mythological representations which they took pleasure in tracing, as Proserpine restored to the light of day, Alcestis awaiting her spouse, Hercules triumphing over death, and the joyous scenes or the tranquil happiness of life in Elysium,

¹ § 22.

² *Aeneid*, vi.

³ . . . peccatorum suorum tum maxime pœnitet (Cic., *de Div.*, i. 30). M. Boissier (*la Religion romaine*, vol. i. p. 345) remarks that this expression of Cicero seems quite Christian.

which so many funereal bas-reliefs reproduced,¹ bear witness to the presentiment of another existence.

This belief entailed that of constant communications between the world of the living and that of the dead. In the twilight or



The Parting of Admetus and Alcestis.²

in sleep, especially at night or in the shades of the forest, it was believed that the spirits were seen of those whom one had loved, the mournful spectres, *larvæ* or *lemures*, whose influence was feared, and the troubled souls of those who, having died a violent death,

¹ M. Ravaisson has pointed out, in the memoir cited above, that the scenes of greetings represented on so many bas-reliefs and funerary vases were often scenes of meeting in Elysium.

² Etruscan amphora of the Luynes collection, in the Cabinet de France. Alcestis throws her arms round Admetus's neck. Behind the king a Genius holds a serpent in each hand. Behind the Genius is the entrance of Hell. On the left of Alcestis, Charon holds up a heavy mallet.

had not been able to find a tomb. In this other existence they seemed to have acquired a fearful or beneficent power; besides, to appease the Manes, three festivals were celebrated yearly, on the 24th of August, 5th of October, and 8th of November, in opening up the *mundus*, a deep ditch set apart to the infernal divinities and whence broke forth at that time the troop "of silent spirits."¹ Dion Cassius, Philostratus, Pausanias, saw spectres everywhere, and the younger Pliny believed in apparitions.²

The desire existed to question these dead in the midst of whom one lived, since the tombs were placed at the entrance of the cities along the great public roads—the genii which unceasingly prowled about men, and by means of them to penetrate the future. Hence the invocations, the charms, the magical sacrifices, which were sometimes abominable crimes, as the immolation of children, which several emperors committed³ and of which the Christians were falsely accused. The romance of Apuleius, which represents in action the infernal art of the sorcerers of Thessaly, shows how much the men of those days were attracted by the mysteries of the grave and the world of spirits.

There is no occasion to search in this belief for a well-defined dogma, although it dated from far back, since Plato⁴ and Pythagoras taught it, and it can be traced even further. The repugnance to annihilation and the need of explaining the existence of evil without compromising the gods too much, had peopled the lower world and the intermundia with innumerable existences⁵—the souls of the just or tutelary genii, those of the wicked or ill-doing demons. From this vague fluctuating belief, but so much more popular, philosophy had drawn the theory of

¹ Preller, *Röm. Mythologie*, 456.

² *Epist.*, vii. 27.

³ Dion, lxxiii. 16; lxxix. 11.

⁴ The teaching of Plato on the demons is found especially in the *Phædo* and the *Symposium*. "The demons," he says in the latter work, "fill up the space which separates heaven from earth. They are the bond which unites the great All with itself. As the divinity has never any direct communication with man, it is by the mediation of the demons that the gods hold intercourse with him in the evening shades or in sleep."

⁵ *Symposium*, 28. Cf. Maury, *op. cit.*, iii. 424. Henzen has given in his Index (pp. 27-29) the curious list of the names of *Genii* supplied by the inscriptions. Among the *graffiti* of the *excubitoria* occupied at Rome by the guards, is found an invocation to the Genius of the *corps*, and in a Dacian inscription another to the Genius of the *excise*. A veteran dedicates a *Hercules defensor genio centurie* (Orelli, 941) to the health of the emperors.

Genii, a convenient doctrine for reconciling the idea of the divine unity with respect for the established religion. Executors of the decrees of Providence, these Genii or demons were in constant relation with the earth, strengthening the good, like the guardian angels of the Church, terrifying the reprobate and presiding over all the acts of civil and religious life.¹ It seemed as if an account could be rendered of good and evil by the action of this insufficiently disciplined army, whose chief resided in the depths of the empyrean, calm in his impenetrable designs. The recriminations of earth never reached as far as the author of all good; they were arrested by Genii, authors of all ill, and who some day would have to answer before the supreme judge.

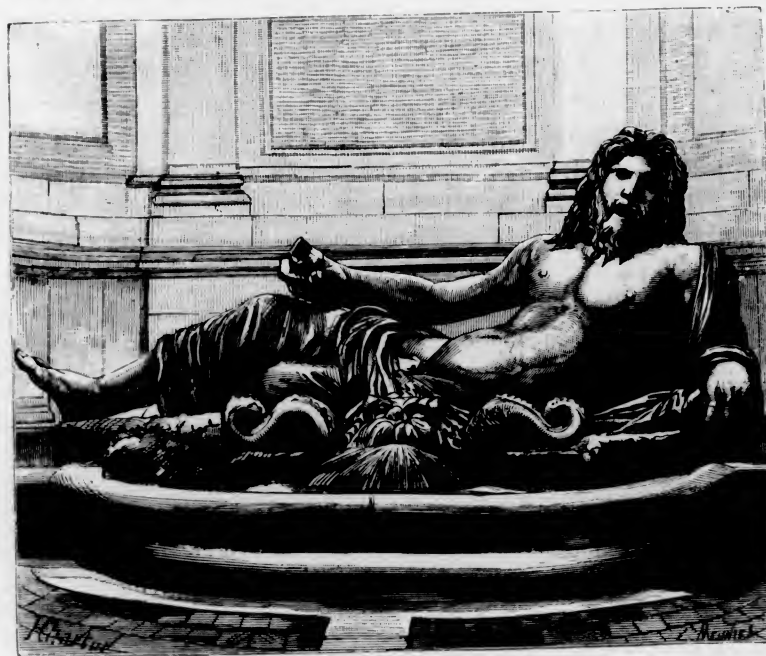
Maximus of Tyre, who was perhaps one of the instructors of Marcus Aurelius, had, like Dion Chrysostom, travelled a good deal, and like him much assisted in spreading by his discourses the precepts of sound morality and the belief in the immortality of the soul. He often recurred to this theory of the Genii. "Souls," he says, "which had become demons, while preserving a sad remembrance of their past existence are happy in that which they have gained. They are afflicted at the lot of their fellows who are still tossed on the waves of life, and take delight in being near them to keep them back or uphold them when they slide down the declivity of evil. The divinity has given them the mission of aiding the good, and helping those who suffer and punishing those who do ill."²

"I am going," he says again, "to enlighten thee by a parable as to what I mean. Figure to thyself some great kingdom or powerful empire in which the whole world spontaneously conforms its acts to the will of the king who is superior to all in power and majesty. The limits of this empire are neither the Halys, nor the Hellespont, nor Lake Mæotis, nor the Ocean, but heaven above and earth beneath. In the most elevated part of this kingdom the king is seated immovable as the law and sovereign rule; he gives life and salvation to the peoples dependent on his

¹ *Ferunt theologi, in lucem editis hominibus cunctis, salva firmitate fatali, hujusmodi quædam velut actus rectura numina sociari* (Amm. Marcellin., xxi. 14); and he cites two verses of Menander reproducing the same thought: "Close to every man coming into the world is found a familiar Genius who guides him in his existence."

² *Disc.*, xv. 6. See also xiv. 8, and the 17th.

power. But this god has as associates in his empire numberless gods, some of whom, invincible and immovable, more like the king by nature, keep themselves at the doors of the sanctuary, while others, mobile and visible, obey them as ministers to whom others besides are subject. You see thus in imagination this hierarchy and endless chain which reaches from heaven to earth.



The Ocean personified.¹

... Yes, in this conflict and diversity of opinions on the divine nature, all forms of legislation and the beliefs of the earth agree in this respect, that there is but one God, Father, and Lord of the universe, and that many other divine beings are subordinate to him, who are the sons and as it were the servants of this supreme King."²

Apuleius thought the same.³ But if the gods honoured

¹ Marble statue found on the Champs de Mars, and called Marforio by the Romans. (Capitoline Museum.)

² Denis, *op. cit.*, ii. 228.

³ "The supreme gods have no direct contact with the beings living on the earth, but there

under so many names were only the personification of forces put into action by the divine power, there was no reason, if this interpretation were admitted, to refuse them a homage which ascended to their common master. None of the philosophic schools therefore attacked directly the established worship, no more that of Epicurus than that of Zeno.¹ Like Socrates, his pupils also, no matter what name they took, sacrificed on all altars, and by doing this escaped the peril which the Christians encountered. In this they showed no hypocrisy. Plutarch, the high-priest of Apollo, fulfilled his sacerdotal functions with the zeal of an old believer. He found a great comfort in them, without the least scruple of conscience. The Genii made all clear to him; by them he preserved the dogma of one good God. Moreover, one of the first adversaries of Christian dogma, the philosopher Celsus, declared he could see no difference between the angels of the new doctrine and the demons of Plato.² The Fathers of the Church will accept even the Platonic demonology, but using it as a weapon against polytheism; they will explain by this Satanic power the oracles and miracles by which paganism gained authority.³

We have not yet spoken of the *Gnostics*. It was needful to reserve for the end of our review the intellectual fact which is most characteristic of the period which we are studying: the medley of systems. Thanks to the "Roman peace," the peoples were no longer at war; but the philosophies and religions were in conflict, each of them shattering against an adversary its particular forms, and all of them exchanging ideas, their rites, and even the dress of their priests, up to the moment when almost all will be united in Catholicity, that is to say, in universality.

Gnosis, the most complete expression of this confusion, was the natural product of it. Composed of elements borrowed from

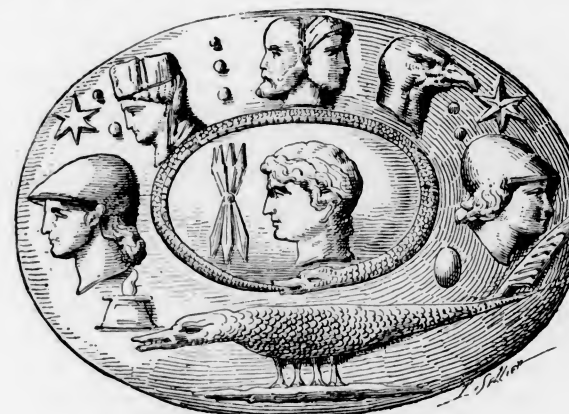
are powers intermediate between man and the godhead: these are the Genii or demons, interpreters of our vows and the messengers of heavenly blessings. They occupy the aerial space between heaven and earth." (*De Deo Socratis*.) This book of Apuleius is an eloquent exposition of Socratic ethics.

¹ Plutarch (*Stoic Contradictions*) shows the disciples of these two schools sacrificing to the gods. Yet they, especially Epictetus, opposed divination which, being personal to the inquirer, had no necessary bond with the established worship, so that not to practise it at all was no revolt against the State religion.

² Origen, *Contra Celsum*, v. 4.

³ Cf. Maury, *op. cit.*, iii. pp. 429 *et seq.*

the doctrines then dominant in the Empire, Jews, Christians, polytheists, even from the religions of Chaldaea, Persia, and perhaps India, it was neither a philosophy, nor a rational system, nor a religion, that is to say, a law, a book, a sacred text. In it imagination played the principal part, and caused the mind to be exposed to all sorts of adventures. Adepts of a mysterious science which they styled a direct emanation of the divinity, the Gnostics had no body of doctrine and were consequently not united by the bond of the same dogma nor by the discipline



Gnostic Stone serving for Amulet or Talisman.¹
(A symbolic medley of Roman beliefs and Egyptian ideas.)

of one and the same church: besides Gnosticism had numberless aspects. By the side of the grossest practices was seen the highest spirituality; at bottom, it was a school of mysticism, that is, of religious disorder, sometimes of immorality, by reason of its proud indifference to works. Thus, Basilides taught that the *perfect* were elevated by the force of piety above all law, and that no vice was in their case a defilement. Gnosticism was necessarily the mother of numerous heresies which, after having troubled the Empire, will reappear in the midst of the Middle Ages.²

¹ Emerald prême, published by Caylus, *Recueil*, etc., pl. 65. In the centre Jupiter, with the thunderbolts, surrounded by the Egyptian serpent, holding his own tail, a symbol of eternity. Below, the crocodile; on the sides, Castor and Pollux; above, Janus, Cybele or Rome and the hawk, the Egyptian symbol of the sun.

² On the gnosis, see Matter, *Histoire du gnosticisme*. An analogous movement of confused

We see, indeed, different systems; they have, however, a common tendency: contempt for the flesh, the worship of the spirit, and the belief, from day to day strengthened, of a divine Providence. All philosophy tends then towards idealism and all religion to mysticism. The world marches towards the future by two roads which are often confounded; and among the heirs of Cato and Fabricius, in this people of interested labourers or greedy usurers, many are already possessed by mystic ardour. The populations of the Oriental provinces, where religious exaltation is endemic, had been first of all agitated by them; those of the West yielded little by little. Now one understands that it will be possible to cause these men to give up the earth, which they so much desire to hold, for the heaven which will be given them in hope. We see how, by the current of the age, the evangelical preparation came about; how all was ordered little by little in the pagan world for the triumph of spiritualistic ideas which had seen day in the teaching of Anaxagoras, Socrates, and Plato, in the form of philosophy; in the mysteries, under the covering of symbols, and of which Christianity will be the religious form, that is to say, the popular one. Things always move in the same way. There is not in history, any more than in nature, any sudden revolution. The beliefs that die fall in with those that come into life. As the continents slowly change their form, slowly also do ideas make their way in the human race, and those which a new doctrine considers after its triumph as enemies have often been only its precursors.¹

VI.—CHRISTIANITY.

In the course of the preceding volume we have seen the confused appearance of Christianity in the capital of the Empire from the time of Nero and Domitian; the proofs, at the time of Trajan, of the great progress which it was silently making; and finally,

spirituality, interpretations, and allegories, gave birth also, towards the time when Christianity began; to the Kabbala, the teaching of which has been proved by M. Franck to be both pantheistic and mystic, in his work on *The Kabbala, or the Religious Philosophy of the Hebrews*.

¹ This is the opinion of a number of fathers and doctors of the Church. The Middle Ages never doubted that Socrates, Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, even Aristotle and Trajan, would sit amongst the elect.

under Hadrian and Antoninus, the courage of its apologists; in Marcus Aurelius's time, that of its martyrs.

At the death of this prince Christianity had been in existence a century and a half, which it had employed in giving precision to the doctrine of the Trinity, of the Incarnate Redeemer, of the Spirit which enlightens souls by grace, of faith which saves them, of the resurrection of the flesh for the reward of the just and the punishment of the wicked. It had collected its canonical scriptures, regulated its worship and the discipline of its first phase of existence. By the dogma of the communication of the Holy Spirit it had prepared its further development and constituted the doctrinal power of the bishops, who were clothed with the double authority given by popular election and by religious consecration. The number of works which the Church declared apocryphal, and of the heresies which it had already condemned,¹ prove its vitality. For a long time the faith had been propagated only in the lower strata of the population, to whom it carried consolation for all misery, and that virtue, charity, which Christ and S. Paul had taught from the very commencement. It condemned riches, which seemed to it "a fruit of iniquity, or a heritage of injustice;" and it loved poverty and suffering as the condition of redemption from the earthly life. The philosophers who opened their heaven only to the choicest minds, reproached it for its solicitude for the humble. "While," said one of them, "other religions summon to their worship those whose consciences are pure, the Christians promise the Kingdom of God to sinners and fools, that is, to those who are accursed of the gods."² Celsus, in speaking thus, clearly marked the essential point: redemption in the Church and not out of it, by the common faith and not simply by individual effort.³

¹ Thirty-two, on the authority of the author of the *Philosophumena*, a refutation of the heresies written between 230 and 240, and attributed to Hippolytus, bishop of the Port of the Tiber. But a good number of these heresies proceeded from Gnostics who were only half Christians. Yet Pliny already had said of the Christians in the year 111: *Multi omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis utriusque sexus*. See 1st Epist. to Corinthians; and Bourdaloue, after S. Jerome, in the sermon on *Riches*.

² Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii. 59: . . . *quisquis infelix est hunc Dei regnum accipiet*. Whom do you call a sinner? he asks also. *Injustum, furem, murorum effractorem, veneficum, sacrilegum, mortuorum spoliatores. Equos alios vocaret, qui latronum constaret societatem*. (*Ibid.*) At all times, parties cast similar accusations at their adversaries, in the name of philosophy, religion, or politics.

³ The Stoics, according to Galen, or the author of the *περί φιλοσόφων ιστορίας* (vol. xix. VOL. V. BBB

How sweet, on the contrary, to the ears of the disinherited were those words speaking of equality before God, of the redemption of souls by the Son of God who was stricken, despitefully used, beaten with rods, and crucified like a slave! The passion of Christ was their own history, and the Good News seemed brought especially to the humble. The hero of ancient days had been the strong and the valiant, Hercules or Theseus, then the wise man; the hero of the new times was to be the saint, and all could become this, for it was by sentiment not by science that Christianity intended to conquer the world.

For, at this period, popular teaching was needed, not ambitious systems or subtle discussions on the essence of things; no minute precepts nor law difficult to comprehend. Salvation is faith in him "who became visible in order to bring men to the love of invisible things,"¹ and the Spirit who breathes where he listeth gives it by *grace*. The *law* is the Sermon on the Mount, with the adorable parables of which it was said, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away." To get to heaven there is need only of faith and love. Plato had reached the same point as Christianity when he placed the rule of morality in the imitation of God, 'Ομοίωσις τῷ Θεῷ. But his God is not a man, and the ideal that he proposes is inaccessible. Tertullian, on the contrary, can say: "After Jesus we have nothing to learn; after the Gospel we have nothing to seek."² Here are the example and the rule.

The worship was pure; no bloody sacrifice and nothing which did not tend to awaken the best feelings of our nature: hymns, prayers, the reading of the Gospel, and the great act of direct communion with God. If some, who were already making Christianity the religion of the God of divine wrath, wished to give him a sad and melancholy exterior, yet for the majority it was the religion of the Good Shepherd who watches over his flock, who protects it against the raging wolf, and who carries the wandering lamb on his shoulders. This image of grace, goodness,

p. 313, edit. Kühn), annihilated both body and soul of the ignorant: the soul of sages survived, usque ad flagrationem.

¹ Preface to the mass of the Nativity: . . . ut dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus per hunc in invisibilium amorem rapiamur.

² De Præscriptione adv. her., 8.

and love, frequently repeated in the most ancient catacombs of Rome,¹ was then the favourite symbol of the Christian faith. As in this all was hope, all even in death breathed calmness and serenity. A dove represented the soul rising towards the heavens; a lamb, the flock of the faithful; a vine covering the walls of the sepulchral chamber with its numerous branches and its purple grapes, pointed out, by a symbol full of grace, the unity of the Church, its progress, and the abundant pleasant fruits of faith. The cross, "the sign of the Lord,"² which the Middle Ages placed everywhere, with the bleeding wounds and the tragic figure of the Crucified, is rare in the catacombs, but everything makes one think of it: the faithful "who with outstretched hands raises his pure thought to God;"³ the ship gliding over the wave with its full sails borne by the mast and yards; the bird which rises in the air on "the cross of its wings,"



Jupiter Tonans.⁴

and which seems to carry a prayer to God.⁵ Christian symbolism takes its origin from the evangelical pastorals and the need of concealing in the tombs from pagan eyes that faith which is clear to the faithful. Thus, simple and profound in its dogmas, pure in

¹ See *Roma sotterranea* of M. de Rossi, and Roller, *les Catacombes de Rome*.

² . . . τὸ κυριακὸν σημεῖον (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, vi. 11).

³ Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, 29.

⁴ A fine statue in black basalt. (*Capit. Museum*, iii. pl. 3.)

⁵ . . . et alarum cruce pro manibus extendunt (Tertullian, *de Orat.*, 39). On the emblem of the fish, see *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions*, 1880, p. 45. M. de Rossi, who has won the catacombs for science, says that the cross came into constant use only in the fifth century, and the crucifix which has been found there is not earlier than the seventh century.

its morality, miraculous in its traditions, and appearing to men in the divine figure of the mild Galilean Master, this teaching had within it both the miracles necessary to minds fond of the supernatural and also the elevation required by those who knew how to give a reason for their faith. To disquieted or unhappy souls it brought what they did not find, or found but imperfectly, in



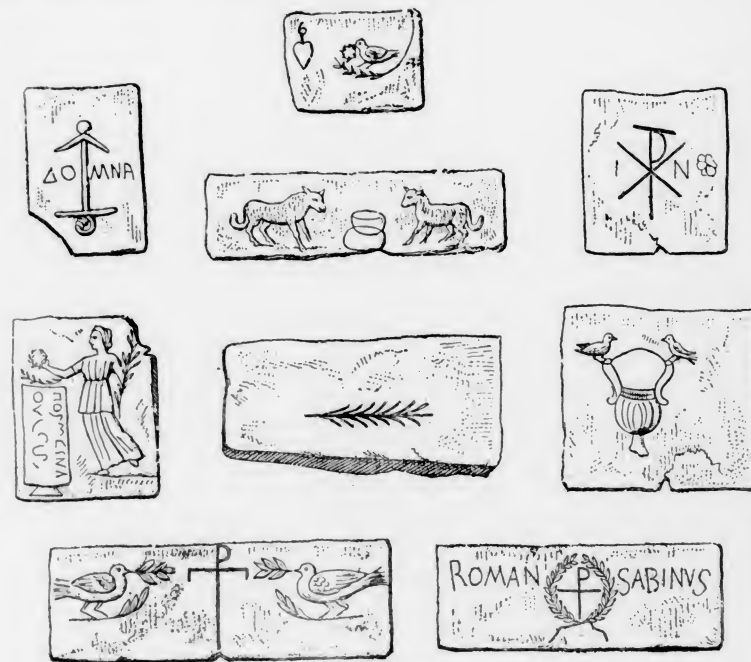
The Good Shepherd.¹

Oriental worships and philosophic systems: a promise of salvation, and, consequently, hope. The spirit of the time desired prophecy-ing, exorcisms, miracles: the Church furnished these, for heaven performs when the conscience of the multitudes asks it. "The disciples of Jesus," says S. Irenæus, "have received from their master the gift of miracles; they exorcise demons, predict the future, heal the sick, and raise the dead."²

¹ Fresco from the crypt of Lucina, copied in the Musée de Latran. (Roller, *ibid.*, pl. xvii.)

² *Adv. hæres.*, ii. 48, ap. Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, v. 7. See above, p. 121, the apology of Quadratus, showing that the Church claimed the same supernatural privileges.

What was their number towards the end of the Antonine period? Tertullian, with his lively imagination, saw Christians filling the cities and boroughs, the camps and the tribes, the forum and the senate.¹ But the pagan of the *Octavius* still calls them



Christian Symbols.²

"the people in darkness."³ In reality, they were a very feeble minority compared to the mass of the inhabitants of the Empire. The first duty of Christians was the care of the poor. Now a letter of Pope Cornelius of the year 251, in which it is said that

¹ *Apolog.*, 37

² The anchor, the doves, the lamb, the monogram, the palm branch, indicating the victory of the Christian triumphing over death; two doves perched on the edge of a vase to drink thence the refreshment promised to an ardent faith, *refrigerium*: a woman holding a palm and a crown, the symbol of victory gained by faith. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. x. and xi.)

³ *Oct.*, 8: . . . *latebrosa et lucifuga natio, in publico mæsta, in angulis garrula*. From S. Jerome we can conclude (*de Viris illustr.*) that Minucius Felix lived between Tertullian and S. Cyprian. Celsus speaks as he does, ap. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 27; iii. 44 *et seq.*; vi. 14; vii. 42.

the Church of Rome had aided 1,500 indigent widows and sick, does not allow us to suppose that this community was very considerable.¹ Sixty years later, the great city, the guardian of its old divinities, was still full of pagans; Constantine will not find one Christian in the senate, and at the end of the fourth century Symmachus will count very few in the great Roman families; but what is the good of these calculations and hypotheses about the number of the Christians? It is the ardent minorities who bring about revolutions, and ardour was not wanting in the Christians, who after the edict of tolerance issued by Gallienus in 260 rapidly multiplied.

The lettered and highest classes of Roman society were not in the second century acquainted with Christianity, or knew it very imperfectly: as Tacitus, Suetonius, Juvenal, the younger Pliny, Plutarch, Lucian, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius himself bear witness. In the works of Apuleius, a contemporary, a fellow countryman of Tertullian, and a man curious "respecting divine things," one does not find a single expression from which it may be inferred that he had conjectured its existence.² Some took it for one of the numberless philosophical sects. When Novatius left the Church, he said: "I am going to another philosophy."³ But every day its strength increased, because it alone healed that malady unknown by sceptical and joyous generations, which the author of the *Pseudo-Clementines* expresses in one word: "My soul is sick;"⁴ and as it gave confidence in the future beyond the grave, it animated with an ardent spirit of proselytism all who

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 43. Origen (*Contra Celsum*, viii. 69) says of the Christians: . . . πάντες οἱ δόλοιοι. According to S. Justin (*Apol.*, i. 68), the product of the offertories served to help "the orphans and widows, those who are in distress through illness or for any other reason, those who are in chains, and strangers who come unexpectedly." De la Bastie (*du Souverain pontificat des emp. rom.*) estimates that in the time of Constantine "the Christians formed the twelfth, perhaps even the twentieth, part of the Empire" (*Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xv. p. 77, 1743). Beugnot (*Hist. de la décad. du paganisme en Occident*, capp. ii. and iii.) thinks the same. Chastel (*Hist. de la destruction du paganisme en Orient*) believes also that the Christians in the West formed only the fifteenth and in the East the tenth of the whole population.

² Tillemont does not understand how "Plutarch, the most learned man of the period, the most inquisitive about all things concerning philosophy or religion, has not even pronounced their name." (*Hist. des empereurs*, ii. p. 295.)

³ Ἐφη ἑτέρας εἶναι φιλοσοφίας ἰσότης (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 43).

⁴ *Homilies*, v. 2.

embraced it. As soon a community of faithful was formed, it did not cease growing, "as the farm is filled with good corn at the time of harvest," and some one was soon found who accepted the word of the Master: *Go and teach all nations*. He took his staff, divided his property among the poor, sure of getting help wherever he met brethren, and went away to set up a new Christendom. Nothing stopped the missionaries of the faith, neither the length of the journey, nor the anger of the populations wounded by "these despisers of the gods" in the usages and affections of their public and private life. If ever men have appeared to their contemporaries the irreconcilable enemies of the established order, assuredly it was these Christians who, at each step into the midst of this society, came into collision with an idol which they wished to break, or with a custom which they called sacrilege. Some perished in the popular tumults, or from Trajan's time were as rebels sent by the magistrates to the quarries and the mines; a small number, judicially condemned, had perished in the amphitheatres or under the axe of the executioner.

Yet the Church began to quit the shade which had protected its origin; some pagan doctors had already joined its ranks, and Justin had just boldly presented it in full day. It was going to increase rapidly, and, starting from the reign of Commodus, actually to penetrate into the highest ranks of Roman society. The powerful and simple originality of its dogma gave it a strong attractive force, and that episcopal organization which the pagan sacerdotalism had not known enabled it to give unity to its action and counsels, as also to sustain the propagandism of each by the efforts of all.

For cultivated minds, the old natural religion was dead, and philosophers reached a new conception of the divine which, by its principle and applications, was a great advancement in the religious genesis of humanity. This conception had a singular agreement with that of the Christians. Besides, the New Testament is in its entirety only a discourse on morality, which leaves very little room for dogmatic discourse; philosophy renounced on its part the metaphysical ambitions of the ancient schools. Christianity found, therefore, in pagan society a number of elements which it could acknowledge as in conformity with its own nature, and which

aided it to win the heart of the populations by gently biasing it in its favour:

The pure morality of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, with all their precepts for the examination of conscience, for direction and preaching;

The idea of the common origin of man, and of the feeling of fraternity;

Charity as an essential virtue;

Contempt for earthly things and bodily pleasures as a principal means of moral perfection;

The love of poverty, even that of death, which drove so many Stoics to suicide and so many martyrs to voluntary sacrifice of life;

The theodicy of Plato, Plutarch, the Platonists, and Maximus of Tyre, with their spirits intermediate between God and man;

The idea of the divine unity with the belief in penalties and rewards;

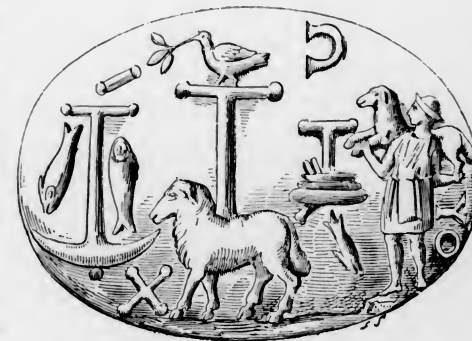
Lastly, regeneration by initiation in the mysteries, by the bloody baptism of the taurobolium or baptism with water, by the oblation of bread and wine, by the holy anointing of the forehead of the mystics.¹ "Your religion," said S. Justin to the worshippers of the gods, "is only an incomplete Christianity;" and Clement: "As the Bacchantes have torn in pieces the limbs of Pentheus, so the philosophic sects have divided *ad infinitum* the indivisible light of the Word;"² and he presented the new doctrine as the achievement of the work begun by the human reason. Tertullian, who so proudly broke away from philosophy, wrote the famous phrase: *Testimonium animæ naturaliter christianæ*; a number of fathers and doctors have shared this sentiment, of which S. Augustine has given the completest statement: "If the Platonists changed a small number of words and thoughts they might be taken for Christians."³

¹ So many rites, in the mysteries of Mithra, recall Christian rites that Tertullian called him *simius Dei* (cf. *de Corona*, 15, and *de Baptismo*, 5); and S. Justin saw in it a work of the demon, but he did not fear saying: "Our principal dogmas do not differ from those of our ancient philosophers" (*Apol.*, i. 55); and again: "Those who have lived according to reason knew the Word before his coming to the earth, and were Christians." (*Apol.*, i. 66; *Dial. cum Tryph.*, 70 and 105). Lactantius says the same (*Inst. div.*, vii. 7). Seneca might have written his work *de Opificio Dei*.

² *Strom.*, i. 9.

³ *Paucis mutatis verbis atque sententiis christiani fierent* (*de Civ. Dei*, iv. 7). Minucius

This philosophic Christianity even seems by an external sign to come near some of the ancient philosophies and to desire to be confounded with them in the eyes of the multitude. Some Christians assumed the philosopher's cloak; like them, they came to the public places to reprove the people, to reproach them for their vices, to make known the only God who is self-subsistent, He who in the Bible is defined as *I Am that I Am*, and who at Delphi was honoured with one word, εἰ, thou art. If any seemed astonished to find some novelties in their discourses, they replied: "We teach nothing new or extraordinary, nothing which the books of the schools and common wisdom do not recommend."¹



Symbols of the Cross, the Fish, the Good Shepherd, etc.²

Moreover, the newly-born Christian art was engrafted on ancient art,

which was dying out. But it is needful to recognize the fact, at the risk of running counter to gushing enthusiasm, that the paintings in the catacombs are only crude attempts. These beginnings of Christian art are to true art what the cries of the newly-born are to the manly voice which fills the sanctuary. One sees clearly that these frescoes are the work of poor artists employed by very poor customers. Two things are expressed in them which will last: symbolism and disregard of form.

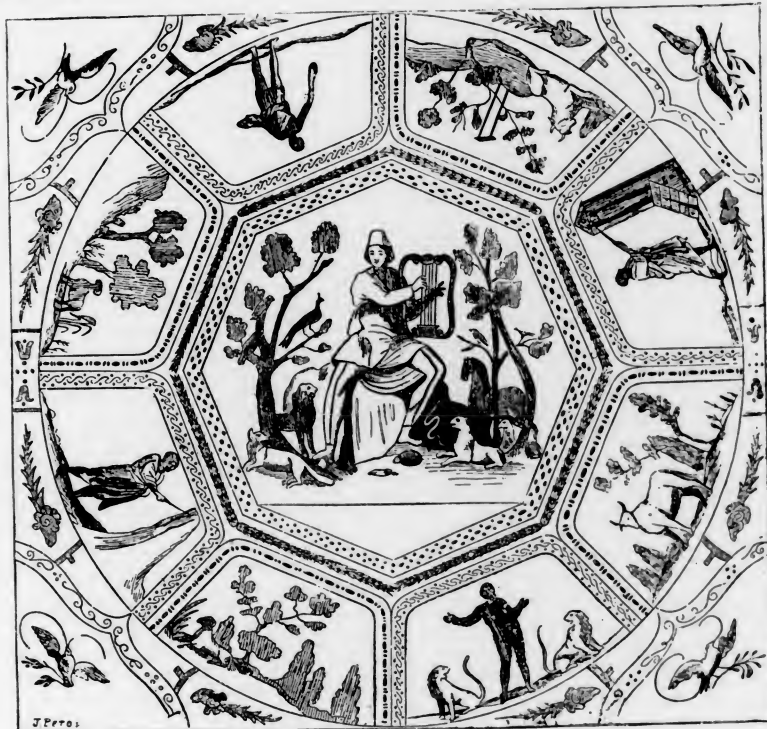
In the most ancient catacombs a number of the decorations

Felix says also in his *Octavius*: "It seems to me that at times the ancient philosophers agree so well with the Christians that one could maintain either that the Christians of the present day are philosophers, or that the philosophers of former times were Christians."

¹ . . . *Nihil nos aut novum aut portentosum suscepisse de quo non etiam communes et publica litteræ nobis patrocinentur* (Tertullian, *de Test. animæ*, 1). In this study of the ideas which tried to come to the light in the second century, we have sought to show only the general character of the Christian idea; we shall return, in capp. xci. and xcii., and in greater detail, to the formation of dogma and discipline, because, in the time of Severus, Christians form a powerful body, and then really commences the great struggle between it and the State.

² After an engraved stone published by Garucci and Martigny. It is doubtless only of the fourth or fifth century. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. xx. No. 6.)

are borrowed from pagan sources, but turned from their old meanings to correspond to new thoughts. One sees there Orpheus playing the lyre before savage beasts: it is Christ who calms savage instincts; Bacchus is the god of the celestial vintage; Psyche, the divine love; the Jordan, the god of streams. The



Orpheus playing on the Lyre.¹

Good Shepherd who carries on his shoulders the tired lamb, figuring suffering humanity, might be taken for Hermes Kriophoros or rustic Pan. Ulysses, fastened to the mast of his ship in order to have nothing to fear from the delusive strains of the Sirens—this was the Church passing through the temptations of the world without yielding to them.² The grain of wheat which renewed its

¹ Painting from the catacomb of Callistus, which M. de Rossi refers to the time of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus. (*Roma sotterranea*, vol. ii. pl. 18.) Around the principal subject are seen Moses striking the rock, Daniel in the lion's den, David holding his sling to slay the enemy, etc.

² De Rossi, *op. cit.* "In some of the most ancient chambers in the catacombs," says Dean

life after having died in the earth, the grape pressed in the wine-fat whence the wine ran out, had been, in the Eleusinian mysteries, symbols of resurrection; they continued the same for the Christian. The fish so often represented does not belong to the Græco-Latin mythology;¹ but around some of the symbolic representations of the new faith, garlands of leaves, vases of flowers and fruits, birds, etc., remind us of the decorative art of the pagans. Nothing, in fact, in the eternal transformation of things is improvised. To express new beliefs the first Christian artists used ancient forms, just as the early Fathers of the Church have so often employed the language of Seneca and Plato. But this two-fold homage paid to the past will soon be forgotten. The theologians will do battle with the philosophers, and the new art will end by killing the old. The latter had realized the most perfect harmony between body and soul. To Jupiter, Phidias gave majesty with a vigorous proud form which has remained the type of manly beauty. Christianity, the enemy of the flesh, will reduce it to being simply a transparent, fragile covering, and in these emaciated bodies no longer will be found the ideal beauty in which the Creator must be pleased because it is His handiwork. Christian art will be a true art only when with Raphael it shall again become pagan by uniting the worship of expression to that of form.²

Burgon, "one can at first hardly tell Christian from pagan frescoes." (*Letters from Rome*, p. 250.) Christian sculpture does not appear till the fourth century.

¹ In the symbolism of the Fathers, the sea signifies humanity; by the fish men are meant; and the fish *par excellence*, the God-Man, Jesus Christ. By a casual conjunction one can form, with the initial letters of the five words which designate him, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ, an acrostic which makes up the word, ἰχθῦς, fish.

² M. Th. Roller ends his work on the *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. ii. pp. 363-365, by a series of conclusions from which we select those relating to the first four centuries:—

"In the first century of the Christian era there were probably family sepulchres, underground, having the elementary arrangements of what are actually styled catacombs. But nothing remains, except an insignificant inscription, from which we can with certainty carry back further their origin.

"In the second century, the cemeteries of Domitilla, Priscilla, Prætextatus, Lucina, before passing from a private nature to a collective use, show us the earliest elements of the subjects which we are going to mention.

"The parable of the vine, already enriched by extra-scriptural various readings, indicates either the eternal refreshments or the Church in the spiritual sense; this vine is cultivated by the spirits of the elect-deceased, or by the angels of God, who gather the vintage and express the juice of the grape. These same spirits do harvest work in the field of souls, or collect the property of God in the other life.

"In the agape, which were an adaptation by Christianity from the ancient usage at funereal feasts, the elements of the Holy Supper were received under the forms of bread and

VII.—GENERAL SUMMARY.

The conquest of the world by the Romans has produced four revolutions as its necessary consequence.

A *political* revolution: the city, becoming universal, resulted in substituting a government by one for that of many.

A *social* revolution: the conquered have taken the places of the conquerors by the force of numbers, labour, intelligence, and

wine. The symbolical presence of Christ is indicated in it under the acrostic of the sacred *ixθύς*, a sign of recognition between the faithful; but the two species of the communion are therein represented. As for Christ himself, he is only represented under this mysterious hieroglyph of the fish, or by the prophetic infant, or by the parable of the good shepherd, or at his baptism, while the believing soul is symbolized in the attitude of a suppliant or by the dove.

"Probably already the magi brought offerings to the infant seated on Mary's knees. A prophet points to the star which enlightens the nations in the person of the child Jesus seated on His mother's knees. John the Baptist administers baptism to Christ in the same water perhaps which flowed forth under Moses' rod.

"The victory of the Christian over persecution and death is proclaimed by the triumph of Daniel in the den of lions, and perhaps by Susanna proved innocent.

"Life and immortality are exhibited by the entrance of a Christian into the everlasting mansions and by the miracle of Jonah. The inscriptions are simple and brief. They express chiefly affection, bonds of relationship, absence of human honours and of laudations. We find those of a married deacon and of elders, *πρεσβύτεροι*, priests.

"The symbols are the anchor of hope, the dove-spirit, and the divine fish.

"In the third century, the priestly office forms a distinct order from the episcopal in the hierarchy, but the priest is sometimes a physician also. The hierarchy reckons the exorcist in its ranks. Epitaphs have on them the designation of bishops. On their tombs the popes bear this qualification only.

"The preceding symbols are developed. The *ixθύς* saviour takes the form of the dolphin; it carries the bark of the Church; it is suspended to the anchor, the trident, as to a cross. The anchor, even the trident, hide the instrument of torture at Calvary. The masts of ships affect the form of gibbets.

"Christianity borrows from pagan sculpture some of the subjects which can be adapted to Christian thought, as some innocent allegories are to painting. The expressions frequently occur: 'he sleeps; peace in God; peace be with thee; the peace of the Lord and Christ; in the Lord and in Jesus Christ; God be with thy spirit; thy spirit enters the saints; he sleeps in peace; thy spirit be in good; he lives, thou livest or shalt live in peace.'

"Lamps borrow from the vine, palms, and evangelical pastorals, symbols appropriated to religious thought. The two sacraments of the Lord have found new formulas in a subtle symbolism. The stream which issued from the rock struck by the miraculous rod forms the stream in which the divine fisher catches men's souls, where the neophytes are baptised; it heals paralytics like the pool of Bethesda; it flows from Jacob's Well to quench thirsty souls as the word of life. It becomes a sea where floats that Noah's ark in which humanity has received the waters of baptism from on high and from below. As to the Holy Supper, it was prefigured by the sacrifice of Abraham, expressed in the benediction of the elements, in the agape, in the tripod bearing loaves and some *ixθύς*, in the basket of bread, and the *secchia* of the shepherd.

the harsh narrow laws of the Republic have become the general humane laws of the Empire.

A *philosophic* revolution: the different schools have become fused, as all the different peoples had, and their systems have resulted in a vast synthesis. Instead of metaphysic which divides, because it proceeds from particular views of the mind, they have

"The soul provided with food can rise again with Lazarus and penetrate the monster of the sepulchre with Jonah without dying.

"The three Israelitish children in Babylon pray in the furnace without being consumed, an image of the Church passing through the fires of persecution without perishing.

"Some changes insinuate themselves into Christian thought. It borrows from paganism and the apocryphal books: Orpheus is known already as a type of Christ; Tobias was admitted now perhaps with his wonderful fish. We hear a sigh escaping—the expression of a wish in favour of the dead, first of all that they may live in God, then for them to live among the souls of the saints or of the elect; a wish is expressed for their refreshment on the part of God. Perhaps this blessing is asked on their behalf while awaiting the definitive reward after the resurrection. The sacrifice of thanksgiving is offered to God for them. At this period there rest some doubts whether the invocation of saints was practised.

"The fourth century, from its commencement, advances the sigh and the wish in favour of the dead to an explicit prayer on their behalf. A favourable influence is also expected from their intercession: 'Ask for such a one . . . ; be favourable to . . . ; keep in remembrance in thy prayers.'

"Pilgrimages to the tombs of martyrs find a place among customs. Funeral caves begin to be changed into chapels. There are celebrated rites commemorative of the death of saints; then episcopal chairs are set up. Martyrs' sepulchres are utilized as communion tables, and become altars. Pilgrims write names, invocations, and prayers on the walls; the popes carve there laudatory epitaphs.

"The epitaph of a bishop of Rome, while designating him as bishop, yet adds the title *papa*, but in an affectionate, not authoritative, sense.

"The agapæ continue to be celebrated. But the hieroglyphic of *ixθύς* is sometimes replaced by the lamb. Water is mixed with the wine. They take seats at a table, and not always reclining on the classic *triclinium*.

"It is no longer simply the human personality of Jesus which the sculptor dares to sketch in the performance of miracles, it is Christ glorified in heaven after the Ascension. Peter or Paul receives from His hand the book of life, or even Christ seated on the *cathedra* of the doctors teaches the faithful.

"The apostles are grouped around Jesus without any special part being assigned to any one of them nor any mark of pre-eminence. Yet Peter and Paul are often put apart, on a footing of equality opposite one another.

"The scenes of the Passion are not represented, but often the appearance before Pilate.

"The legend of the ox and the ass at the Saviour's crib is popularized.

"Mary is seated on a *cathedra* of honour, but without spiritual character. She is then only a mother receiving the magi on behalf of, and with, her son.

"In the course of the fourth century, Mary is (perhaps?) adorned with precious jewels. There does not remain, however, a portrait of her any more than of Christ or the apostles.

"The ecclesiastical hierarchy becomes more pronounced. The *cathedra* is the attribute of the bishop.

"The cross is still hidden under symbols. It is the monogram of Christ which helps to hide it from profane eyes under the following different forms:

***✠**

studied only morality which unites, because it springs from human nature which is the same everywhere.

A *religious* revolution: at first, Rome imposes on local worships that of Rome and the Augusti; there is not a city in which their altar is not set up: it is the national religion. But the universal religion is coming. For the first time the world will see a form of worship which belongs neither to a city, nor a people, nor an empire; a religion without country, which at least will desire no other than that of the human race.¹

Of these four revolutions, the first has been the subject of our narrative from the days of the Gracchi to Tiberius; the last, which began at the same time as the three others, will only be completed a long while after the Antonines; the second and third are detailed in the picture which has just been finished of Roman society in the first two centuries of our era.

If this picture is true we shall be forcibly led to believe that this society had, in its civil institutions and in its manners, some conservative forces; in its ideas, renovating forces. Let us reflect on the skill of its government, to which had succeeded more princes knowing how to perform the duties of their office than any absolute monarchies known, in the same space of time;² add, too, the discipline of its legions, the broad active life of its populations, the vigorous constitution of the family and city, the wisdom of its great schools of legislation and philosophy of which the last word was the unity of reason, law, humanity, and of the immaterial principle of the universe; then will it be recognized that the empire of the Antonines was a vigorous corporation, the intellectual life of which had some grandeur.

It is true that the Romans preserved three iniquities: slavery, the abominable harshness of its penal laws, and the scandalous distinction between the *humilior* and the *honestior*. Besides, the disagreement between the teaching of the wise and the life of the masses was great in this society, so greedy after pleasure,

¹ Buddhism, before Christianity, and Islamism since, have equally had this characteristic of not being merely national religions.

² If we add to the forty-four years of Augustus's rule, the eighty-four years of the Antonine period, the entire reigns of Vespasian and Titus, a half perhaps of those of Tiberius, Claudius, Domitian, and the early years of Nero, we find that out of 210 years, the Empire had, during 160 years, not only good government but good princes.

which held, like so many others, more firmly to its vices than to its beliefs. But slavery, with its natural consequence, the atrocity of punishments, was an institution of the law of nations which Christianity did not suppress, because time alone and the progress of human thought could win the right; besides, the contradiction between moral conduct and the ideal taught belongs to all periods. If the Empire had not contained other causes of ruin it would not have succumbed to these evils. Unfortunately, in this aristocratic society, an aristocracy did not exist able to support and hold in check its all powerful chief, and this chief did not understand that instead of considering the Empire as a hereditary domain, he ought, after the example of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus, to leave it to the most worthy. The rights of consanguinity won the day over those of the state. Marcus Aurelius had selected an unsuitable successor both from age and vices for the exercise of absolute power; and this unbounded power Septimius Severus will give to the son who wanted to assassinate him, so that the orgies of despotism will be renewed. Under administrative pressure, life will cease circulating freely in the social body, which will grow feeble, whilst the army, becoming daily more strange to the civil population, will trouble the State by continual revolutions and will ruin its finances, while itself in the universal disorder wholly losing its discipline and strength. Finally, the religious crisis is drawing near.

It seems that Christians and pagans might have come to a mutual understanding, since, in certain respects, Christianity was the religious formula of the pagan philosophies. But "from one end of the social world to the other, truths met without mutual recognition,"¹ and popular passion foiled the goodwill of bishops and princes. If the vulgar mob of the great cities cried: "The Christians to the lions! . . .," if gifted men persecuted them with insulting expressions and caricatures which must have appeared to them an abomination,² in the ranks of the new sect there were violent men who, instead of seeking like Justin and Clement of Alexandria to unite the followers of Plato to the

¹ Villemain, *Tableau de l'éloquence chrétienne au quatrième siècle*.

² That for example of the Crucified with an ass's head, written on the walls of the Palatine, and which, judging from some words of Tertullian, must have been very common.

disciples of Christ, set up between them an impassable barrier. Hermias tried to seize the spirit of Lucian in order to hold up, in a religious pamphlet, the philosophers to derision by bringing forward the contradictions of the ancient metaphysic.¹ He says to them: "There are utterly in you only darkness, deceitful



Caricature of Christ.³

night, perpetual illusion, an abyss of ignorance. Philosophers, see how the object of your ardent pursuit flies before you with an eternal flight; how the end which you propose to yourselves is inexplicable and vain." It is not simply the beliefs but even the spirit of pagan society which the Church proposes to change. The philosophic liberty of Greece had created science; the mystic idealism which will, for some centuries, take possession of superior intelligences, will delight only in theological speculations. At the head of his book Hermias had put the words of S. Paul:² "The wisdom of this world is foolishness in the sight of God," and Tertullian angrily repeats them. He curses that civilization which the wise would have desired to

preserve by mildly infusing the new spirit into it; he rejects compromises with horror; he does not even wish that the Christian should accede to being a magistrate or a soldier, to celebrate the victory or the festival of the emperor. He, at least, is pleased with this desertion of civil duties, and he is of those who cry: Misfortune to the rich! and who desire the destruction of the Empire. About the year 250 another African, Commodianus, allows

¹ This is the precise title of his dialogue: *The Derision of the Pagan Philosophers*, Διασυρμός τῶν ἑξω φιλοσόφων.

² I. Cor., i. 20.

³ A personage wrapped in a cloak, with the ears and feet of an ass; he is wearing a mitre and holds a book under his arm. The *Apologia* of Tertullian (16) explains this representation: *Sed nova jam Dei nostri in ista proxime civitate editio publicata est ex quo quidam frustrandis bestiis mercenarius noxius picturam proposuit cum ejusmodi inscriptione Deus christianorum onocrotas. Is erat auribus asinis, altero pede unguatus, librum gestans et togatus.* (Cabinet de France. Small terra-cotta figure in the Luynes Collection, brought from Syria by Pérésié.)

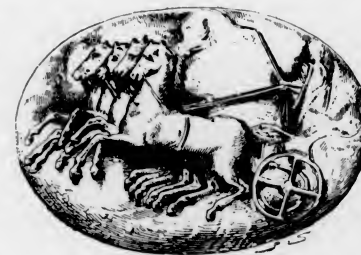
his delight to burst forth at the news of a formidable assault which the Goths and Persians were about making against the Roman provinces. "At last," he exclaims, "may this empire of iniquity disappear!" He believes Rome to be already fallen, and sees her "weeping in eternity, who believed herself to be eternal!"¹

Not Rome alone is condemned; the world even is going to perish. Among the people the angry oracles of the Sibyl were circulating. "Woe to the women who shall see that day. Dark clouds shall surround the world. The heavenly fires shall collide, and the stars fall into the sea. A stream of fire shall flow from the sky, it shall consume the earth, and men shall gnash their teeth when they feel the soil growing hot under their feet. . . . All



Tragedian striking himself with a Poniard.²

—fathers, mothers, children—shall be burnt up in the divine furnace and the vast Tartarus will be heard roaring. In the midst of their tortures they will call upon death, but death will not come."³ Tertullian, who was born in the end of Antoninus's reign, repeats these mournful words: "Ah! how I shall laugh! What happiness, what exultation for me to see these puissant ones who have been made gods, and their courtesans, and their persecuting magistrates, and these sage philosophers, all burning pell-mell with their Jupiter in the avenging fire! Then the tragic actor will utter genuine cries in his own distress, the effeminate comedian will perish in the flames, and the circus-driver will appear on a chariot of fire, himself all reddened by the eternal flames."⁵ Gloomy images, cries



Driver guiding a Quadriga.⁴

¹ *Luget in æternum quæ jactabat se æternam.* Commodianus was called *mendicus Christi*.
² Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France*. Cornaline of 10 mill. by 8, No. 1,892 in the Catalogue.

³ Boissier, *les Origines de la poésie chrétienne*, after the *Oracula sibyllina* of Alexander, ii. pp. 194 et seq.

⁴ Engraved stone, of excellent workmanship (17 mill. by 26). *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,866.

⁵ *De Spectaculis*, 30.

of despair, and threats which must have thrown terror and hatred into the hearts of pagans.

On the other hand, polytheism, the official religion of the State, had no desire to abdicate in favour of these "beggars of Christ;" and like Hercules, when clothed in the fatal tunic, Rome will only be able to tear it from her sides along with her flesh. Thus defiance and hate will divide citizens; a cruel persecution will be succeeded by a half tolerance; blood will flow in streams, and the glorious spirit which had created the Greek and Latin civilizations will veil itself for ages. Then that Empire which had been a blessing to so many human beings, weakened by religious war, at the very time when the whole barbarian world is on the eve of formidable invasions, will be blood-stained to the inmost provinces by foreign war, and the peoples who had so long lived at peace under the shade of their own vine and fig-tree will see the hostile fires in the midst of their lands.

It is all over for ever with the "Roman peace," and for many centuries with science and art; but an exalted hope was to be given to the world.



The Good Shepherd on a Christian Lamp in Terra-cotta, found at Ostia. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. xxviii.)

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FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE

BY

VICTOR DURUY.

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

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ADAMULICO
VTRSEVIRU
VSAABLI

PREFACE TO VOLUME VI.

IN bringing this long labour to a close, I am bound to mention specially the care and ability of the translators, Mr. Clarke and Miss Ripley, who have become so expert in their work as to relieve me of most of an editor's trouble. For in this volume I felt it undesirable to curtail the French text, as has been done to some extent in Volume V. The general index, which was begun as a translation, very soon assumed an independent character, and will be found adequate for all practical purposes; indeed, to catalogue every minute fact or solitary name in so large a book would require an additional volume of print. The work is already voluminous enough, and the publishers are agreed with me that the death of Diocletian is the proper halting-place, as pagan Rome may be said to have no history after that date. The life of Julian is a retrograde step in Christian Rome rather than a survival of paganism. We therefore send this work into the world to take its place as the most complete Roman History yet published in the English tongue, and not likely to be superseded in our day.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.
August, 1885.

ELEVENTH PERIOD.

THE AFRICAN AND SYRIAN PRINCES (180-235 A.D.).

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

COMMODUS, PERTINAX, DIDIUS JULIANUS, AND THE WARS OF SEVERUS (180-211 A.D.).

I.—COMMODUS (180-192).

THE 31st of August was a day doubly unlucky for the Empire: it was the birthday of Caligula and of Commodus. In the 210 years that Rome had had emperors, the latter was the first "born in the purple," *porphyrogenitus*;¹ but his reign was not of a character to recommend to the Romans the principle of hereditary succession. He was not yet nineteen when Marcus Aurelius died.² His father had given him the best of masters, but an ungrateful nature rendered their cares fruitless, for instance, at the age of twelve, finding his bath insufficiently heated, he ordered the servant who had charge of it to be thrown into the furnace. The absolute power which he inherited at so early an age completed his ruin, for those whom an old author calls "the court instructors"³ quickly

¹ Born, that is to say, during the reign of his father. The title of this chapter must not be taken strictly. Commodus, Pertinax, and Julianus are neither African nor Syrian. But the former does not deserve being ranked with the Antonines, and the two latter, who reigned so short a time, are connected by their history with the first African emperor.

² Marcus Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus Antoninus was born August 31st, 161, and succeeded Marcus Aurelius on the 17th of March, 180. For the history of his reign we have only the shapeless abridgment of Dion by Xiphilin (book lxxii.), the first book of Herodian, which is that of a rhetorician, and the confused biography of Lampadius.

³ . . . qui in aula institutores arbitrantur (Lamp., *Const.*, 1). Dion, who knew him

obtained control over this feeble intellect. His bust and medals represent him with the stupid look of a man whose mind has never been crossed by one worthy thought.¹ Combining as he did timidity and cruelty, he exhibited the latter trait as soon as, by a word or a look, he was able to rid himself of those who caused him alarm.

The imperial power was not hereditary, but the emperors had always wished to make it so, and, in the absence of any great institutions of government, this was inevitable. The sons of the emperors in their cradles were surrounded [as they now are] with titles and honours, one or two of which would have been, to a citizen, the reward of a long life of public services. At the age of five Commodus was made Cæsar; at the age of fourteen, member of all the sacred colleges and *princeps juventutis*, although he had not yet assumed the toga; at sixteen he was consul, imperator, and invested with the tribunitian power.² That is to say, he had all the imperial titles with the exception of that of Augustus, the sign of the supreme rank, and of Pontifex Maximus, which also could not at that time be shared. Marcus Aurelius associated his son with himself in the triumph over the Germans, and took him in 178 upon the expedition against the Marcomanni. The rumour was current that the imperial sage had been aided "in restoring to nature the elements which she had lent him." Dion Cassius accuses the physicians of Marcus Aurelius of having poisoned him at the instigation of Commodus; but Dion was a contemporary, and contemporaries have their ears ever open to all kinds of calumnies. Two winters passed in an inclement climate were dangerous for this man of the South, whose enfeebled constitution made him old and infirm at the age of fifty-nine. If we add to this the cares of an important war, and the plague supervening, we are not compelled to charge Commodus with parricide, whose account, moreover, is long enough without this addition. It is worthy of mention that

well, says of him, however (lxxii. 1), that he was not an evil-disposed person, but extremely timid, and so simple-minded that he became the slave of those who surrounded him.

¹ See the two busts represented in vol. v. pp. 203, 206.

² According to the inscription on his tomb, he held, at the close of the year 192, for the eighteenth time, the office of tribune. (Orelli, No. 887.) He had been made tribune for the first time on the 23rd of December, 176. (Cohen, *Méd. impér.*). Lampridius says that in 183 he assumed the title of Pious, *senatu ridente*, and that of Felix on the death of Perennis in 185.



Commodus. (Statue of Pentelic Marble. Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 8.)

the latter dedicated a temple to his father with priests, Antonine flamens, and all that antiquity had prescribed for "consecrations."¹ Later, Commodus did not consider the new divinity of sufficient rank, and preferred to be called the son of Jupiter rather than of Marcus.²

Commodus assumed power without opposition. He was advised to profit by the exhausted condition of the barbarians to overthrow them completely. But the young nobles, wearied by these obscure combats in the Pannonian marshes, this dull life in wild camps, under hovels of mud and reeds, reminded him of the marble villas of Tibur, the games of the amphitheatre, and the seductions of the Via Sacra; and the young emperor became eager to go back to Rome, to enjoy his palaces, his wealth, and his sovereign authority. He waited, however, until his father's old generals had renewed the treaty which Marcus Aurelius had already imposed upon the barbarians.³ The Marcomanni and the Quadi engaged not to approach nearer the Danube than twenty stadia, to give up their arms, their auxiliaries,⁴ their captives, the deserters, and a certain quantity of corn, which tax Commodus afterwards remitted. They were forbidden to attack the Iazyges, the Buræ, and the Vandals. They were accustomed to hold markets which were frequented by the Roman traders, but were also the occasion for assemblages of their own people, when plots were concerted and oaths interchanged. These markets they were forbidden to hold more than once a month, in places designated by the Roman authorities; they were watched by centurions, and forts were constructed all along the river to prevent smuggling.⁵ A similar treaty was concluded with the Buræ.

The Empire might at this time feel that its sway or its undisputed influence extended through the entire valley of the Danube from the Black Sea to Bohemia, and that the Carpathians, with the mountains of Moravia, would be its secure barrier. But Commodus had relinquished the former right of making annual levies among these warlike tribes, that is to say, of taking away their best

¹ Capit., *Anton. philos.*, 18.

² Herod., i. 14.

³ See vol. v. p. 197.

⁴ The Quadi surrendered 13,000; the Marcomanni, not as many.

⁵ Desjardins, *Monum. épigr. du musée hongrois*, No. 112.

warriors. Moreover, he gave back to them all the fortresses of which they had been deprived.¹ From the summit of these walls the Romans had held the barbarians in check, and had guaranteed the security of the colonists, who, under the shelter of the Roman



The Empress Crispina. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 44.)

swords, would have made of these lands another Dacia. But Commodus was not Trajan.²

This was the last time he appeared at the head of the troops. Happily the great traditions of war were not yet lost, and there remained to Rome generals like Marcellus, Niger, Pertinax, Albinus, and Septimius Severus, who kept strong watch upon the barbarians.³

¹ Dion, lxxii. 2 and 3.

² Herodian (i. 15), speaks of large sums of money given to the barbarians to buy peace.

³ Dion and Lampridius mention some few victories gained over the barbarians of the Danube by Albinus and Niger, in 182 and 184. There were more serious engagements in Britain (184) and in Africa (187-190). Cf. Eckhel, vii. 120 and 123.

He returned to Rome the 22nd of October, 180, surrounded by all triumphal pomp in honour of victories that he had not gained, and instead of placing upon his chariot the image of Marcus Aurelius, the true conqueror, a handsome and favourite slave was seated beside Commodus. Vice returned into the imperial palace, where, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, virtue had dwelt.

Leaving the care of public affairs to Perennis, prefect of the guards,¹ Commodus took no thought save for his pleasures, and a part of the Roman aristocracy did likewise. The preceding emperors had imposed severe morals on the court. Men now made amends for this prolonged restraint, and rushed into all forms of dissipation, like the young French nobles after the hypocritical austerities of the latter years of Louis XIV. The ruler, at the age of ardent passions, propagated around him all the vices which were in himself: lately it had been the fashion to philosophize, now it appeared good taste to practise every kind of profligacy. It is said that the two empresses set the example. One of them, Crispina, the wife of Commodus, was banished to Capri, under a charge of adultery, and afterwards put to death;



Crispina Augusta, Wife of Commodus. (Bronze Medallion.)



The Empress Lucilla, Daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Wife of Lucius Verus.²

the other, Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus Aurelius, had retained imperial honours from her marriage with the emperor Verus: at the theatre she sat with the emperor's family, and in the streets the sacred fire was carried before her.³

¹ Dion, lxxii. 9. According to Herodian, Commodus reigned wisely up to the time of the conspiracy of Lucilla, which is placed in 183. But this is probably a literary reminiscence of Nero's early reign.

² From an intaglio in the *Cabinet de France* (red jasper, 12 millim. by 8). The name of Proculus abridged, ΠΡΟΚΛΑ, is perhaps that of the engraver. Cf. Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, *Supplément*, No. 3,509.

³ Ammianus Marcellinus and Quintus Curtius say that the kings of Persia possessed a

Her father had compelled her to espouse in second nuptials the old and respectable Pompeianus, whom she, it is said, betrayed, even including her own son-in-law in the number of her lovers. But Lucilla is perhaps one more victim of those calumnies so very current in Rome at that time, according to the testimony of Tertullian who heard them.¹ She must have been nearly forty at this time, an age which, for women of the South, is no longer the period of beauty or of transient amours.

The writers who have preserved to us the history of this reign fill it with monotonous accounts of cruel executions. In the whole period of twelve years is found neither a good measure of government nor a decree for the improvement of laws; nothing which shows any care for the public interest; Commodus did not even finish the constructions which his father had begun. Yet still the Empire stands by its own weight, *mole sua stat*. Traders buy and sell, sailors traverse the seas, labourers do their work, and governors keep watch over the provinces, as though a wise ruler presided over the destinies of the Empire. The treasury still furnishes funds to assist in the reconstruction of Nicomedia, destroyed by an earthquake,² to construct a gymnasium at Antioch, diverse monuments at Alexandria, and to establish at Carthage an African fleet, *classis Africana*, in order to make good with African corn the deficiencies in the Egyptian supply brought into Ostia.³ Lastly, the soldiers still are detailed to aid in public works. Those in Dalmatia restore a bridge over the Cettina that had been destroyed; along the Danube they construct fortified posts to keep out German marauders.⁴ If our information were more extensive it

fire which fell from heaven, which they kept alive with care, and had it borne before them on expeditions on little silver altars, surrounded by singing magi. The usage is ancient, for Herodotus makes mention of it. The emperors adopted this oriental custom like many others, and the fire became a symbol of their majesty. The passage of Dion Cassius referred to shows that this custom was already established at the close of the second century.

¹ *Apol.*, 35.

² . . . πολλά ἱερῶν (Malalas, *Chronogr.*, xii. p. 289, ed. of Bonn). Antioch had bought in the year 44 from the inhabitants of Elis, for a term of ninety Olympiads, the right of celebrating the Olympic Games, and expended for them yearly a sum amounting to nearly £40,000; but these games were not regularly celebrated at Antioch until the reign of Commodus (Gibbon, chap. xxii.).

³ *Lamp., Comm.*, 37. The oldest inscription mentioning the *classis nova Libyca* is of the time of Commodus. (*Recueil de la Soc. archéol.* of Constantine, 1873, p. 460. See Erm. Ferrero, *Inscr. d'Afrique relatives à la Flotte*, in *Bull. épigr. de la Gaule*, August, 1882.)

⁴ Or-Henzen, Nos. 5,272 and 5,487: . . . clandestinos latrunculorum transitus.

would show us the same labours carried on everywhere. What Fénelon said of the monarchy of Louis XIV., that the old machine continued to move with the impulse originally given it, might long be said of the Roman Empire.

Disquieting symptoms, however, are seen to appear. Under the feeble and violent hand that holds the reins Roman discipline is relaxed through all the orders.¹ In the city riots break out; seditions announce the reign of the soldiery; disorders springing up around the temples,² a religious war; and the anarchy which will soon threaten the very existence of the Empire is manifested by the insolent success of a bandit pillaging with impunity many provinces. Lastly, the military spirit is growing feeble; senators desert those offices which involve actual service. One of them obtains from Commodus an exemption from military duty.³

On the frontier there is no important war during these twelve years. A Roman garrison permanently established on the Kour, in a fortress built in that remote region by Vespasian, kept the people of the Caucasus quiet and protected Armenia against them.⁴ Niger and Albinus, who both were to taste imperial power,⁵ and to die of it, seem to have had to defend Dacia against the Sarmatians and Gaul against the Frisii. In Britain, the Caledonians having broken through the line of Roman defences, Marcellus, a soldier of the old stamp, drove them back into their mountains; some similar outbreaks in Mauretania were repressed with equal promptness.

Commodus heard not even the echo of these remote sounds of war. To leave the care of public affairs to his prætorian prefect, and to send him his death order at the faintest suspicion; to keep the children of the governors as hostages, that he might have nothing to fear from the provinces; and to make himself secure in Rome by granting all possible licence to the prætorians—it was to this that he had reduced the science of government. In regard to the finances, he had resumed the system of raising money out of condemnations, a capital sentence bringing with it always, in accordance with the oldest Roman laws, the confiscation of the

¹ Spartian, *Pescenn.*, Nig., 10: *Commodi temporum dissolutio*.

² See p. 31, n. 3.

³ Orelli, No. 5,003; L. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigraphie*, pp. 12 and 20.

⁴ Inscription of 185. (*Journal asiatique*, 1869, p. 103.)

⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 20: . . . degustabis imperium.

property of the condemned person; or, as in the year 188, he announced that he was about to depart on a long journey, and with this pretext drew from the public treasury whatever money he desired. Having taken these precautions he abandoned himself quietly to his passion for chariot races, hunts, and the games of the amphitheatre.

Each of the tyrants of Rome had his favourite folly or dominant vice. Caligula thought himself divine; Nero, an incomparable singer; in this infamous band, Vitellius was the Silenus,



Commodus on Horseback striking a Tigress with his Javelin.¹

and now Commodus is to be the gladiator. Seven hundred and thirty-five times he fought in the arena; and these combats were ruinous for the treasury, which paid 25,000 drachmæ for each of these royal performances;² they were also without peril, for every arrangement was made to secure that his imperial majesty should receive no harm at the hands of the victims, nor from teeth or claws of the wild beasts, who were often brought out in their cages. Always surrounded by Moorish or Parthian archers, Commodus excelled in throwing the spear or javelin; one day 100 bears fell by his hand. At each of these easy and disgraceful victories the senate applauded in chorus: "Thou art the

¹ Intaglio, 45 mill. by 55. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2,096.)

² This was to be paid from the funds appropriated for games, but that sum being quickly exhausted, the expense fell upon the treasury. (*Dion*, lxxii. 19.)

master! Thou the first and most fortunate of men! Thou art conqueror and shalt ever be, Amazonius the victorious!" But we know to what a sad condition the descendants of the men who once ruled the world were now reduced—their continual terrors, their shameful sycophancy, in the presence of such rulers!¹ One only, Pompeianus, the son-in-law and friend of Marcus Aurelius, dared to protest against this degradation, refusing to appear in the amphitheatre or even in the senate. Dion declares that he had never seen him there except in the time of Pertinax. This knight of Antioch was the Cato of his time. Old Rome still gave her stamp to some of her new children.



Commodus the Olympian.
(Bronze Coin of Ephesus.)

But how easy for a young prince to become dizzy from this cloud of incense! The senate was not alone in exhausting all the vocabulary of servility; the people, the army all do the same; and Commodus could hear the acclamations of the provinces answering back those of Rome. The young men of Nepete subscribed to consecrate a monument to "Commodus the Victorious." A coin of Ephesus gives him, as formerly in the case of Hadrian, the surname of Olympios,² and an inscription calls him "most noble, most fortunate of princes." In another the offering is made to "the Roman Hercules." Accordingly "the god"³ respects nothing upon earth; he deprives the months of their names to give them others of his own choosing; he even changes the names of Rome and Jerusalem and calls them Coloniae Comodienses. His reign is the Golden Age; at least, so his imperial letters are dated, *ex saeculo aureo*, and his birthday is to be celebrated throughout the whole Empire. But the festival is only for himself, for "on that day," Dion tells us, "we senators, our wives and our children, must each of us



The Roman Hercules.
(Reverse of a Bronze Medallion of Commodus.)

¹ See vol. v. p. 512, under what a reign of terror the senators lived.

² For Nepete, see Orelli, No. 879; for Ephesus, Eckhel, vii. p. 136.

³ Ἐκατέρο καὶ θεός (Zonaras, xii. 5). Renier, *Inscr. de l'Algérie*, No. 4,403. Orelli, No. 886.

give him two aurei, and the decurions of all the cities must send him five denarii apiece" (lxxii. 16).

His greatest ambition was to resemble the son of Alemena, who, to his mind, was only the god of brute strength. There was carried before him in the streets the club and lion's skin of the conqueror of the hydra; in the amphitheatre they were laid on a gilded platform and sometimes he used them. Dion relates that having collected a great number of maimed and infirm persons taken at random in the streets of Rome, he had them costumed to represent fabulous monsters with long serpents' tails, and gave them sponges instead of stones to defend themselves with, when he attacked them with his club. He thus imagined himself repeating the exploits of Hercules, and a



Veiled Priest driving
Two Oxen.
(Reverse of a great
Bronze of Commodus.)¹



The Golden Age under
Commodus.²

rumour was current that the spectators seemed to him very well adapted to fill the part of the birds of Stymphalus, and that he proposed to shoot his arrows into the crowd that filled the amphitheatre. To keep this threat ever before the minds of the senators, he caused to be placed in the curia a statue of himself as Hercules,³ with bow strung in hand. "Never," says the historian, who was the witness of what he narrates, "did he appear in public without being stained with blood;" and Lampridius adds, "when he had mortally wounded a gladiator, he plunged his hand into the wound, then wiped the blood off on his hair." He was indeed a butcher.

Again we have an insane emperor, in whom the intoxication of youth and power takes the form of blood-madness. Nero was not so bad as he, for in the case of that grotesque artist there was at least a spark of art, and his Babylonian entertainments, in

¹ COL(onia) L(ucia) AN(tonina) COM(modiana) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestas) XV., IMP(erator) VIII., COS(ul) VI. Reverse of a great bronze of Commodus. For Jerusalem, p. 53.

² The Vatican has a statue of Commodus as Hercules, of which there is in the Louvre a beautiful copy in bronze.

³ ΚΟΜΟΔΟΥ ΒΑCΙΑΕΥΟΝΤΟC Ο ΚΟCΜΟC ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ (*under the rule of Commodus all the world is happy*), legend surrounded by a wreath. Reverse of a bronze coin of Nicaea.



Hercules, known as the Farnese, found at Rome in the Baths of Caracalla.
(Museum of Naples.)

all their infamy, had a certain grandeur. The instincts of Commodus were always low, and his pleasures vulgar or hideous, and it is this which gave probability to the current story that his father was one of the heroes of the arena.

The populace is not over nice in the choice of its favourites; when it has the vote, violent declamations are its delight; when it has only the right to applaud, skill and physical force are what it loves. Accordingly these exploits of the highway on the part of its emperor enchanted the Roman crowd. They adored this man who lavished gold upon them and lived in the amphitheatre; who gave them another spectacle, the terror of the nobles, and from time to time as an interlude a dead body to drag through the streets. But the aristocracy were indignant at being made to tremble under a ruler who appeared to them singularly petty in comparison with the great emperors who had preceded him. In the senate there existed no longer, as there had been during the first century, either republican rancours or patrician desires for power. Now it was perfectly understood how necessary to the Empire was a true emperor; how much vigilance, skill, and firmness in the supreme rank was needed to maintain, with the greatness of the Empire, the security of the individual and the liberty of all. These sentiments showed themselves later when, to replace the last of the Antonines, all men in the curia agreed to place the imperial purple upon the shoulders of a freedwoman's son. From the third year of the reign of Commodus a conspiracy, of which Lucilla was the soul, began in the palace itself. The emperor doubtless kept at a distance this ambitious woman, who was jealous of the empress as her superior in rank. She thought that by putting her son-in-law, or Quadratus, a rich young senator who shared in her projects, in her brother's place, she should obtain a larger share of power. To be sure of success she intrusted her son-in-law, who was an intimate of the emperor, with the striking of the fatal blow. As Commodus passed through a dark passage-way which led to the amphitheatre, the murderer fell upon him with a poniard, crying, "This is what the senate sends thee!" But he was disarmed before striking the blow (183); and his imprudent words cost many senators their lives. From that day the old friends of Marcus Aurelius appeared to his son no longer silent

censors, but enemies whose blows he must prevent. The palmy days of the informers came again, and murders seemed to have no end. Lucilla, her son-in-law, the latter's father, Quadratus, and many others perished. One of the prætorian prefects, Tarrutenius Paternus, a learned lawyer who has the honour of being placed among the juriseconsults of the *Pandects*, could not be convicted of



Sextus Quintilius Maximus.¹

having shared in the conspiracy. But Perennis, his colleague, wished to be sole chief of the guard. He caused Paternus to be appointed senator to remove him from the prefecture, then accused him of treason, and Paternus was condemned together with the grandson of Hadrian's great juriseconsult. The latter, Salvius Julianus, was, at the accession of Commodus, in command of a

¹ The only bust known of any of the victims of Commodus. It was found in the ruins of the villa of the Quintilii, on the Appian Way. Cf. Henry d'Escamps, *Descript. des marbres du Musée Campana*, etc., No. 101. Paris, 1855.



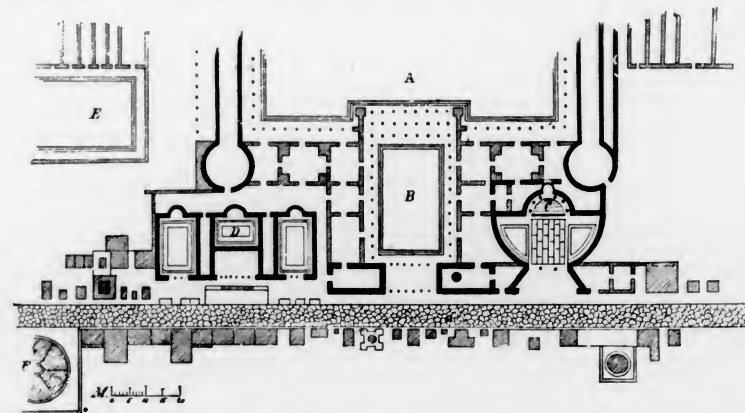
Restoration of the Villa of the Quintilii, on the Appian Way, from Canina. (Cf. next page.)

large army, and much beloved by his troops; he had not desired



Ruins of the Villa of the Quintilii (*Roma Vecchia*).¹

to dispute the Empire with the son of Marcus Aurelius, but he



Plan of the Villa of the Quintilii.²

might have done it had he chosen; this was enough to render him guilty, since he was esteemed dangerous. The list of the tyrant's

¹ From Canina, *la Prima parte della via Appia*, pl. 33.

² A, peristyle; B, vestibule; C, nymphaeum; D, temple of Hercules; E, hot baths; F, tomb on the Appian Way. (Canina, *op. cit.*, pl. 32.)

victims is long; Dion assures us that of all who had enjoyed distinction in the State during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, three only, under Commodus, escaped with their lives. Like Caligula, he often took a man's life only for the sake of taking his property and relieving his own financial embarrassments; many women perished on account of their wealth.

The fate of the Quintilii struck the imagination of contemporaries, habituated and hardened as they were to scenes of murder: they were two brothers of Trojan origin famous for their wealth, learning, and military talents, and they were inseparable. The emperors, taking pleasure in honouring this fraternal friendship, had caused them to pass through the career of public duties together: they had been consuls, heads of armies, and governors of Achaia, one serving as lieutenant to the other; they both signed the same despatches, and Marcus Aurelius sanctioned this affectionate illegality, addressing to the two a rescript which still exists in the *Digest*. Commodus also united them, but in death.¹ There is still to be seen on the Appian Way the great ruins of their palace, called in the Middle Ages *Roma Vecchia*. Dion relates that, in order to escape, the son of one of them, Condianus, had caused it to be reported that he was dead. Feigning to fall from his horse, he had himself brought home covered with blood, and while a ram was burned in his stead on the funeral pile, he concealed himself and made his escape. Many paid with their lives for their resemblance to the young Quintilius. After the death of Commodus a pretended Condianus claimed the rich inheritance. "The Claimant" was extremely well-informed in the history of the Quintilii and answered all questions pertinently. But Pertinax, an old professor of grammar, confused the claimant by addressing him in Greek; whereupon it was decided that a man who was ill-versed in the language of Homer could not be a Quintilius.

During the war in Britain Perennis had replaced by knights the senators in command of the legions in that country. The soldiers, it was said, were offended that the distinction of the military grades should be thus impaired. This solicitude in the camps of Britain for the honour of the Conscript Fathers may well

¹ *Digest*, xxxviii. 2, 16, § 4. *Domus Quintiliorum omnis extincta* (Lamp., *Comm.* 4). This writer gives a long list of the victims of Commodus.

be doubted. Probably there were other motives of discontent. There was vague report of a great sedition appeased¹ by Pertinax after his life had been imperilled by it; and of an emperor, Priscus, or Pertinax himself, whom the legions would have raised to power, but who refused the offer. Fifteen hundred soldiers were sent to bring the complaints of the army to the emperor; Commodus, anxious at the approach of deputies so numerous that they might seem to bring commands rather than requests, went out of the city to meet them. "What is it, comrades," he said, "and for what do you come?" They rejoined that they had come because Perennis was conspiring against him and had the design of making his son emperor. Without further information the base Commodus gave up his faithful general.² He was beaten with rods, then beheaded, and his wife and sister and his two sons were put to death (185). The soldiers had unmade a minister; ere long they were to make and unmake emperors.

It is not clear where we ought to place the singular history of Maternus;³ Herodian relates it after the fall of Perennis. This soldier having deserted together with some bold comrades, scoured the country, pillaging the villages. His troop, with a regular military organization and swelled by the addition of bandits and convicts to whom he opened the prison doors, grew strong enough to attack cities, many of which they sacked and burned. Maternus thus ravaged through Spain and Gaul, pillaging and burning, and having nothing to fear from the municipal militia, which through long peace had fallen into inefficiency. The government was obliged to decide on sending regular troops against him. Maternus was no common bandit; he resolved to attempt a great achievement. Learning that preparations were on foot against him, he divided his band, gave his men orders to make their way into Italy by unfrequented routes, and directed them to meet him at Rome on the festival of the Mother of the Gods. Upon that day disguises

¹ Dion, lxxiii. 4, and Capit., *Pertinax*, 3.

² This is the testimony of Dion (lxxii. 12). Herodian (i. 24) relates the story differently. Instead of the soldiers from Britain they are legionaries of Illyria, and he says that a begging philosopher came in the midst of a *fête* to denounce the intrigues of the prefect, who caused him to be burned alive.

³ Dion Cassius does not mention it, but Lampridius speaks of the *bellum desertorum* (*Comm.*, 16), and Spartian (*Nig.*, 3) says of Niger that he was sent *ad comprehendendos desertores qui innumeri Gallias tunc vexabant*.

of all kinds were authorized. Maternus proposed to assume, with some of his men, the dress of the prætorians, and thus approaching the emperor to slay him and take his place. Being denounced by a fellow-conspirator, he was put to death with all of his band who could be discovered.



Diana of the Vatican.
(Museo Chiaramonti, No. 122.)

Nothing authorizes us to say that this audacious enterprise could not have been successful. In a State where there is no strong and vital institution between ambitious men and the sovereign power to shelter the ruler from a surprise, the thrust of a dagger may suffice to change a dynasty. These catastrophes we have already seen, and many more are yet before us in the history of Rome. In this regard the imperial dignity had a certain analogy with the priesthood of the temple of the Arician Diana, whose high-priest was bound to slay his predecessor.

The freedman Cleander, a former porter who had become the chamberlain of Commodus, took the place of Perennis in the imperial favour. This man had retained all the vices of a slave, adding to them greed for gain. He sold offices, provinces, and judicial deci-

¹ According to Lampridius; but of this we have no other proof than his word, which is not sufficient.

Burrus, the brother-in-law of Commodus, wished to enlighten the emperor upon the unworthy conduct of his favourite. Cleander accused him of aspiring to the imperial dignity, and obtained against him an order of death, which was extended to many senators. He then took for himself the prefecture of police, consenting, however, to share it with two colleagues.

This freedman, who has been called the minister of the dagger, might have continued with impunity to decimate the nobles; but he allowed the populace to go hungry, and they were the cause of his downfall. For some years there had been a condition of want; the price of corn rose and distributions were suspended. Commodus wished to compel the traders to sell at a lower price; but provisions were concealed and the evil increased. An immense fire, like that in Nero's time, and an epidemic which in Rome alone carried off 2,000 persons daily,¹ raised the public exasperation to the highest pitch. These scourges did not appear the result of natural causes and the public clamoured for a victim. It was asserted that Cleander had hoarded wheat. We know the fate of those thus accused by the populace in times of scarcity. One day in the circus a band of boys rushed into the arena with loud outcries, headed by a virago of great stature and fierce aspect, who doubtless was got rid of in the tumult, which gave the foolish crowd and the enemies of Cleander the occasion to say that some goddess had been the leader. To the boys' clamour was joined that of the spectators; an excitement seized upon all; they abandoned the games and rushed out of the city to the Quintilian palace where the emperor then was. To stop this multitude Cleander caused them to be charged by the German or prætorian guard; many persons were killed, many others wounded, and the great rabble turned back into the city. To disperse them still more utterly the cavalry followed them into the streets. Assailed by a shower of stones and tiles from the house-tops, attacked by the soldiers of the urban cohorts who made common cause with the people, they fell back in disorder, upon which the crowd again turned in the direction of the palace, mingling cries of death to

¹ Another had occurred in 182. Cf. Or-Henzen, No. 5,489. It would seem that the great plague which had ravaged Rome in the reign of Marcus Aurelius left behind it centres of contagion, whence it again appeared from time to time under Commodus.

Cleander with expressions of affection for the emperor. A concubine of Commodus made known to him the riot in the city, the danger that might threaten himself, and the means of avoiding it. Commodus caused his favourite to be slain and threw out the



Commodus.¹

body to the populace. For many hours the crowd bore through the city on the point of a spear the head of the all-powerful minister, and dragged the headless corpse through the streets. His son, a little boy brought up at court, had his brains dashed out on the pavement; those who had shared the fortune of the favourite, shared now in the ignominy of his death, and, after

¹ Marble bust found at Ostia. (Vatican, *Braccio nuovo*, No. 121.)

being the sport of the rabble, were dragged to the Gemonian stairs (189).¹

On the last day of the games Commodus, before descending into the arena, had given his club to Pertinax. Later, men remembered this, and saw in it a sign. The expiation was drawing near. The son of Marcus Aurelius, whom his biographer calls "more cruel than Domitian, more impure than Nero," was a wild beast who could not fail some day to be stricken down. Among the possessions of one of his victims Commodus had found a woman to whom he attached himself passionately, making her his concubine. This union, a sort of morganatic marriage recognized by the Roman world,² permitted Marcia to receive almost all the honours due to an empress.³ This woman, who seems to have possessed liberality of mind and determination, had gained an immense ascendancy over the weak soul of the imbecile buffoon; her medals, which perhaps are portraits, reveal a strong character, and we have seen with what energy she acted in the affair of Cleander. She was a Christian,⁴ in so far as this was possible for the mistress of Commodus; at least, she favoured the Christians, who owed to her



Commodus and Marcia.
(Bronze Medallion
in the Cabinet de France.)

¹ Alarmed by this riot, Commodus gave some care to the provisioning of Rome, as is proved by many medals representing him as Hercules, his right foot on the prow of a vessel and extending his hand to Africa, who is holding out ears of corn, with this legend: *Providentie Augusta*. Cf. Cohen, *Comm.*, at the Nos. 212, 213, 719, etc. We shall see that Septimius Severus kept very close watch over this supply.

² The condition of concubine had not all the civil effects of *justæ nuptiæ*, but it did not incur the disgrace attached to illegitimate connections . . . *nec adulterium per concubinatum . . . committitur, nam, quia concubinatus per leges nomen assumpsit, extra legis penam est* (*Digest*, xxv. 7, 3, § 1). It was really a kind of marriage, not suppressed until the time of Leo VI., the Philosopher. (Cf. Accarias, *Précis de droit romain*, vol. i. pp. 193-5.) It is possible the children followed, as in the morganatic marriages of our time, the condition of the mother, and were not subject to the father, *patria potestas*. The name of concubine had no disgrace attached to it. A widow inscribed on her husband's tomb, *concubina et heres*. (Fabretti, *Inscr.*, p. 337.) Jumentarius furnishes a burying-place for his brethren, their children *et uxoris concubiniſque*. (Wilmanus, 330.) Vespasian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius had had concubines before this time, and Constantius Chlorus and Constantine kept up the custom.

³ All, Herodian says, excepting that the sacred fire was not carried before her. Capitolinus (*Max. jun.*, 1) gives the detail of the costume of a Roman empress.

⁴ . . . πολλά τε ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν σπουδάζει. This testimony of Dion is confirmed by the

the tranquillity which they enjoyed during this reign. But, to keep the space around the throne vacant, these frenzied tyrants end by turning against themselves the instruments of their tyranny and of their pleasures. Marcia, Eclectus the chamberlain, Lætus the prefect of the guards, all felt themselves in danger. Is it probable that Commodus overheard some imprudent words? This is not known, but it is certain that he believed in the existence of a plot, which he called forth, if it did not already exist. Herodian relates in perhaps too dramatic a manner the last incident, which, without doubt, did but decide the day of execution.

Marcia.¹

On the eve of the Saturnalia Commodus formed the plan of going to pass the night in a school of gladiators, whence he would go forth in the morning for the day's *fête*, armed from head to foot, and preceded by all his comrades of the arena. Vainly did Marcia and those about him urge him most strenuously to abandon the unworthy design; he dismissed them angrily, and to put an end to this opposition to his will he wrote upon tablets the names of

the new victims who were to perish on the following night, placing at their head Marcia, Lætus, and Eclectus. When he left his bed-room to go to the bath he placed these tablets under his pillow. A child, whose sportive ways had amused the emperor, and who had the range of the palace, entered this room, discovered the tablets, and took them away for a plaything. Marcia met him and read the fatal list; in all haste she warned those whom Commodus had thus assigned to her as accomplices. They determined that, after the bath, she should present to the emperor a poisoned draught; the effect was merely to produce vomiting;

Philosophumena (ix. 12), who call her *φασγέας*, and relate that she sent a priest, the eunuch Hyacinthus, who brought her up, to deliver the Christian exiles of Sardinia. The measure seems to have been a general one. "Under Commodus," says Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, v. 21), "we enjoyed a profound tranquillity." (See chap. xc. *ad fin.*)

¹ From an engraved stone (amethyst, 18 mill. by 14) in the *Cabinet de France*. M. Charles Lenormant recognized Marcia in this intaglio, which was published by Mariette under the name of Sappho.

upon this they caused him to be strangled by a young and vigorous athlete (31st December, 192). His body, secretly removed from the palace, was hastily interred, and news was spread that Commodus had died of apoplexy. The senate, who yesterday offered incense to him, now pursued his memory with all maledictions;¹ they proposed to declare him a public enemy and cast his body into the Tiber. To this Pertinax objected, but his statues were thrown down and in every direction were dragged through the streets those figures representing him which by and by were again restored, especially in Africa, after Severus had made him a god. He was thirty-one years of age, the same age as Nero; Caracalla was killed at twenty-nine; Caligula at twenty-eight; Heliogabalus still younger, at twenty-one. Real tyrants seldom grow old.

Commodus has against him too many detestable things for us to omit the one good thing that can be said of him: he gave peace to the Christians and released those from prison whom his father had incarcerated.²



P. Charlier

Young Athlete. (Statue in the Museum of Naples.)

¹ The long enumeration may be read in Lampridius (18).

² See chap. xci. § 1. We read in Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, v. 21): "Apollonius was accused by a minister of the devil in a time when this was not permitted. Perennis sent the informer to execution; but he also referred Apollonius to the senate, to make answer on the subject of his faith, and the latter, refusing to abjure, had his head cut off, because it was forbidden by law to release Christians who had been accused, unless they should recant." The prætorian prefect punishes with death an accuser of the Christians, which must have intimidated those who might have felt inclined to follow his example. But Apollonius having publicly avowed his faith, he applies in the case the rescript of Trajan. This is certainly very precise jurisprudence.

From a more general point of view, his reign commences a new period in the history of the Empire. It is the end of the good days and the beginning of the days of misfortune. One single reign had sufficed to develop the fatal germ existing within the imperial monarchy, namely, the preponderating power of the army. This evil had appeared for the first time on the death of Nero, and had very nearly rent the Empire in pieces; the firm hand of Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian had for once suppressed it. It broke forth anew when an accident of birth or of public tumult brought to the head of the legions, instead of renowned and honoured emperors, a gladiator, such as Commodus, or a feeble and licentious Syrian like Heliogabalus. From the day when the soldier saw at close quarters the disgrace of his rulers and the base adulation of the senate, the power of the government and of the civil law gave way.

In the camps, the near presence of the enemy kept up somewhat of the early discipline; but in Rome, amidst the seductions of the great city, the prætorians had formed many habits which implied a great deal of licence. Pertinax alienated them when he forbade them to treat the citizens insolently. Commodus, on the other hand, whose sole defence they were against the nobles whom he was decimating, gave them fatal indulgence, and his distrust of the aristocracy obliged him to give the prætorian command to *parvenus*, and even to a freedman. These generals of fortune, in their turn, took their precautions against the emperor. They sought to make sure of their cohorts, and for this purpose, made them up of men from whom they could ask anything, for the reason that they themselves refused them nothing. They called into the ranks, once open only to Italians, then to the bravest provincials, the very barbarians: the chief of the band who rushed into the palace of Pertinax a few years later was a Tongrian. Soldiers like these must have cared far less for the honour of the Roman name than for the fear they might be able to inspire. Accordingly, the Empire still stands firm; but, in the presence of a senate whom the ruler degrades and of magistrates who have become powerless, a turbulent and rapacious soldiery will make, for the sake of gratifying their cupidity, revolutions which will ruin the provinces and lay open the frontiers to the barbarians. Military

order will soon supersede civil order. The Antonines had depended upon the senate, their successors relied upon the legions, and for a century all, with the exception of three only, will be the servants of the soldiers rather than their masters. The officers in their turn will bow before the men who make emperors; and so it will come about that from the political power of the armies will follow the ruin of discipline, and hence the ruin of the great military institution of Augustus and of Hadrian.¹

II.—PERTINAX AND DIDIVS JULIANUS (193).

The murderers of Commodus made haste to choose an emperor, Publius Helvius Pertinax, an old general, who appeared to have preserved to advanced life² vigour enough to make men feel secure that, after the excesses of youth, the Empire would not now suffer from any senile feebleness. Lætus led him to the prætorian camp.

Famous for his severity, Pertinax could not please the soldiery who regretted Commodus, but they had no candidate at hand for the imperial dignity, so that between the ruler who could no longer do anything for them and the one who promised them a *donativum*, they resigned themselves to the change that had taken place. As for the populace, they had applauded Commodus and they now hailed Pertinax: it was one show and one largess more.

In the case of Commodus we had an emperor's son; in the case of Pertinax we see the rise of a man of the lower ranks. The son of a freedman, a charcoal dealer at Alba Pompeia in Liguria, Pertinax began to gain a livelihood as a teacher of grammar; not succeeding very well at this, he asked and obtained the rank of centurion through the favour of a patron. His merit raised him rapidly to the first rank in the army, and so to the highest in the State. He became prefect of a cohort in Syria, commander of a squadron in Britain, and in Mœsia, commissioner in charge of the Æmilian road to superintend the distribution of alimentary pensions;³ later, he was chief of the flotilla of the Rhine, collector of

¹ "At this epoch," says Herodian (ii. 24), "began the corruption of the soldiers. From this time they showed an insatiable and shameful cupidity, and the greatest contempt for the emperor."

² He was sixty-six years of age. (Zonaras, xii. 7.)

³ This office of *proc. ad alim.* filled by Pertinax, which we find indicated in many inscrip-

tribute in Dacia with a salary of 200,000 sesterces, legionary tribune, senator, prætor, legate of a legion which distinguished itself under his authority in Rætia and Noricum, and, lastly, consul. His services at the time of the rebellion of Cassius against



The Emperor Pertinax.¹

Marcus Aurelius had given him the command of the army of the Danube, and then the government of the two Mœsias, of Dacia, and of Syria. Thus, at the age of fifty-four, he had filled a variety of public offices and had administered four consular provinces. His

tions (e.g., Or-Henzen, Nos. 3,190, 3,814, 6,524, and No. 1,456 of the *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. p. 235, *proc. ad alim. per Apul. Calabr., Luc. et Bruttios*, for a contemporary of Alexander Severus and Gordian III.), proves that the alimentary institution of Trajan was still in full vigour as late as the middle of the third century; but it was interrupted under Commodus (Lamp., *Comm.*, 16), and Pertinax found arrears of nine years which he could not pay (Capit., *Pert.*, 9).

¹ Colossal marble bust, found at Pozzuoli. (Museo Campana. H. d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 102.)

talents do not, however, appear to have been remarkable, and this rapid advancement proves only that the road to honour was open to all who knew how to pursue it.

He had not seen Rome since his appointment to the senate. When he returned thither he was reproached with having gained great wealth in his various employs. He had not conceived it his duty to ruin himself in the public service, and a strict economy had doubtless sufficed to bring him to fortune.² We may mention two facts to his honour: he kept his mother with him in his various promotions, and on erecting some fine buildings in his native city, he had the shop of his father, the charcoal dealer, inclosed within one of them.



Coin of Pertinax.¹

Perennis caused him to be sent into exile; but Commodus on that prefect's death recalled Pertinax and put him at the head of the turbulent legions of Britain. Later the emperor appointed him to watch over the provisioning of the city, *præfectus frumenti dandi*, gave him the proconsulship of Africa,³ and, as the highest honour, the prefecture of the city. By nature he was honest, destitute of ambitions, and somewhat penurious, as is the case with those who have made their fortunes slowly; but he was devoted to the public welfare, and would have been one of the best of rulers if he had been allowed to live, or if he had known how to defend himself.



Pertinax laurel-crowned. (Great Bronze.)

The imperial power alarmed him, he had no relish for it.⁴ In the senate he offered the Empire to Pompeianus, who had been the patron of his early years;⁵ and to Glabrio, who was reputed

¹ IMP. CAES. P. HELV. PERTIN. AVG. Laurelled head. On the reverse: AEQVIT. AVG. TR. P. COS. II. Equity standing, holding a balance and a cornucopia. Gold coin.

² Herodian (ii. 3) says that he was poor. His mother died while with him in Lower Germany, where her tomb was long to be seen. (Léon Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 272.)

³ In this province he had, according to Capitolinus (4), to repress many seditions caused *vaticinationibus earum quæ de templo Coelestis emergunt*.

⁴ *Horruisse illum imperium epistola docet*. Capitolinus, who speaks of this letter, unfortunately does not give it to us, the more so, because Julian in *The Caesars* accuses Pertinax of having been "the accomplice, at least in thought, in the conspiracy whereby the son of Marcus perished."

⁵ In respect to Pompeianus, cf. L. Renier, *Inscr. de Troesmis*, p. 5.

to be the descendant of Æneas; but these men were wise enough to decline the burdens and the perils. A few days later another senator venturing into the midst of the prætorians, the soldiers wished to make him emperor. Scarcely escaping from their hands, his toga torn to rags, he sheltered himself in the palace of Pertinax, and more surely to escape the imperial power fled from the city. Disinterestedness like this reveals a situation full of anxiety.

Pertinax refused for his wife the title of Augusta and that of Cæsar for his son. "When he has deserved it," the father said, "it will be time enough to give it to him."¹ All his own relations and servants remained in their humble condition; he gave up his own property to them, and remained simple in his habits of life. At news of his accession his compatriots from the Ligurian mountains, a rapacious race, hastened to Rome in crowds to draw profit from this fortune; but Pertinax sent them away as they came. He had the same duty to fulfil that had devolved upon Vespasian, namely, to restore order in the State, in the magistracies which had suffered from so many arbitrary appointments,² in the finances ruined by mad prodigality—in the treasury he had found only 1,000,000 sesterces. To procure the money which the soldiers and the people needed he sold his predecessor's favourites at auction, the accomplices or the victims of his debauchery, quite a harem; also the weapons of Commodus, his garments of silk and gold, his valuable furniture, and a thousand curiosities, among which we note carriages with a movable seat which turned easily in all directions, and also marked the hour and the distance passed over. Pertinax confiscated the property of the buffoons, made the freedmen disgorge their ill-gotten gains, and drove out of the palace all useless persons. The parasites who, under Commodus, lived at the emperor's table were bitterly exasperated at what they called the

¹ At Metz an inscription has been found giving the title of Augusta to the emperor's mother and that of Cæsar to his son. (Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*) These provincials believed that things had gone on as usual at Rome, and allowed themselves a flattery which they were sure would not be displeasing. Inscriptions bearing the name even of Pertinax are rare. One has lately been discovered in Africa: *Divo Helvio Pertinaci*; it belongs to the time when Severus called his father: *Divo Pertinaci Augusti patri*.

² Under Commodus many had been *adlecti inter prætorios*. He obliged them to take rank after those who had really acted as prætors. (Capit., *Pert.*, 6.) He doubtless made the same regulation in respect to the other magistracies, thus restoring order in the senate.

meanness of the new emperor, and slandered him incessantly. So immense were the resources of the Empire at this time, that less than three months of strict and economical administration enabled Pertinax to fulfil half of his promises to the prætorians,¹ to pay many public debts, and resume the works of public utility which had been suspended under Commodus. He suppressed many of the hindrances to commerce; he exempted from taxes for ten years those who should cultivate the deserted lands of Italy, and restored security by the rehabilitation of the victims of Commodus, the recall of exiles, the condemnation of informers, and the protection accorded to citizens against the insolence of the soldiery.

But this order, this economy, suited neither the prætorians nor the populace. Pertinax had ventured to forbid the former to carry weapons in the streets,² or to be insolent towards passers-by, and had said to them: "Many disorders have appeared in our age, with your aid I propose to correct them;" and his first pass-word had been: *militemus*, "let us be soldiers." In these words the soldiery had discerned an intention to bring them back to the early discipline and to warlike duties. In the case of the populace, Pertinax had suppressed the distribution of corn to children from nine years old, a measure introduced by Trajan. Lastly, he showed himself disinclined to be guided by Lætus, who regarded this distrust as a presage of disgrace, and from that time began intrigues among the prætorian cohorts. A conspiracy was originated, or at least, Falco, an ex-consul, was accused of aspiring to the Empire; the senate was about to condemn him when Pertinax interposed and swore that no senator should be put to death during his reign. A slave having accused many prætorians of complicity in the designs of Falco, Lætus caused them to be put to death, throwing upon the prince the odium of the execution. Being ill-paid and feeling themselves objects of suspicion, they resolved to rid themselves of a parsimonious emperor and of all anxiety for their own lives. Three hundred repaired in arms to the palace; there were guards enough there to drive back this handful of insurgents; but all the servants of the palace, whom Dion calls the Cæsarians, ruined by the economy of their master, opened the gates to the assassins. Pertinax

¹ *Promisit duodena millia nummum, sed dedit sena* (Capit., *Pert.*, 15).

² . . . μήτε πελίκας φέρειν μετὰ χεῖρας (Herod., ii. 4).

believed that he could stop them by going out to meet them unarmed. The sight of the emperor did indeed produce an effect upon them. Many of them had already sheathed their swords, when a Tongrian soldier rushed upon the emperor and wounded him. Immediately all hesitation was at an end; all struck at him, and his head, borne on a spear, was carried out to the prætorian camp. He had reigned eighty-seven days (28th of March, 193).

There was in Rome at this time a senator by name Julianus,¹ of great wealth and noble lineage, for he was descended from



Manlia Scantilla,
Wife of Didius Julianus.²

Hadrian's great juriconsult, and had been brought up in the household of Domitia Lucilla, the mother of Marcus Aurelius. He was a man of small mind and puerile vanity, to whom life had taught nothing. He filled however not discredibly the highest offices in the State, governed many provinces, defeated some German tribes, and at a time of life which should have been for him the age of wisdom, sixty years, suffered himself to be dragged to the abyss by the ambition of his wife, the haughty Manlia Scantilla, who was eager to change her husband's laticlave for the imperial purple.

Although the Empire had been often bought, it had not as yet been publicly put up at auction: Rome was now about to witness this disgrace. To tranquillize the prætorians, Pertinax had sent out to their camp his father-in-law Sulpicianus, who was the prefect of Rome. This senator again was one of those commonplace persons who, ignoring the obligations of power, see only its glitter. When the head of Pertinax was shown to him, he proposed instantly to buy of the murderers the imperial purple which had just been dipped in the blood of his son-in-law. The rumour of this spread quickly, and Julianus hastened to enter the lists as his rival. Then began a scene without name, and fortunately

¹ Marcus Didius Severus Julianus. (*C. I. L.*, vol. vi. No. 1,401.)

² Bust in the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 47.

without parallel. Julianus was on the top of the wall and Sulpicianus was in the camp; and the two bid against each other. Messengers passed between the two, saying: "He offers so much; what will you give?" And, "The other goes higher; will you go higher still?" They went as far as 5,000 drachmæ, or 20,000 sesterces, and the offers being equal, the soldier hesitated, sure to get more in the end for his commodity; finally, Julianus routed his adversary by a bold advance of 1,250 drachmæ. He cried the sum from the top of the wall; he counted it on his fingers, that those who could not hear might see, and he threw down to them his tablets on which he had written that he would rehabilitate the memory of Commodus, while Pertinax would unquestionably be avenged by Sulpicianus. The latter dared not go further. Each prætorian was therefore to receive by this bargain about £250. "There had been a time when the senate had proclaimed the sale of a piece of ground which was part of the territory of the State: it was the field whereon Hannibal was encamped."¹ We may well find this scene disgraceful; but we must admit that the *donativum*, whose origin we have seen, was a practice from which no emperor could escape. The odious feature is not the sum, but the auction. Marcus Aurelius gave almost as much,² and among nations who are very free, who are even very proud, men buy a portion of power, if not from the prætorians—who, happily, no longer exist—at least from the electors.

The decision being made, the soldiers brought a ladder so that the purchaser might come down inside the camp and receive the oaths of his new guards and also the imperial insignia. They caused him to appoint two prætorian prefects chosen by themselves, after which they opened the gates, and with standards displayed and in order of battle conducted their new leader to the senate, whom they presented under the name of evil omen, Commodus. They took the precaution, however, to make him swear that he would bear no ill-will towards his competitor. It was wise not to discourage those who might be tempted to renew this shameful traffic.

¹ Chateaubriand, *Études historiques*.

² Twenty thousand sesterces. See vol. v. p. 169, and for the value of the sesterce, vol. iv. p. 790, n. 4. Now the 1,250 drachmæ of Julianus are only 5,000 sesterces more.

Many senators trembled, among others our historian Dion, who had often had occasion to sue Julianus in court. They loved Pertinax and considered his successor ridiculous. They were also shocked at the bargain which had just been concluded. But all the approaches to the curia, and even the senate-house itself, were filled with soldiers. The senators hastened to welcome the new emperor, to admire his foolish speeches, and to lavish upon him the wonted acclamations. Julianus finally went up to the palace; there finding the supper which had been made ready for Pertinax, he ridiculed the simplicity of the repast, ordered another to be prepared, and played with dice within a few steps of the spot where lay the dead body of his predecessor;¹ but, from the morrow on, came to him the terrible cares of a disputed authority, and but a few days later the anguish of a near and inevitable death.



Reverse of a Coin of Julianus bearing the Legend: *Rector orbis*. (Large Bronze.)

He had made no promises to the people, who were wounded in their dignity by this offensive neglect. When he presented himself on the following day in the curia, the crowd received him with loud outcries, calling him usurper and parricide. He took matters easily at first, and assured them that he would give them money. "We will have none," they cried, filled with unwonted disinterestedness, "we will not accept it." Upon this he ordered the troops to disperse them, and many were wounded; the others fled and took refuge in the circus. Dion asserts that they remained there all night and through the following day, invoking the gods, and—which would have been more useful—the military leaders, especially Pescennius Niger, or the Black, who was at this time far away in Syria. They were let alone, and the feeble riot subsided.

Meanwhile the imperial mint coined money representing the new ruler with a laurel wreath and the lying inscription: *Rector orbis*, while others had the legend: *Concordia militaris*; but, of the world, all that Julianus possessed was merely the space on which stood the palace in which he had just taken up his residence,

¹ Spartian represents him as frugal and thoughtful, but at the end of his account speaks otherwise. Herodian confirms Dion, whom he often copies.

and the military concord existed only against him. The legions of the frontiers had just obtained the idea of what was meant by the election of an emperor, and they did not propose to leave to the prætorians all the advantages of this profitable traffic. Very strong armies, each consisting of three legions, occupied Britain, Upper Pannonia,¹ and Syria, under the famous generals Albinus, Severus, and Pescennius Niger.



Concordia militaris.²

When news came that within three months two emperors had been assassinated and that a third had bought the Empire, there was a general movement of disgust towards the senate who had accepted all this. This feeling showed itself especially in the camps of the Danube, where Pertinax had commanded and had left an honourable memory.



Concordia militaris. (Reverse of a Large Bronze of Didius Julianus.)

Then recurred the scenes that had taken place on the death of Nero. Two of the armies, those of Pannonia and Syria, proclaimed their generals (April, 193), and the third would have done the same had not Severus skilfully negotiated with Albinus. At the same time that Severus made sure of the neutrality of the army in Britain he gained the assistance of the legions adjacent to his command, so that in a few days he found himself possessor of nearly half the military strength of the Empire.³ His cause, therefore, was already gained when he set out for Rome, preceded by the declaration that he was coming to avenge Pertinax.⁴ Secret emissaries had withdrawn his children from the



Didius Julianus, laurel-crowned. (Bronze.)

¹ Spartian (*Sev.*, 4), Herodian (ii. 33), and Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, v. p. 368), represent Severus as governor of both Pannonias; but Dion, who commanded in Upper Pannonia, gives him only this province and speaks of but three legions as under his orders. If he had had the two Pannonias he would have had four legions.

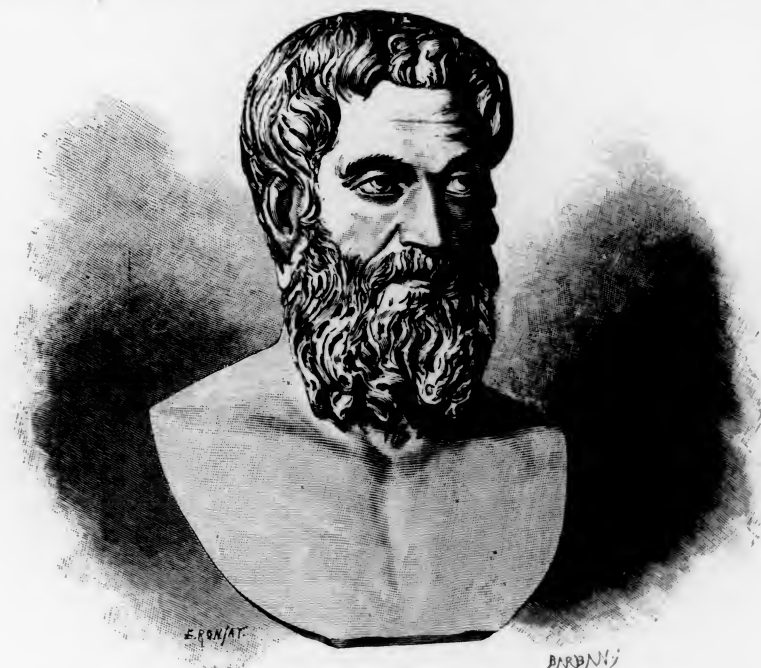
² CONCORD. MILIT. Concord standing between two standards. Reverse of a gold coin of Didius Julianus.

³ "The fourteen legions who proclaimed Septimius Severus, and to whom the new Augustus gave the *donativum*, were the ten legions guarding the Danube and the four legions on the Rhine." (Robert, *les Légions du Rhin*, p. 46.) M. de Célèner, *Essai sur la vie de Sévère*, counts sixteen legions. Spartian says (*Sev.*, 5) that it was necessary to urge Severus, *repugnans*. He doubtless borrowed this word from the emperor's autobiography.

⁴ *excipiebatur ab omnibus quasi ultor Pertinacis* (Spart., *ibid.*, 5; cf. Herod., ii.

city before the news of his elevation to the imperial power could reach there.

Julianus caused him to be declared a public enemy by the senate, and at once began his preparations; labourers were set at work digging a moat around the city; the gladiators from Capua were called in, mere bandits on whom no reliance could be placed;



Pescennius Niger. (Bust of the Vatican, Hall of Busts, No. 292.)

the soldiers from the fleet at Misenum were sent for, who made themselves ridiculous by their awkwardness in handling the javelin; and the elephants of the circus were armed for war, but very unsuccessfully, as they threw off the towers which were placed on their backs. Julianus even caused the palace to be barricaded, in sign of the desperate resistance he would make to the enemy even after an entrance had been effected into the city. The prætorians ought to have set him the example, but they were rich, habituated

9, 10). He even assumed the name of Pertinax, which we find on many of his inscriptions. Cf. L. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigr.*, pp. 180 et seq.

to an indolent life, and to pay for having their tasks done for them, while they insulted the people, whose terror they were.¹ As a pledge of the maintenance of his alliance with them, Julianus put to death Lætus and Marcia, the murderers of Commodus. At the same time he consulted the magicians, sacrificed children as victims, and despatched assassins to Severus² and senators to entice away his troops, and the prætorian prefect to defend Ravenna, the outpost where the fleet of the Adriatic was stationed. But Severus was on his guard, and advanced rapidly. Proclaimed at Carnuntum (near Vienna) on the 13th of April, he was obliged to employ ten or twelve days in negotiating with the legions of Upper Germany and in putting his army in motion. However, he arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital before the 1st of June, so that his troops must have made from Vienna to Rome in less than seven weeks, a distance of 266 leagues, or six leagues and a half on each day's march without intermission. This rapid march of a numerous army unexpectedly advancing through a



Coin of Didius Julianus.³

country proves the abundance of provisions that agriculture and commerce could bring together at a moment's notice; it proves also the good condition of the roads and the subjection of the provinces, that is to say, the prosperity and calm of the Empire during the storms of Rome. Still further, it shows the admirable discipline in which Severus held his legions, that he could lay upon them such fatigues without exciting a murmur of discontent.

This rapidity check-mated all resistance. Severus crossed the Alps, the Adige, and the Po, without meeting any opposition, and entered Ravenna before the arrival in that city of the prefect who had been sent from Rome. Thus Julianus saw the narrow limits growing even narrower in which it was permitted to him to live and reign.

The last news overwhelmed him. Anxious, irresolute, he sought

¹ Dion, lxxiii. 16; Spart., *Did. Jul.*, 5.

² *Aquilium centurionem notum cædibus ducum miserat* (Spart., *Pescenn. Nig.*, 2).

³ IMP. CÆS. M. DID. IVLIAN. AVG. Laurelled head. On the reverse: RECTOR ORBIS. Julianus standing, holding a globe. Gold coin.

advice, but the senate would give none; he offered the Empire to Pompeianus, who replied: "I am too old, and my sight is too weak." Reduced to the miserable hope of conciliating his formid-



Septimius Severus.¹

able adversary by begging for his life and a share of the power, he formed the idea, like Vitellius, of sending the Vestals to meet Severus and naming him at once his colleague.²

The Conscript Fathers hastened this time to defer to his wish,

¹ Bust of marble with alabaster chlamys found at Rome under the church of S. Francis of Assisi. (Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 50.)

² He also bestowed all honours upon the maternal grandfather of Severus. (Dion, lxxiii. 17.)

and he sent to the new Augustus the senate's decree by the hand of one of the praetorian prefects, who was suspected of meditating assassination under a show of friendliness. But the decree was scornfully rejected and the bearer of it put to death.

Meanwhile, to avoid making Rome the scene of a sanguinary conflict, as in the time of Vespasian, Severus prepared a movement there in his favour. He wrote to the magistrates; he sent edicts which were publicly posted; he named a prefect of the praetorian guard whom the trembling Julianus acknowledged; and he made known to the praetorians that he would pardon them if they would surrender the murderers of Pertinax. As base as their emperor, the guards at once seized the 300 and came to tell the consul Messala that their comrades were in chains. This was the end. "Immediately," says Dion Cassius, "Messala called us together and made known to us what the soldiers had done; upon which we decreed the death of Julianus and gave the imperial power to Severus and divine honour to Pertinax." Julianus was killed in his bed, saying only: "What wrong have I committed?" (2nd June, 193). He had held the Empire sixty-six days,¹ and did not deserve to retain it longer. It was already too much that he should have had the right to inscribe his name on the list of emperors. History must in its turn execute justice upon these adventurers who wish for power only that they may enjoy it; ambition without talents is a crime.

III.—SEVERUS; WARS AGAINST ALBINUS, NIGER, AND THE PARTHIANS.

Once more we have a real man upon the imperial throne; but, harsh to others and to himself, he will make good his name by his inexorable sternness, an administrator of justice after the fashion of Tiberius and Louis XI.

Since the extinction of the family of the Cæsars we have seen upon the throne Italian, Spanish, and Gallic emperors; at last comes the turn of the African. Lucius Septimius Severus was born at

¹ Dion, lxxii. 17. Zonaras (xii. 7) says sixty. Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, represent him as killed in battle at the Milvian bridge, which proves great lack of the critical faculty on the part of these historians.

Leptis, April 11th, 146, in a family which had long been decorated with the laticlave, though without abandoning the province where lay their property and their influence and where their renown



Septimius Severus in Cuirass. (Statue in the Museum of Munich.)

had begun. One of its members, however, had acquired notoriety enough at Rome in the time of Domitian to be celebrated by Statius in his verses.¹ But this Severus, quite another man from ours, is called by the poet "the gentle Septimius." Until his fourteenth year the future emperor remained in Africa, studying Greek and Latin literature without forgetting his native speech, whose accent he retained through life, so that Rome was about to have an emperor speaking the language of Hannibal.²

Of this he was not at all ashamed; the great Carthaginian was his hero, and he erected a

marble statue in honour of him. Very credulous, like all his contemporaries, in the matter of presages, he was also very resolute to put himself in a condition to respond to the advances of fortune,³ which is the best way of making dreams come true.

¹ *Silv.*, iv. 5.

² Tzetzes, *Chil.*, i. 27. The emperor's sister could with difficulty speak the Latin language, *vir latine loquens* (Spart., *Sev.*, 15), and his son Caracalla caused many pictures of Hannibal to be made. (Herod., iv. 8.)

³ *Omnibus sortibus nactus* (Spart., *Sev.*, 2), he was accused during the reign of Commodus of having consulted the Chaldeans to know whether he should succeed to the Empire. (*Ibid.*, 4.)

At Rome he studied law under an eminent juriconsult, Q. Scaevola. The gravity of his character appeared in the affection he conceived while attending this famous school for a fellow-student, who was destined later to eclipse the master. The tie of friendship was lifelong, and Papinian's friendship protects, in our minds, the memory of Severus. Three of his uncles had been consuls, and one of them obtained for the young man the office of quaestor and so an entrance into the senate (172). The career of public honours was thus opened to him at the age of twenty-seven; but we shall not follow him in it; this *cursus honorum* is already familiar to us, and we are interested only in the ruler. We need only notice that in 189 he was *consul suffectus* under Commodus.

While Julianus was dying in Rome Severus was approaching the city. The senate sent out a hundred of its members to meet him at Interamna, twenty leagues from Rome, and renew to him their oaths of fidelity.

He received them surrounded by 600 of his most faithful troops, who had the duty of keeping watch upon suspicious persons. Introduced into the centre of this menacing band, the deputies were obliged to submit to search that it might be made sure that they had no weapons. After this affront it is true that each of them received a present of eighty pieces of gold (nearly £80), but this first interview between the senate and the emperor did not inaugurate a reign of mutual confidence; and it will be shown that the rivals of Septimius always found partisans among the Conscrip't Fathers.

The murderers of Pertinax had been already beheaded; the other praetorians Septimius ordered to come and meet him at a designated place, where the legions of Illyria silently surrounded them, while another band went by unfrequented roads to take possession of the real citadel of imperial Rome, their entrenched camp between the Viminal and Colline gates. When secure of having them at his mercy, he ascends his tribunal; he reproaches them angrily for their perfidy towards the late emperor, then orders them to lay down their arms¹ and accoutrements, even to their military belts. These useless soldiers, just now so vain in their

¹ That is to say, the short sword which they wore at the right side: their fighting arms they had left in the camp, in the *armamentarium*.

splendid array, who had so often brought terror to emperor and senate and people, were thus conquered without the striking of a blow. Degraded amidst the derision of the legionaries, mocked by the people, who saw these formidable giant-killers reduced to their mere tunics, they escaped as best they could to places of refuge; penalty of death was pronounced against any who, after a certain number of days, should be found within the hundredth mile-stone from Rome; and some took their own lives from shame.

The prætorian cohorts were disbanded. But Severus quickly reconstituted them out of different material. Up to his time they had been recruited chiefly from Italy;¹ he decreed that, as a reward for military services, picked men from all the legions should be enrolled there. This was a wise measure; the guards of modern sovereigns are thus composed. Since, for more than a century, the provinces had given emperors to Rome, it was natural that they should also furnish prætorians. Severus employed the new cohorts in all his wars, but he left them the character of a permanent garrison of Rome, and so the danger remained the same. We shall see whether he augmented it, indeed, by raising the number of the prætorians to 40,000.

"At the city's gates," says Dion Cassius, "Severus dismounted from his horse, and laid aside his military dress before entering Rome; but his whole army followed him into the city. It was the most imposing sight I ever saw. Throughout the city were garlands of flowers and laurel-wreaths; the houses, adorned with hangings of different colours, were resplendent with the fire of sacrifices and the light of torches. The citizens, clad in white, filled the air with acclamations, and the soldiers advanced in martial order, as if at a triumph. We senators headed the procession, wearing the insignia of our rank."²

Meanwhile emissaries of the new ruler, scattered through the crowd, related all the signs that had been given him of his approaching honours. Soldiers are fatalists, and have need to be so; Severus firmly believed in presages, but he especially wished

¹ Also they were drawn from Spain, Macedonia, and Noricum. (Dion, lxxiv. 2.)

² Dion, lxxiv. 1. This writer, of more value for this reign than for those preceding it, is now our principal authority. Gibbon has yielded too much to the temptation of employing Herodian's rhetoric in adorning his history.

men to believe in those which were favourable to himself. In his *Memoirs*, which are lost to us, he related with complacency the celestial signs, the dreams and oracles which had predicted his fortune, and he caused them to be represented in pictures which he exhibited in Rome, in order to show the world that the gods themselves had announced, and therefore had decreed, the advent of the new imperial dynasty.

Dion is right in representing to us the entry of Severus into Rome as a triumph. It was in fact the definitive victory and this time the open victory of the military power; but to the honour of Severus it was a victory unaccompanied by tears. Only a small number of guilty persons had perished.¹

The character of the new reign was soon revealed. Vainly did Severus show himself very civil towards the senate,² declare that he should take Marcus Aurelius and Pertinax for his examples, and solemnly promise that he would never put to death a member of the high assembly; the licence of the soldiery proved what these words were worth. Feeling that they were the victors of the day, they treated Rome like a conquered city. They established themselves in the temples and palaces and porticoes as if they were taverns, took whatever they wanted, and when called upon for payment, drew their swords. While Severus, surrounded by his armed friends, was haranguing the Conscript Fathers in the curia, the soldiers with shouts and threats came to demand from the senate 10,000 sesterces apiece. This was what the soldiers of Octavius received, and the army now felt that they had won a second battle of Actium and merited a like recompense. Much as Severus had



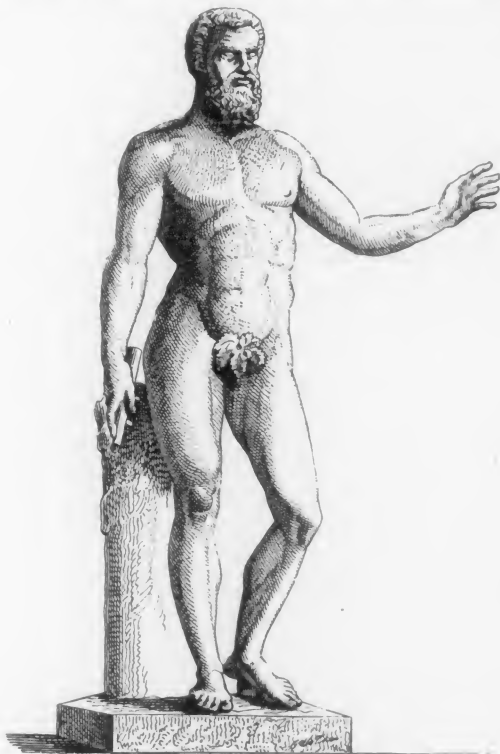
Funeral Pile of Pertinax.
(Large Bronze.)

¹ Spartian says (*Sev.*, 8) that the friends of Julianus, accused in the senate by Severus, were despoiled of their estates and put to death. Dion says only: *τοὺς μὲν χειροφυλάκοντας τὸ κατὰ τὸν Περτινῶνα ἔργον θανάτῳ ἐξημίωσε* (lxxiv. 1), and speaks of no further executions until those of the civil war. It was probably at that time that the senator Julius Solon perished. (*Ibid.*, 2.)

² Civil he almost always was, at least in words. In the case of a *relatio* which he made later to the senate, on a question of civil law, he said: *cui rei obviam ibitur, patres conscripti, si censueritis* (*Fragm. Vatic. jur. Rom.* of Cardinal Mai, No. 158). Hubner (*de Senatus populi Romani actis*, pp. 75 et seq.) gives the chronological list of the emperor's communications to the senate.

already given them,' he was with great difficulty able to content them with 1,000 sesterces apiece.

A few days later funeral honours were paid to Pertinax. Severus had ordered a shrine to be erected to his predecessor, that he should have a statue of gold in the circus, and that in all

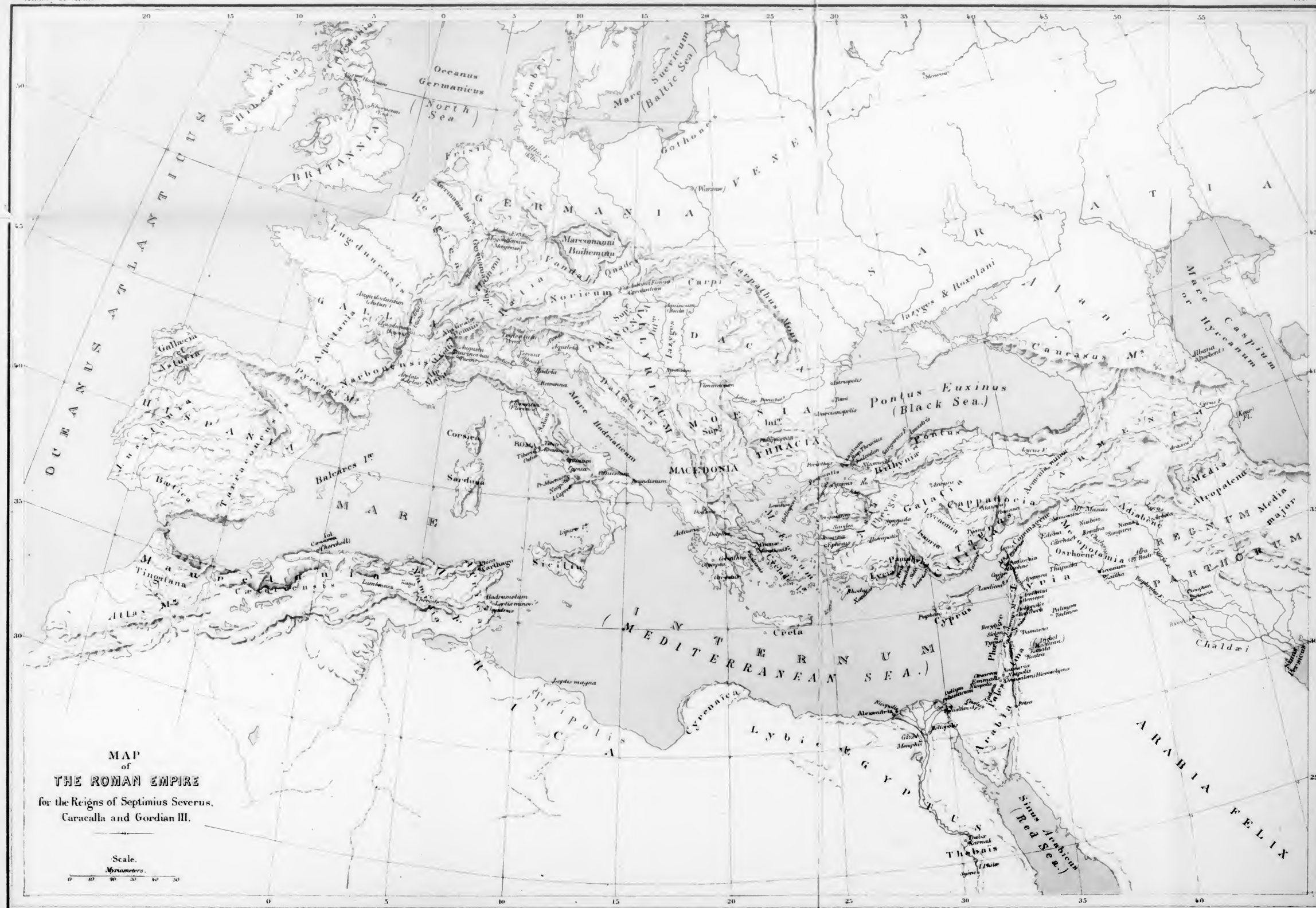


Pertinax Deified.²

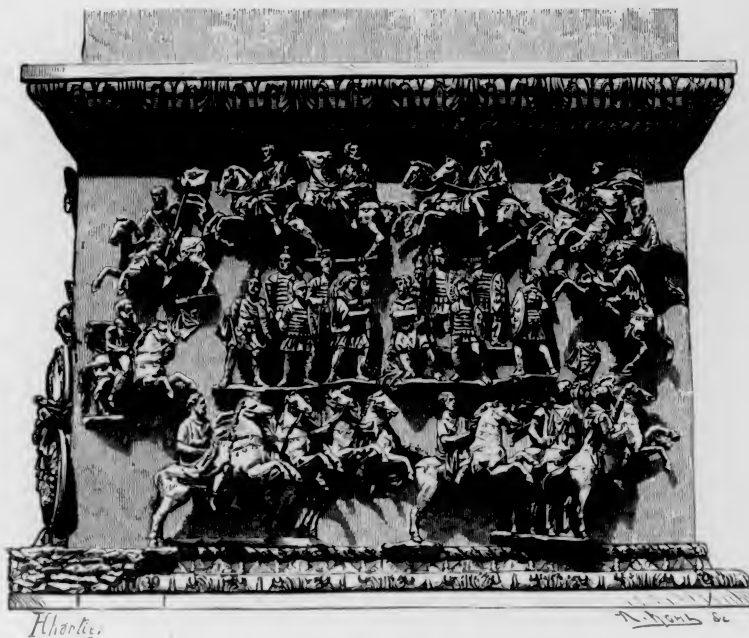
prayers and oaths his name should be invoked. In the forum an edifice was constructed with a peristyle adorned with ivory and gold, in which was placed the image of Pertinax arrayed in triumphal robes on a couch covered with tapestry of purple and gold. As if he had only been asleep, a handsome young slave kept away the flies from the waxen face with a fan of peacock's

¹ Spart., *Sev.*, 5.

² Statue in Pentelic marble, on which the antique head is set on. (Museum of the Louvre; Clarac, No. 466.)



feathers. "The emperor and we, the senators, with our wives, all arrayed in mourning garments, seated ourselves around this building, the women under the porticoes, we in the open space, and the procession began to move. First were carried the figures of



Procession of the Knights at an Emperor's Funeral.¹

Romans venerated since the earliest times; then followed choirs of boys and men singing a funeral hymn; then bronze busts representing all the conquered peoples in their national costumes. Then were borne the busts of those who had distinguished themselves by their discoveries, then the standards of corporations,² the

¹ Bas-relief from the Antonine column, representing the procession of the knights at the funeral of Antoninus. (Vatican.)

² . . . ἀνδρῶν . . . οἷς τι ἔργον ἢ καὶ ἐξέυρημα ἢ καὶ ἐπιτήδευμα λαμπρὸν ἐπέπρακτο . . . καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει σὺστήματα (Dion, lxxiv. 4). This singular passage will be noticed, and the presence in this procession of corporations or trades; these two phrases confirm what we have said of the importance of the humble trades at Rome. In the triumphs of Gallienus and Aurelian in Rome, in the entry of Constantine into Autun, the *collegia*, preceded by their banners (*verilla*), had their place in the procession. (Hist. Aug., Gall., 8, and Aurel., 34; *Panegyrici veteres*, viii. 8: . . . *omnium signa collegiorum*.)

infantry, the cavalry, the horses of the circus, and lastly, a gilded altar adorned with ivory and precious stones.

"After this imposing procession, Severus ascended the rostra and read a eulogy on Pertinax, which we repeatedly interrupted with our acclamations. At its close we repeated our applause mingled with sobs and groans. The magistrates in charge then took up the funeral bed and gave it to the knights to carry it into the Campus Martius, where the funeral pile had been prepared. Some of us walked in advance; some smote upon their breasts; others sang a funereal chant to the sound of flutes; the emperor came last.

"The funeral pile, in the form of a tower of three stories, adorned with gold, ivory, and statues, bore on the top a gilded car driven by Pertinax. The bed having been placed upon the funeral pile with all that is usually placed near the dead, the emperor and the relatives of Pertinax kissed the waxen image. Then the magistrates with their insignia, the equestrian order, the cavalry and the infantry defiled past the spot (*decursio*); then the consuls applied the fire, and an eagle escaping from the flames rose into the skies. Thus Pertinax was raised to the rank of the immortals."¹

Dion is a poor writer, but we have borrowed from him this page as representing the customs of the time. We remark that at imperial funerals the senators represented the hired mourners of humbler obsequies. This serious people were gratified with cries and gestures, a forced expression of grief or joy, even when neither the grief nor the joy were sincere; and their descendants love them still.

Of the new emperor's two rivals, Albinus and Niger, one had been kept inactive by deceitful promises, and the other, at the head of nine legions and numerous auxiliaries, had been acknowledged by all of Roman Asia, and in the Greek cities was already coining money with Latin legends promising him victory and eternity, *Æternus Augusta* and *Invicto Imperatori*.² He had even set foot in Europe by the occupation of Byzantium, and his troops were marching upon Perinthus.

¹ Dion, lxxiv. 4 and 5. Cf. the account given by Herodian (iv. 3) of the funeral of Severus.

² Eckhel, vii. p. 154, and Cohen, iii. pp. 213 and 217, Nos. 1 and 20.

Respect for adversaries was not a virtue of the ancients; the rival emperors insulted each other like Homeric heroes before the combat. "He is only a mountebank of Antioch," Severus said of his rival. But in reality he valued the other's abilities very



Pescennius Niger, laureled.
(Gold Coin.)



The Augustan Eternity.¹



The Invincible Emperor.²

highly,³ and considered him a formidable adversary. Niger, in fact, a soldier of fortune, had passed through all the grades, meriting the praise of Marcus Aurelius, of Commodus, and even of Severus himself. He was a vigilant guardian of discipline. On one occasion he condemned two tribunes to be stoned who had secured some profit out of the commissariat department,⁴ and had it not been for the entreaties of the army he would have beheaded some soldiers who had stolen a fowl. On another occasion his legionaries demanded wine. "You have water," he said to them, "is not that enough?" Never under his command did the soldiery require wood, or oil, or forced labour from the people of the provinces. In Rome, where men remembered that he was an Italian, Niger found partisans,⁵ and his affable manners had made him popular wherever he had held command. Dion doubtless ascribes to the crowd his own sentiments and those of a portion of the senate when he shows the people, after a quarrel with the soldiers of Julianus, calling Niger



*Saculo frugifero.*⁶
(Reverse of a Large
Bronze of Albinus.)

¹ Reverse of a denarius of Pescennius Niger: a crescent and seven stars.

² Reverse of a silver coin of Pescennius Niger; legend: INVICTO IMP. TROPHAEA, surrounding a trophy.

³ Spartian (Nig., 4 and 5) asserts that during an illness at the beginning of the war, Severus wished, if he should die, to have Niger for his successor, and that, after his first successes, he offered the latter *tutum exilium si ab armis recederet*.

⁴ See, later, the letter of Severus to Coelus. Spartian also gives a letter from Marcus Aurelius very honourable to Niger.

⁵ "To the Fruitful Age." Felicity standing, holds a cornucopia and a cornucopia.

⁶ Spart., Nig., 3; *ibid.*, 2: . . . *Roma fructum est a senatoribus*. His father had been *curator* at Aquinum. He himself had begun his career by the rank of centurion.

to the aid of the Republic. In any case, one good sword was of more value than all the wishes of the people-king, and if they expressed any on this subject, they did but irritate Severus without being of use to Niger. Indolence has been ascribed to the governor of Antioch and the effeminate Syrian provinces; but even before his rival had quitted Rome, the prompt and well-judged measures of Niger had assured to him Asia and Egypt, had opened Europe, had guaranteed the neutrality of the Armenians, the succour of the princes and Arab chiefs of Mesopotamia, and even alliances beyond the Tigris.¹ He had not, therefore, in the delights of Daphne forgotten the terrible part which he had resolved to play.



Liberalitas Augusta. (Reverse of a Coin of Septimius Severus.)

Severus had directed his lieutenants to organize resistance in Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, and a legion sent into Africa guarded for him that granary of Rome. However, he had not a moment to lose; and so, thirty days after his entrance into Rome, he left it, "to reduce to order the Oriental provinces." He left behind him a distrustful senate, but a people glutted with feasts and rejoicing in an abundant harvest.³ For more than a month his troops had been on the march towards the Propontis. They arrived in time to save Perinthus, and drive the enemy back into Byzantium, which was at once blockaded by Marius Maximus.⁴ Negotiations opened by

¹ The Parthian king had promised aid; the king of Atræ had sent him archers; the Adiabeni and some independent tribes had declared for him. (Spart., *Sev.*, 9; Herod., iii. 1.)

² Gold coin; Liberty bearing a *tessera* and a cornucopia. (Cohen, iii. 253.)

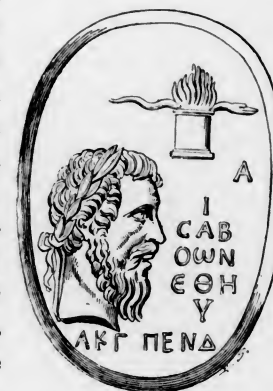
³ For this same year, 193, we have coins of Albinus and of Niger with the legend: *Sæculo frugifero, Cereri frugiferae*.

⁴ Upon the question whether this Marius Maximus should be identified with the historian of that name so often quoted in the *Augustan History*, see Borghesi, vol. v. p. 475; Henzen, 5,502; L. Renier, Spon's ed., p. 397; and, for the opposite opinion, Budinger, *Untersuchungen zur Röm. Kaiserg.*, vol. iii. pp. 30-33. The lieutenant of Severus commanded with the title of *dux* a corps drawn from the legions of the two Mæsiæ. This title, which we meet for the first time under Hadrian, a title which in the time of the Gordians made part of the official hierarchy, designates not an imperial legate at the head of the legions of his government, but a general intrusted with the command of a special expedition, but with no other *imperium* than that which he exercised over his soldiers. Cf. Borghesi, vol. v. p. 462. Under Marcus Aurelius, Candidus, another lieutenant of Severus, had been *præpositus copiarum*. (Orelli, No. 798, and vol. iii. p. 78.) Two other inscriptions, in Gruter (p. 389, 2), and in Marini (*Iscriz. Alb.*, p. 50), give the title of *dux* to Tib. Cl. Candidus and to L. Fabius Cilo in the time of Septimius Severus. No earlier mention of this title is known. (L. Renier, Spon's ed. of 1858, p. 200. Cf. Henzen, *Annali*, vol. xxii. p. 40.) The principal lieutenant of Niger was the

Niger having failed,¹ the rest of the army crossed the Hellespont in the fleets of Ravenna and Misenum, and it does not appear that Niger disputed their passage. A victory was gained by them near Cyzicus, and then a second in the neighbourhood of Nicæa, in which engagement Niger commanded in person.

Five centuries earlier Alexander had conquered near this spot, making himself master of Asia Minor. The double defeat of Niger now threw him back, as Darius had been driven after the battle of the Granicus, across the Taurus. In the gorges of the mountains he made entrenchments at the Cilician Gates, which he believed would be impregnable; but a torrent, swollen by a violent rain, made a breach through which the Illyrians entered. In a third action, near Issus, the Asiatic legions, notwithstanding the advantage of number and of position, could not sustain the onset, and lost 20,000 men. Niger fled to Antioch, and was proposing to seek an asylum among the Parthians when he was seized and beheaded. His head, carried into the camp before Byzantium, was exhibited to the besieged, but the sight did not intimidate them (194). As in almost all engagements between the legions of Europe and Asia, the latter were conquered.

Severus seems not to have been present at any of these engagements, not through fear, but through confidence in his generals, and doubtless in order to remain within reach of couriers from Gaul and Italy who might bring him news of some storm gathering in the west.³



Pescennius Niger.²

proconsul of Asia, Asellius Æmilianus, who was killed at Cyzicus. (Dion, lxxiv. 6. Cf. Waddington, *Fastes des prov. asiat.*, p. 245.)

¹ He demanded a share of the Empire, but Severus would grant nothing except *tutum exilium* (Spart., *Nig.*, 5).

² Engraved stone (red jasper, 31 mill. by 22). *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,099. In the upper part an altar; in the midst of flames, the serpent of Æsculapius. In the field, two inscriptions, thus interpreted by Charles Lenormant: To Æsculapius, Julius Sabinus, diviner, has consecrated (this stone), for the health of the Emperor Cæsar Caius Pescennius Niger, the Just." The intaglio is, therefore, an *ex-voto*. Cf. *Trésor de Numismatique, Icon. rom.*, pl. xli. p. 75, and Chabouillet, *op. cit.* pp. 272-3.

³ He seems to have remained for some time at Perinthus, a city well selected under the

Many Eastern cities involved themselves in this civil war, for the purpose of gratifying those local feuds and inveterate jealousies to which all history bears witness. Thus Nicæa, Laodicea, Tyre, and Samaria took sides with Severus, because Nicomedia, Antioch, Berytus, and Jerusalem had declared for his rival. In Palestine the Jews and Samaritans fought with one another fiercely. In the west Albinus found 150,000 Britons, Gauls, and Spaniards to follow his fortunes, while others followed the fortunes of Severus.



Coin of the Colony of Laodicea.¹

Thus it happened every time that the imperial authority was divided. Without Rome and a unity of command the world would have fallen back into chaos—a truth never to be lost sight of in Roman history and the justification of the Roman Empire.

Niger being overthrown his partisans were punished and his adversaries rewarded, after the customary procedure and in the spirit of all ages. Antioch, which had struck coins in honour of the Asiatic emperor, lost her privileges and her title of metropolis, which Laodicea inherited for the entire reign of Severus.² This city, Tyre, Heliopolis or Baalbec, and



Coin of Antioch, in the Name of Pescennius Niger.³

others obtained the titles of colonies with the *jus Italicum*.⁴ Severus however pardoned the Jews who had declared for Niger;⁵ but Nablous lost its citizenship, while Samaria obtained the rank and privileges of a Roman colony.

circumstances, whence he could keep watch at once over Europe and Asia. Cf. Eckhel, ii. 41; iv. 440.

¹ SEP(timia) COL. LAVD. METRO(polis), in four lines, surrounded with a wreath of olive leaves. Reverse of a bronze coin of Laodicea under Geta.

² Eckhel, iii. 200. According to Malalas (*Chronogr.*, xii. p. 294), he authorized the inhabitants of Laodicea to take his name, Septimius; he made them very great largesses, instituted gratuitous distributions, *παρίσχευεν αὐτοῖς σιτωνικὰ χρήματα πολλά*, constructed in their city a hippodrome, a cynegion, hot baths, a hexastoon, and gave the senatorial laticlave, *ἀξίας συγκλητικῶν*, to all of their most notable citizens who survived, *ἀξιωματικοῖς*.

³ AVTOC. KAICAP T. ΠΕΚΚΕ. ΝΙΡΡΩ Δ, around a laurelled head of P. Niger. On the reverse: ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΘΕΩΝ, the Providence of the gods, and an eagle. Silver coin.

⁴ *Déjast*, i. 15, 1.

⁵ *Palæstinis pœnam remisit* (Spart., *Sev.*, 14). Coins exist of Cæsarea and Jerusalem bearing the name of Niger. Cf. de Saulcy, *Numism. de la terre sainte*.

The siege of Byzantium, which lasted about three years,¹ has remained as famous in history as those of Tyre and Carthage, of Rhodes and Jerusalem. Dion describes the massive walls of the city, its towers furnished with formidable engines, its harbour closed by a chain and also made secure from attack by the current of the Bosphorus, lastly, its ships with double rudder which, changing direction without making an evolution, fell suddenly upon the Roman galleys from which they had appeared to flee, and broke their beaks. The superiority of defensive warfare was at that time so great that this city, surrounded by a numerous army and threatened by all the fleets of the Empire, could not be taken by assault. It was necessary to wait until famine forced these brave men to lay down their arms. A great number perished in attempt at escape at the last; the remainder, having fed on all possible food, even to human flesh, opened the gates. The chiefs and soldiers



Coin of Jerusalem, in the Name of Pescennius Niger.²

were butchered, the walls broken down, and Byzantium, reduced from its rank of a free city, became a mere village in the territory of Perinthus. A fellow-countryman of Dion, the engineer Priscus, had directed this gallant defence. He was like the rest condemned to death, but Severus pardoned him to attach him to his service.

The friends of the claimant shared therefore in his misfortunes, as they would have done in his success. Niger would not have been more element, for after the battle of Cyzicus he had ordered his Moorish cavalry³ to sack the cities which had declared for his antagonist. But Severus, still faithful to his oath, put to death no man of senatorial rank;⁴ they were despoiled of their

¹ From the middle of 193 to the spring of 196.

² IMP. CAES. C. PESC. NIGER IVS(tus) AVG. surrounding the laurelled head of Pescennius Niger. On the reverse: COL. AEL. CAP. COMM(odiana) P(ia) F(elix). The genius of Ælia Capitolina Commodiana (Jerusalem), bearing in the right hand a human head. Bronze coin. (De Saulcy, pl. v. fig. 7.) Coins of Tarsus and Ægæ, in Cilicia, prove that these cities also took the name of Commodus.

³ We have still the epitaph of a Sidonian killed in this "war of the Moors." Cf. de Saulcy, *Deux inscr. de Saïda*.

⁴ *Τῶν δὲ ἐν βουλευτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπεστεινέναι μὲν οὐδὲνα* (Dion, lxxiv. 8). Spartian (*Sev.*, 9) says that one only perished; but as he copies without criticism the information which his reading furnished him, he contradicts himself three times in one passage.

possessions and banished into the islands. Others, who had furnished money, paid a fine of fourfold. Dion accuses Severus of having revived the trade of the informers and of having condemned the innocent. His text, which is extremely mutilated in this place, does not permit us to discuss this fact, which indeed would



Septimius Severus. (Bust found at Porto d'Anzio; Capitol, Gallery, No. 3.)

not have surprised a people habituated by long usage to political vengeance. But another conclusion may be drawn from the following incident. Cassius Clemens, a senator, being called before the tribunal of the ruler, said in his defence: "I neither knew you nor Niger; finding myself in his party, I yielded to necessity, not for the purpose of fighting against you, but of dispossessing Julianus.

I therefore was pursuing the same object as you. If, later, I did not abandon the chief whom the gods had given me, no more would you have wished that those of your party should abandon you and go over to your rival. Examine the matter in itself. Your decision against me will be a decision against yourself and your own friends, for posterity will say that you have made it a crime in us to have acted as you yourself have done." Severus, admiring his courage, deprived him of but one-fourth of his property: a partial justice which appeared a great indulgence. During the struggle he had been heard to say that he would pardon Niger if the latter would anticipate defeat by an abdication; and it is not certain that he would not have kept his word, for he contented himself after the victory with exiling from Rome the wife and children of his rival, and he respected the statues of Niger and their ostentatious inscriptions. "If these praises be just," he said to those who advised him to efface them, "and they are so, it is well to know what an enemy we have conquered." Lastly, he granted an amnesty to the soldiers, and restored to their homes a great number of them who had taken shelter with the Parthians. Severus was not therefore always the pitiless man he is represented in ordinary history. He ended by even granting favours to that city of Byzantium which had so long held his fortune in check. Its site was too remarkable for an intelligent ruler to leave it long in ruins.¹ He aided in rebuilding it, erected baths, a temple of the sun, another of Artemis, an amphitheatre, a hippodrome, etc., being scrupulous to buy, says an old writer, from their owners the houses or gardens he required in his new buildings.² He granted them aid from the army treasury, and permitted the city to take the name of his son. Up to the time of Caracalla's death Byzantium was called the Antonine city.³ The stern judge of the allies of Niger made himself the benefactor of subjects returning to their allegiance.

¹ . . . situmque loci amœnum contemplatus, Byzantium instauravit (*Chron. Alex.*, ad ann. 195, and Malalas, xii. p. 291, edit. of Bonn).

² . . . ἀγορίσας οἰκίματα (*ibid.*). Malalas and the *Chron. of Alexandria* perhaps go too far in one direction; Dion goes equally far in an opposite direction when he affirms (lxxiv. 14) that Severus confiscated the lands of the inhabitants, which cannot be true, since Byzantium continued to exist and he did not send a colony to it.

³ ἡ πόλις Ἀντωνινία (Hesychius Miletus, in C. Müller's *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 153).

Philostratus¹ gives another proof of his spirit of justice, and it was a citizen of Byzantium who profited by it. The siege of the city was still in progress when one of its inhabitants, a famous actor, merited at the Amphictyonic games the prize for tragic declamation. The judges dared not give it to him, and the matter was reported to Severus, who ordered the prize to be conferred. The matter is a trifle, but among the ancients an act of justice like this was not of common occurrence.



Septimius Severus, on a Coin of Smyrna.²

During the siege of Byzantium, Severus had regulated the affairs of Syria and punished the people of Osrhoene, although they boasted of having murdered the fugitives of Issus who had taken refuge with them. The Empire kept up a few garrisons on the further side of the Euphrates. To re-affirm in these countries the imperial authority, which had been somewhat impaired by the civil war, and to punish the allies whom Niger had found there, the emperor led his legions into Upper Mesopotamia, where, since the great expedition of Cassius in 165, no Roman army had appeared; and he sent his generals still further, who easily got the better of the Arabs and Adiabeniensians on the two banks of the Tigris. It was for his interest to smother the noise of civil war by the resounding clamour of victories gained in foreign lands. But he was too



No. 1. Gold Coin commemorative of Victories over the Parthians, Arabs, and Adiabeniensians.³



No. 2. Bronze struck in memory of the same Victories.³

¹ *Vite Soph.*, ii. 27.

² AV. KA. CE. CEOVHPOC II. (Autocrator Cæsar Septimius Severus Pertinax). Laurelled bust of Septimius Severus. On the reverse: EΠΙ CTPA. KA. CTPATONEIKOV CMVΠNAION (Under the Strategus Claudius Stratonicus, coin of the people of Smyrna). Turreted Cybele seated, the left elbow resting on the tympanum, holding in the right hand two figures of Nemesis; at her feet, a lion. Bronze. (Mionnet, No. 1,342.)

³ Captives at the foot of a trophy, with the legend: PART. ARAB. PART. ADIAB. COS. II PP. The bronze coin has, as usual, the signature of the senate: S.C. (Cohen, No. 537.)

prudent to go far into those remote regions until he had regulated the affairs of the western provinces. He himself went no further than Nisibis, a stronghold which the Parthians had given to the Jews, who were numerous in those countries, and it had been carefully fortified by them.¹ Situated on the lower slopes of Mount Masius, half-way between the Euphrates and the Tigris, Nisibis was destined to be the centre of defence for this region, and at once the bulwark of Syria and of Southern Armenia against the Parthians and Persians.

This war had assumed no very great proportions,² and whatever Dion may say of the occupation of Nisibis, "which costs more than it brings in," the policy was wise. Thus to terminate one civil war on the eve of another which could easily be foreseen was to act as a ruler should who has interests of his Empire well in mind.

Severus was still in Mesopotamia in the spring of 196, whence



Captive Parthian. (Bas-relief from the Antonine Column.)



Silver Coin giving Albinus the title of Augustus. (Cohen, No. 42.)



Coin of Albinus struck at Sidon.³

news of the surrender of Byzantium reached him. This news decided his return to Europe, whither, besides, he was recalled by the anxieties which Albinus was beginning to cause him. He had adopted the latter as his son,⁴ had granted him the title of

¹ Sainte-Croix, *Mém. sur le gouv. des Parthes*, p. 17.

² It gave Severus, however, the four salutations as imperator, which coins and inscriptions indicate for the year 195.

³ C. KAΩΔIOC AABEINOC KAICA, around bare head of Albinus. On the reverse: CΙΔHTΩN. Pallas and a female figure, with hands clasped, each holding a spear. Bronze.

⁴ This at least is to be inferred from the name of Septimius which Albinus assumed, and the custom of the emperors when they conferred the title of Cæsar. Hence coins were struck in honour of Albinus at Hippo Libera, Sidon, and Smyrna. (Cohen, vol. iii., *ad fin. Alb.*)

Cæsar,¹ that is to say, of heir-presumptive, and had designated him to share with himself the consulship of the next year. Coins were struck in his honour with this title; statues were erected to him, and sacrifices offered in the name of the two emperors.²



Antique Fragment of a Statue of Clodius Albinus (so-called).³

Before setting out for the East the emperor had written to him: "The State has need of a person like yourself, of illustrious birth and in the prime of life. I am old and suffer from the gout, and my sons are only boys."⁴ But for three years Albinus had been left out of all important affairs. Severus had reserved for himself alone, even in respect to the smallest matters, the plenitude of the imperial power. It is possible that an inscription relating to works ordered by him, from far off in Asia, in an obscure city of Latium, may not be genuine;⁵ but we have the text of a rescript which he sent from the shores of the Euphrates to Rome touching the guardianship of the property of minors.⁶ Another conqueror took pleasure in dating his decrees from Warsaw or from Moscow, 600 leagues distant from his own

Eckhel thinks (vii. 165) that, if he had obtained this name of Severus, he had relinquished it after the rupture between them; but this reason does not seem sufficient.

¹ According to Capitolinus (*Alb.*, 2 and 6), Commodus, rendered anxious by the schemes of Severus, had already offered that title to Albinus, which the latter, foreseeing the approaching downfall of the emperor, and saying that Commodus was seeking companions in his ruin, had refused. The silence of Dion and of other writers does not allow us to accept this letter, which is, moreover, of so strange a character.

² For instance, the taurobolus of Lyons in 194. (Or.-Henzen, No. 6,032.)

³ Herod., ii. 48. Caracalla was born in 188; Geta the year following.

⁴ Spon, *Miscell.*, p. 270.

⁵ Torso of Pentelic marble found near Civita Vecchia. The cuirass has a head of Medusa and under it a palladium, as if to say: I terrify and I protect. The statue (restored) is in the Vatican under the name of Clodius Albinus.

⁶ *Digest*, xxvii. 9, 1. It was read in the senate June 13th, 195; others are dated from

capital. Albinus, who retained only useless marks of honour, saw the sons of Severus growing older, and it required but little foresight to understand that these boys, when they became men, would be formidable competitors to himself. His three legions of Britain were devoted to him; those of Gaul and Spain,¹ which alone of all the armies had never made an emperor, must have been desirous to associate themselves with the fortune of a new ruler. At Rome, the former friends of Pescennius, and all those who were distrustful of Severus, turned their hopes towards Albinus. His illustrious birth was spoken of; the gentleness of this Cæsar was contrasted with the harshness of the Augustus; it was believed that under him the senate would recover its authority,² and some of the most important of the senators advised him to take advantage of the difficulties of Severus in the East to lay hands upon Rome and Italy. The letters found later among the papers of Albinus reveal these secret intrigues. Medals even give us reason to think that a certain number of the Conscript Fathers went to join Albinus, and then a counter-senate was established, as formerly

Viminacium (*Code*, iv. 19, 1), and from Eboracum (*Code*, iii. 32, 1); but in the case of the latter there is an error, either as to the date, July 22nd, 205, or else as to the place where it is said to have been issued.

¹ Borghesi (*Œuvres complètes*, iv. 265) counts thirty-three legions, in the reign of Severus, of whom four were in Germany and one in Spain. Which side these five legions took we do not know, but we know that the partisans of Albinus were numerous in Gaul and south of the Pyrenees, since after the battle of Lyons there were still disturbances in these provinces, and, according to Spartian (*Sec.*, 12), *Hispanorum et Gallorum procures multi occisi sunt*. Severus must in the beginning have attached to his party the legions of Upper Germany, adjacent to his own, and we see that his army entered Gaul by way of Germany. But we cannot doubt that Albinus early began to intrigue with the legions of Lower Germany, so close to Britain, and where he had probably been in command. Cf. Roulez, *les Légats des provinc. de Belg. et de Germ. Infér.*, p. 44. The passage of Capitolinus (*Alb.*, 1) would prove that the legions of Gaul, those, at least, of the Lower Rhine, had made common cause with the army of Britain. Two facts are certain: Severus, at the head of his prætorian guard and the contingents that he had been able to obtain from the twenty-seven legions stationed in the countries under his power, was near failing in the struggle; and for Albinus, who was victorious several times, to have been able at the last moment to put his rival in great danger, it must have been the case that he had, not merely tumultuous levies from Gaul and Spain, but well-organized forces in considerable number. Dion speaks of 150,000 men in array on each side. The figures given by the ancient authors can never be absolutely accepted; but we have the right to conclude from what Dion says that the forces on both sides were equal, and that they were numerous.

² See the discourse, so republican or rather so senatorial, attributed by Capitolinus (13) to Albinus. It is impossible that words like these were ever spoken before an army, but they have been ascribed to Albinus on account of his well-known sentiments in respect to the importance of the senatorial order.

had been done by Pompey in Greece and Scipio in Africa, and as later Postumus did in Gaul.¹

Severus could not be unaware of these dispositions of the Roman nobles, and he must have distrusted them for many years, although Albinus in 195 had sent him large sums of money to aid in succouring the cities ruined by Niger. As he was on his way back to Italy through the valley of the Danube, there reached him,



Septimius Severus and his Eldest Son Caracalla.²

when near Viminacium, news from Britain and from Rome which decided him to precipitate the inevitable rupture:² doubtless the announcement that Albinus had assumed the title of Augustus and was preparing to come down into Gaul. Severus had just emerged victorious from two wars, and had twice traversed

the richest provinces of the Empire; he had given his soldiers military fame and he could give them gold. Therefore he had but little trouble in inducing them to declare Albinus a public enemy, and to proclaim his own son Cæsar and *Princeps Juventutis* under the name of Aurelius Antoninus.⁴ He himself had already taken the designation of the "son of Marcus Aurelius."⁵ "At last he has found a father," men said, hurt at this victory of a parvenu.⁶ But it was no mere taking of a name. The act must

¹ Cf. Eckhel, vii. 165, and Spart., *Sev.*, 11.

² Spartian attributes this rupture to Albinus; Dion, to Severus; in either case, it was inevitable. It occurred earlier than June 30th, 196, for we have a rescript of that date signed Severus and Caracalla (*Code*, iv. 19, 1). The compilers of Justinian's time gave Caracalla the title of Augustus in it. But this is an error which they often committed in the case of this prince. We must use with prudence the dates furnished by the *Pandects*. Eckhel (vii. 387) says, speaking of these laws signed by the emperors: . . . *harum testimonia quam sint infirma, satis compertum*.

³ Intaglio of 27 mill. by 40; sardonyx of three layers. *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,100. Severus and Aurelius Antoninus are both laurelled and wear the *paludamentum*. This engraved stone merits, both by the beauty of the material and the excellence of the workmanship, to be placed beside the cameo representing the family of Severus. See later, p. 69.

⁴ Eckhel, vii. pp. 109 and 173; Dion, lxxv. 7; Spart., *Sev.*, 10. At this time first appeared the formula: *imperator destinatus*. Cf. L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algérie*, No. 1,826.

⁵ A coin of the year 195, in which Severus bears the title of the son of Marcus Aurelius, represents him holding in his hand a victory and crowned by Rome. (Cohen, iii. p. 298.)

⁶ Dion, lxxvi. 9.

have been preceded by a veritable adoption with all legal forms, for Severus insisted that it should have all civil consequences. Naturally there was missing at the ceremony the principal actor, namely, the adoptive father, who had been dead for fifteen years. But in some way or another imperial omnipotence obviated this



Clodius Albinus.¹

difficulty, as Galba had done in the case of Piso, whom he adrogated² without curiate assembly, in virtue of his office of Pontifex Maximus, and as Nerva had done in the case of the absent Trajan, although the presence and the consent of the person adopted were necessary. Severus was also Pontifex Maximus, and

¹ Bust in the Campana Museum, found in the Roman Campagna. (Henry d'Escamps, *Descr. des Marbres du Musée Campana*, No. 103.)

² In respect to the *adoptio* and *adrogatio*, see vol. v. p. 247. After the time of Diocletian the *adrogatio* was made by mere imperial rescript. (*Code*, vii. 48, 2.)

what was legal in the case of a person absent was equally so in respect to one who was dead. Henceforth in the inscriptions of Severus, above all his other titles comes his descent from the Antonines,¹ and his sepulchral urn was deposited in their tomb.

This strange conduct had a double motive. Severus designed to draw upon his family the splendour of the most illustrious of the imperial dynasties, the famous Antonines, whom poets now raised higher than the very gods;² and he also wished, at the same stroke, to seize upon the vast estates that five generations of emperors, following each other in hereditary succession, had bequeathed to Commodus. On the death of this emperor an immense fortune had passed to his three sisters, and Severus, rendered anxious by such great wealth in the hands of private individuals, had taken part of it at once, as political inheritor, and he proposed to secure the rest proximately as civil heir, by making himself the son of Aurelius. Thus in a day the poorest of the emperors became the richest.³

This act had serious results. As long as Severus bore only the name of Pertinax, which was dear to the senate, this assembly, not without some distrust, allowed events to take their course, without attempting, even by the expression of a wish, to modify them. But to call himself the brother of an emperor whom the Conscript Fathers held in execration, and rehabilitate his accursed memory, was to justify his acts and accept also as an inheritance his hatred towards the nobles. From that day fear and anger brooded over the curia, and the senate, in their thoughts, conspired for Albinus.

Was the rupture preceded, as has been asserted, by an attempt

¹ *M. Antonini Pii filius Commodi frater Antonini Pii nepos Hadriani pronepos, Trajani abnepos, Nervæ adnepos.* (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 3,277.) A daughter of Marcus Aurelius, *Vibia Aurelia Sabina*, is called a sister of Severus. (*Ibid.*, No. 2,718.) There has been lately discovered at Lamoricière, in the province of Oran, an inscription in which Severus is called the son of Marcus Aurelius. (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1882, p. 96.)

² Lamp., *Maec.*, 7.

³ Up to the time of his consulship he had had in Rome only a very small house and a little landed property, *quam ædes brevissimas habuisset et unum fundum.* (Spartian, *Sev.*, 4.) The successor inherited the property of the dead emperor, even to legacies which, though made, had not yet been paid. (*Digest*, xxxvi. 56.) In this way the Flavians had inherited the Chersonesus, the property of the first Cæsars. (*C. I. L.*, iii. 723.) To manage that great fortune Severus instituted a *procuratio rerum privatarum* which became permanent. (*Ibid.*, 12.)

at assassination?¹ All men at that time held that a dagger thrust was a good way of simplifying a difficult question, and in this respect Severus felt like every one else. But men who stood exposed to surprises like these were accustomed to guard themselves carefully, and the procedure attributed to the emperor was so easily to be discovered that we may doubt if he employed it. Spartian and Dion make no mention of these emissaries sent with fictitious letters and poison who, according to the confession that torture always extorts, were to attract Albinus to a secret conference and stab him there, or else gain over his cook and have poison mingled with his food. The British Cæsar was too much interested in putting in circulation rumours of this kind for us not to suspect their authenticity.

Severus ordered everything for the approaching campaign with his usual promptitude. Troops hastened to guard the defiles of the Alps, while the bulk of his forces, still ascending the valley of the Danube, turned the mountains on the north and entered Gaul through the province of Upper Germany. He himself made a rapid journey to Rome,² where he caused the senate to confirm the army's declaration against Albinus, and also the elevation of Caracalla to the rank of Cæsar. He then returned to take command in person of his forces, who were advancing divided into two corps. A deputation sent some time after by the senate found Caracalla in Upper Pannonia, where his father had left him, and Severus in Upper Germany.³

Dion relates a curious fact. A humble grammarian of Rome, fired with martial ardour, suddenly closed his school and betook himself to Gaul. He gave out that he was a senator intrusted by the emperor with the duty of levying an army; he raised troops and defeated many corps of the army of Albinus. Severus, under the idea that he was a senator, wrote to him congratulating him. Numerianus scoured the country, levied contributions on hostile cities, and collected over 17,000,000 drachmæ, which he sent to the emperor. The war being ended he presented himself before

¹ Capit., *Alb.*, 7, and Herod., iii.

² Eckhel, vii. 175; Cohen, iii. 275.

³ L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 1,826; *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 163; Henzen, *Bull. de l'Inst. archéol.*, 1853, p. 88. The deputation mentioned in this inscription took place in 196.

Severus, and made known to him the truth. He was offered whatever he desired, but he even refused to enter the senate, and accepting only a small pension went to live in the country. Here we have a schoolmaster who was at once a philosopher and a man



Clodius Albinus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 49.)

of action; but what he was able to accomplish shows the great disorder of the times.

If we may believe Dion, 300,000 men, 150,000 on each side, were ready to join battle in Gaul. Rome with melancholy gaze followed these distant events. "While the world was shaken by this great shock," says the historian, "we remained sad and inactive. The people, even in their wonted amusements, manifested their grief. At the games of the circus I saw an immense multitude, but they paid no attention to the races, there was not a cry,

nor a word of encouragement to the charioteers. Suddenly out of the great silence, one voice cried: 'Peace, for the safety of the people!'" The senate and the city, powerless against these ambitious men, asked only repose under whichever master. It was, in a different form, the sentiment of Asinius Pollio before the battle of Actium: "I shall be the spoil of the victor."

An engagement in which the troops of Albinus had the advantage over the lieutenant of Severus preceded the main action, which took place on the banks of the Saône between Lyons and Trévoux. The army of Severus coming from the north-east faced southward, the forces of Albinus were drawn up facing the north. Since his accession to the throne Severus had directed all military operations from a distance, but this time he himself led his troops to the attack, for all his fortune was staked in this final encounter, and the treason that he was conscious of in his rear obliged him to conquer or perish. He did indeed risk his life, but a cavalry charge by Lætus decided the victory. The conquerors entered Lugdunum pursuing the fugitives. Albinus, on the point of falling into their hands, made an unsuccessful attempt to kill himself. He was taken before Severus, and the latter ordered his head to be cut off. Severus thus remained undisputed master of the Roman world (19th February, 197). Herodian well says: "That one man should have been able to destroy three competitors already in possession of power; that he should have destroyed one of these in his palace in Rome, the second far in the East, the third far in the West—this is a success almost unparalleled in history."¹



Lyons and its Environs.

¹ Herod., iii. 23. The expedition against Albinus occupied the latter months of 196 and VOL. VI. F

But the moment when Severus attained this fame is also that when he stained his name with blood.

On the news of the first successes gained by Albinus, the senate, believing the emperor ruined, had hastened to coin a silver



Septimius Severus. (Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

piece bearing the name of the new Augustus and to accord honours to his brother and near relatives.¹ On the part of people so circumspect this was a very great imprudence, which can only be explained by the arrival of some misleading bulletin from Albinus. Severus immediately wrote to them expressing his regret at

the first two of 197. Dion gives us an exact date for the middle point of hostilities, the incident of which he has just spoken occurring on the eve of the Saturnalia, that is to say, December 16th, 196.

¹ Spart., *Sec.*, 11; Capit., *AB.*, 9; Cohen, iii, p. 227. The senate could only coin copper pieces; to coin silver was therefore a usurpation on their part.

becoming aware of their preference for Albinus. He had liberally provided for the city, he said; he had made many wars for the Republic, and by Niger's death had delivered them from tyranny. He then reproached them for their ingratitude towards himself in accepting as their emperor an adventurer from Hadrumetum who claimed to be of the family of the Ceionii. From this man they expected consulships and commands, a trickster skilful in imposture. To him they no doubt proposed to offer a triumph as to an illustrious conqueror; and he ended the letter with expressions of contempt for the literary claims of his rival.¹ Before subduing him by force of arms, Severus desired to render Albinus an object of ridicule, depriving him of the ancestry which the latter claimed and of the talents for which others gave him credit—two sources of pride which he himself enjoyed.

After the battle of Lyons came a still more terrible message: the head of Albinus set up on a spear in front of the curia, and these words, concluding a threatening letter: "It is thus that I treat those who offend me." Severus himself soon appeared in the senate (June, 197). "He commended the severities of Sylla, Marius, and Augustus, which had saved them, and blamed the moderation of Pompey and of Cæsar, which had been their ruin." He then apologized for Commodus, reproaching the senators for voting the latter infamous,²



Albinus. (Vatican, Hall of Busts.)

¹ Capit., *AB.*, 12. It is a question whether this letter is authentic. Dion (lxxv. 7) speaks of threatening letters, but quotes none; what we have of the addresses of Severus to the senate give us reason, however, to accept this as veritable.

² According to Dion, we may believe that it was not until this time that he declared the latter *divus*, *ἡμετέριον θεῶν ὄντα*; an inscription of the year 196, in which Severus is spoken of as "the brother of the divine Commodus," proves that this emperor's apotheosis preceded the battle of Lyons. In assuming the position of son to Marcus Aurelius, at least from

they who themselves for the most part lived in a more infamous manner. At the conclusion of his address, which caused the senate great alarm,¹ a capital process was instituted against sixty-four senators accused of complicity in the designs of Albinus; thirty-five, proved innocent, resumed their seats, and Dion, who is not friendly to Severus, declares that the emperor behaved towards them as if they had never given him cause to doubt their fidelity; twenty-nine being condemned to death were executed.² Among this number was that Sulpicianus whom we saw, after the murder of Pertinax, chaffering for the Empire and kissing the hands stained with his son-in-law's blood. Partisans of Niger who had been spared up to this time now perished, his wife, children, and six of his near relatives: Severus settled all his accounts once for all.

These severities find, not their excuse, but their explanation in the dangers that the emperor had just passed through: before him, a formidable adversary supported by the forces of the Western provinces; behind him, in Italy, treason; in the East, a Parthian invasion and a military revolt, that of the Third Legion of Cyren-aica, which from its camps in Arabia could again set Syria in a blaze and renew Niger's alliance with the perpetual enemy of the Empire. This legion had proclaimed Albinus,³ and in default of this general would doubtless have put forward one of the sons of Niger; and this was the condemnation of the rest of the party. Doubtless we must pity the victims of domestic discords, especially those involved by the fatality of birth. But if we had a little less compassion for the abettors of civil wars who perish by the conqueror's hand, and a little more for those who are sacrificed in these wars in the fulfilment of their duty as soldiers, we should place beside those twenty-nine senators executed at Rome for having played at the terrible game of revolution, the 30,000 or

the year 195, Severus accepted the obligation to rehabilitate the memory of his adoptive brother.

¹ *Μάλιστα δ' ἡμᾶς ἐξέπληξεν* (Dion, lxxv. 7).

² Dion, lxxv. 8. Spartian (*Sev.*, 13) enumerates forty-one persons who were put to death. Severus at first allowed the wife and the two (?) sons of Albinus to live, but later put them to death. According to law and custom all the property of the condemned was confiscated. We find, however, a Ceionius Albinus prefect of Rome under Valerian; the entire family was therefore not involved in the ruin of him who was defeated at Lyons.

³ Spart., *Sev.*, 12.

40,000 corpses of Roman legionaries which covered the Lyonnese plains.¹

Proscriptions were made in the Gallie provinces and in Spain. All who had aided Albinus paid with life or fortune for the crime of not being able to foresee which side would be victorious. One of these proscribed persons begged the emperor to spare him. "If the destiny of battle, O Cæsar, had been against you," this man said, "what would you have done in the position in which I am



The Divine House. (Septimius Severus and his Family.)²

now?" "I should have resigned myself," the emperor rejoined, "to suffer what you are about to endure." And he ordered the man's execution. "To destroy factions," Severus said, "one must once be cruel in order after that to be merciful for the rest of one's life."³ Isolated cases of resistance⁴ there were, especially in the Iberian peninsula, whither Severus sent one of his best generals, Tib. Claudius Candidus, the conqueror of Nicæa, to fight "by sea and land the rebels of the Citerior province."⁵ Another inscription

¹ . . . ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀναριθμήτων πσιόντων (Dion, lxxv. 7).

² *Cabinet de France*, cameo, No. 249, sardonyx of three layers, 61 mill. by 101. One of the most valued of the collection. The execution, without being as perfect as that of the monuments of the first Cæsars, is still very remarkable. The laurel wreath of Caracalla with Geta's bare head fixes the date of this cameo between the years 198 and 200. Severus wears the paludamentum and the radiated crown; Julia Domna, the veil and diadem. Cf. Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³ Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 20.

⁴ *Multi post Albinum fidem ei servantes bello a Severo superati sunt* (Spart., *Sev.*, 12).

⁵ *C. I. L.*, ii. 4,114.

speaks of a tribune serving in the expedition undertaken "to crush the Gallic faction."¹

Lyons had suffered from the great conflict which took place outside her walls; but she quickly effaced the traces of this, and made haste to show herself faithful to the conqueror. Two months and a half after the battle a sacrifice was offered there for "the safety of the emperor, of his son the Caesar, first designated emperor, of the empress Julia Domna, the mother of the camps, and of all the divine house."



Com of Vologeses IV.²

During four days religion displayed its most imposing pomp for this solemnity, which sealed the reconciliation between the African dynasty and the Gallic nations.³

In Rome, while twenty-nine senatorial families wept for their dead, the populace and the soldiers kept holiday. The latter had re-

ceived large gifts of money; the former, a congiarium, *fêtes*, and gladiatorial shows,⁴ to compensate them for not having enjoyed the spectacle of so many thousands of Romans butchered in the battles of the civil war.

Severus could now enjoy repose. The Roman world, twice visited and pacified; the Euphrates and Tigris crossed; the Rhine and Danube flowing peacefully beneath Roman standards: all things invited the ruler to turn his indefatigable activity towards the labours of peace. But, during the Gallic war, the king of the Parthians, Vologeses IV., had invaded Mesopotamia and besieged Nisibis, which a general, by name Lætus, had valiantly defended; and the revolt of the legion of Arabia proved that in the East

¹ *C. I. L.*, iii. 4,037. It is proper to say, however, that the date of this inscription cannot with certainty be fixed in the year 197.

² From the 4th to the 7th of May, 197. De Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 36. Later, after the war with the Parthians, another solemn sacrifice was celebrated by the order and at the expense of the general assembly of Narbonensis, *pro salute dominorum imp.* (Gruter, xxix. 12.) In respect to this ceremony, see vol. v. pp. 703-4.

³ Diademed head of Vologeses IV. On the reverse, BACIAE OAAFACOV ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΑΛΗΝΟΣ ΔΕΔ ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΥ (of the year 464, of the month Apellæus.) Tetradrachm.

⁴ Cohen, iii. 259: *Munificentia Aug.* Severus renewed the prohibition for women to fight as gladiators. (Dion, lxxv. 16.)

the fires of civil war were not yet entirely extinct. Severus again assumed the cuirass, and with extreme diligence made all his preparations. Before withdrawing to so great a distance the principal forces of the Empire,¹ he recommended to his lieutenants vigilance upon the northern frontiers, authorizing them to make prudent concessions for the sake of preventing hostilities. We know, for example, that Lupus, one of his ablest generals, arrested by presents distributed among the chiefs an invasion of the mountaineers of Caledonia. Having taken these precautions Severus embarked on board the fleet at Brundisium and sailed to the Syrian coast; he crossed the Euphrates in time to gain by some victory his tenth salutation as emperor, before the close of the year 197.² A treaty with the king of Armenia, who gave him money and hostages, permitted him to advance without anxiety as to his rear.



Denarius commemorating the Tenth Salutation of Severus as Imperator.

To the Romans of that time the enemy *par excellence* was the Parthian. The heir of the Arsacidæ, the successor of Cyrus and of Alexander, alone in the known world was able to throw a shadow upon the imperial majesty of Rome. The deserts which protected this people, the death of Crassus and Antony's vain efforts, even the ephemeral successes of Trajan, made the Parthian king an inconvenient and hated neighbour. To conquer him was the great ambition of the military chiefs of Rome. We have often explained why this definitive victory was impossible. Severus resolved at least to inflict a rebuff upon this great Oriental empire, and close against it the approaches to Syria by rendering the passage of the Tigris difficult for the Parthian army. Vologeses did not await the emperor, but his generals engaged with the Romans several times, and one of these combats seems to have been a decisive victory for the latter.³ The road to Ctesiphon was open, and Severus advanced.

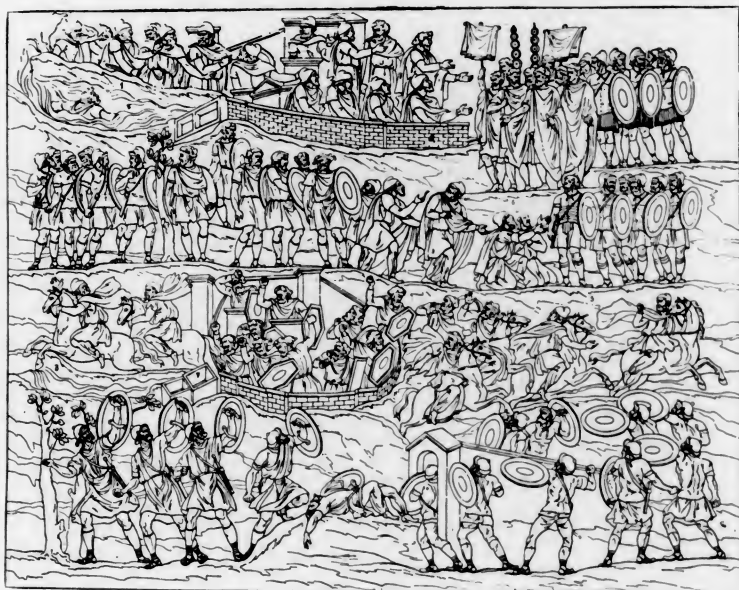
¹ He took a part of the prætorians (Dion lxxv. 10) with their prefect, C. Fulvius Plantianus (Orelli, No. 934), and borrowed detachments from the armies of Europe (Dion, lxxv. 12, and *C. I. L.*, iii. 1,193), and from Africa (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 1,182).

² Eckhel, vii. 176: *Profectio Aug.*; Momms., *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 1,410. In respect to this war Herodian confuses facts, names, dates, and geography.

³ April, 198. This date is to be inferred from an inscription published by Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 1,727.

Obtaining timber from a forest near the Euphrates, he constructed a fleet to convey his heavy baggage, while his soldiers advanced along the river bank. He arrived in this way at Babylon and Seleucia, no longer great except in name, and seized the royal city of the Parthians, taking away 100,000 captives. This was the third time within the century that the Romans had entered Ctesiphon.

The return through the valley of the Tigris was difficult on



The Parthian King escaping from Ctesiphon. (Bas-relief from the Arch of Septimius Severus.)

account of the scarcity of provisions and forage. Like Trajan, Severus besieged the stronghold of Atrā¹ (El-Hadhr), whose king had made an alliance with Niger, and he failed as did his illustrious predecessor, notwithstanding the machines of the engineer Priscus. In the midst of this desert it was impossible for the besieging army to resort to a blockade, the great method of the

¹ A few days' march westward of the Tigris. Its ruins still exist, not, however, as Herodian says, on the top of a high hill. There are only low hillocks in the region and some calcareous rocks. Cf. Layard's *Nineveh*; this author visited El-Hadhr. Dion speaks of two sieges of Atrā, or rather, of two attacks made upon the town: the one, perhaps, by one of the lieutenants of Severus; the other, by the emperor himself.

ancients for the reduction of a city. After twenty days of sharp attacks, the emperor raised the siege and withdrew through Upper Mesopotamia into the Syrian provinces, about the close of the year 198 or the beginning of the following year.

During this siege, in which the army endured great hardships, there was an instance of insubordination, and it became necessary to make an example. A praetorian tribune had repeated publicly and doubtless commented upon the lines which Virgil puts into the mouth of Drances, the partisan of peace at any price: "They take no account of us, and we perish for the ambition of one man." Severus had caused him to be put to death, and possibly the punishment was merited. Military men who despair, when it is their duty to hope even against all hope, ruin the cause which they are set to defend by sowing discouragement in the hearts of the soldiers. And so before Atrā, the emperor, fearing that his army would no longer obey him,¹ abandoned a last attempt which seemed likely to be successful.



Severus holding a Victory in his hand, and crowned by Rome. (Reverse of a great Bronze.)

Was it at this time that Lætus perished?² At the battle of Lyons, Lætus, at the head of the cavalry, had not charged until after the report had come to him that the emperor was mortally wounded, and this charge had decided the victory. Severus being dead, and Albinus overthrown, Lætus would have taken their place;³ but the emperor was not dead; and that which was perhaps an intended treason became the skilful manœuvre of a great captain. Severus believed this, or allowed it to be said. Dion asserts that being unable to strike at once the man who appeared to have saved him he bided his time, and in Mesopotamia caused Lætus to be slain in a camp tumult.⁴ It is probable that there was neither treachery on the one side nor the instigation of a military riot on the other. Dion was very

¹ . . . τὴν ἀπειθεῖαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν (Dion, lxxv. 12).

² This Lætus is to be distinguished from the defender of Nisibis, who was in that city at the time that the other Lætus was in Gaul.

³ Dion, lxxv. 6. Spartian says (*Sev.*, 11) that the army, believing the emperor dead, were ready at once to make a new emperor.

⁴ Dion, lxxv. 10. This author contradicts himself, representing Lætus, in the same sentence, as beloved by the army, and then tells us that Severus charged them with the murder, saying that they had committed it *παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ*.

remote from the spot where this tragedy took place, and could only give currency to the rumours which were in circulation in Rome. Now two things in this narrative are absolutely contrary to the known character of this emperor: the long hesitation before striking the man whose death he had resolved on; and the dangerous method he is said to have employed, the instigation of a camp tumult, which no man can be sure of arresting at the desired point. Certain it is that Lætus was killed by the soldiers,



Septimius Severus and his Two Sons.¹

and we know that disorders of this kind were then frequent in the army; he doubtless lost his life in endeavouring to allay one.

At Ctesiphon the emperor had abandoned all the spoils to the soldiery. To thank their chief by gratifying his paternal affection, the army saluted Bassianus with the title of Augustus and proclaimed Geta Cæsar. To the former Severus gave the tribunitian power (198). Caracalla, though only eleven years of age, was then associated in the Empire, honours which were premature and fatal to their object. In this elective empire the tendency towards

¹ *Cabinet de France*, cameo, No. 250, sardonyx of three layers, 25 millim. by 30. Two victories, each standing on a globe, are crowning Caracalla and Geta. The emperor is holding the hand of his second son over a lighted altar. Below it a half-effaced inscription: (ἐν τῇ) ΝΕΙΚΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΩΝ. . . . For the victory of our lords. M. Chabouillet remarks (*op. laud.*, p. 437) that the title of *dominus* or *κύριος*, does not appear on Roman coins until after the time of Diocletian; Caligula, Domitian, and Trajan, had already taken it, or allowed it to be ascribed to them, and it is frequent in inscriptions, especially dating from Severus and his sons.

heredity was irresistible. The father always yielded to this natural sentiment, and his will was always accepted. And yet, with the one exception of Titus, the hereditary succession had given Rome only bad rulers, Caligula, Domitian, and Commodus. "The designated emperor" would soon add to this list a name which is one of the most odious in history.¹

Notwithstanding his unsuccessful attempt upon Atræ, Severus had struck really a heavy blow in the East. The fall of Ctesiphon had resounded even in the most distant provinces, and everywhere was extolled the great conqueror of the Parthians, *Parthicum Maximum*. The Empire had not been materially aggrandized, which



*Pacator orbis.*²



*Fundator pacis.*³

would have been a useless thing; but a salutary terror had been inspired among those who had been accustomed to break over its frontiers, and these nations were reduced to quiet for the next eighteen years in consequence.

Severus therefore merits the title that he received of *propagator imperii*. Many others were given him,⁴ such as *pacator orbis*, *fundator pacis*, etc., for the power attested by such constant good fortune had excited an enthusiasm at once servile and grateful. To this countless inscriptions, especially in the African and Hellenic provinces, bore witness. Athens, which had to obtain pardon for not having been able to foresee the success of the future emperor, signalized herself by the fervour of her zeal, and numberless cities offered the sacrifice of the bull.⁵

Through his wife, Julia Domna, Severus was half Syrian. Before his accession to the Empire he had commanded the Fourth Scythian Legion in Syria (182-184); after the death of Niger he

¹ Spartian in his memoir of Severus (20) calls the attention of Diocletian to the fact that it was very rarely that a great man left a son *optimum et utilem* . . . *aut sine liberis viri interierunt, aut tales habuerunt plerique, ut melius fuerit de rebus humanis sine posteritate discedere*. Diocletian, however, had no sons, and this was a consolation that the imperial historiographer took occasion to offer him.

² Reverse of a gold coin of Severus. The legend surrounds the radiate head of the sun.

³ Severus veiled, holding an olive-branch. Reverse of a gold coin.

⁴ *C. I. L.*, ii. 1,669, 1,670, 1,969, etc. Cf. Cohen, iii. Nos. 118-122, 360-5, 610-12.

⁵ Herzberg (*die Gesch. Griechenl. unter der Herrsch. der Röm.*), who collects the minutest details, has not been able (vol. ii. pp. 421 *et seq.*) to derive anything of importance from these inscriptions. See also Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, Nos. 2,159, 2,322, 2,374, 2,466, etc.

remained there more than two years, and after the death of Albinus four years more. He therefore well understood these countries and their needs. But for what purpose did he stay there so long, especially after the Parthian war was at an end? It certainly could not have been pleasure which detained him so long in the Oriental provinces. Gratifications of the senses could have had no hold upon such a man, who had an ambition for great



A Victory sacrificing the Bull of the Roman Triumphs. (Bas-relief in the Louvre.)

things and consequently a contempt for petty ones. His biographer says, speaking of one of the provinces, that Severus made many regulations there, of which the foolish writer does not give us one. We may be sure that he employed his leisure in strengthening discipline among the legions, in fortifying the outposts, in establishing order in the land, security upon the highways, and that he introduced Roman civilization into these provinces that he might the better count upon their fidelity. The few facts revealed by those unexceptionable witnesses, coins and

medals, permit us to conjecture those which official history hides from us.

First, between the Euphrates and the Tigris, he organized Mesopotamia as a province. He gave it for a permanent garrison two legions which he had created during the war, the First and Third Parthian,¹ and he increased the power of these military forces by multiplying in the new province the civil Roman element. Colonists were established at Nisibis, the central stronghold of the country, which received the emperor's name, Septimia; at Rhesæna, where the Third Parthian had its headquarters, between Nisibis and Thapsacus, at the great passage of the Euphrates; at Zaitha, the city of olive-trees,² situated on the same river below Circesium and at the entrance of the high road to Palmyra. The Syrian desert had become Quiritary land.



Coin of Rhesæna.³

On the north-west of the province the king of Osrhoene had given up to the emperor his children as hostages, and had furnished well-trained archers for the campaign against the Parthians;⁴ on the north the king of Armenia had been supported in his fidelity to the Empire; on the south the garrison of Zaitha kept the Arab chiefs in obedience; and on the east the passage of the Tigris was secured by the occupation of Nineveh, where Trajan had established veterans, and where Severus must have left some

¹ The *II. Parthica* was brought back into Italy by Severus; it had its headquarters at Albano, where have been found its cemetery and countless inscriptions due to it. (Henzen, *Annali*, 1867, pp. 37 et seq.) It is useless to try to distinguish the measures adopted by Severus in his first and in his second residence in Mesopotamia.

² *Septimia col. Nisibis* (Dion, lxxv. 3; Eckhel, vii. 517). Eckhel, vii. 518. Amm. Marcell., xliii. 5.

³ Bronze of the Emperor Decius making mention of the *III. Parthica*: *CEΠ(timia) PHCHINHCIQN E III P*, around a temple, beneath which a river or water-god is swimming, a personification of the Chaboras, the city being situated near the head waters of this affluent of the Euphrates.

⁴ Later this king came to Rome, between the years 203 and 208, to renew his promises of fidelity. Severus received him there with great display (Dion, lxxix. 16). In respect to the Armenians, Saint Martin, in his *Mémoires sur l'Arménie* (vol. i. p. 301), speaks of an invasion of Khazars who, having traversed the gorges of Derbend in the Caucasus, and crossed the Kour, are said to have defeated the Armenians, and slain their king Vologeses or Wagharsb, in the year 198 A.D. These events explain easily enough why Severus had no need of protecting himself against them at the time of his descent upon Ctesiphon. Between the Parthians who threatened them from the south-east, and the barbarians who menaced them on the north, the Roman alliance was a necessity for the Armenians.

to defend this outpost of the Empire.¹ He had therefore firmly established his authority between the two rivers, protected by the Armenian mountains and defended by a whole system of fortresses and colonies; and for centuries to come this province remained the bulwark of the Empire.

After the death of Niger he had united Lycaonia and Isauria to Cilicia, in order to constitute in the neighbourhood of Syria a great province to protect that gate to the East;² for contrary reasons he divided the province of Syria, which had hitherto given hopes of too ambitious range to those placed in command over it: on the north, Commagene and Hollow Syria, that is to say, the valley through which the Orontes flows to Antioch and the sea, making itself a passage between the Amanus and Mount Lebanon; on the south and east, Phœnician Syria, including all the sea-shore, and on the eastern slope of Lebanon, into the very midst of the desert, Heliopolis, Emesa, Damascus, and Palmyra. The two roads which led into Mesopotamia crossing the Euphrates, the one at Thapsacus, the other at Circesium, were thus guarded by two armies,³ and they were well guarded. The emperor intrusted the government of Cœle-Syria to one of his ablest lieutenants, Marius Maximus, whom Spartian calls "a very severe general," and there is reason to suppose that Phœnician Syria was given in charge to some other experienced captain. After the battle of Issus Severus had chastised Antioch with great harshness, for the reason that severity was natural to him; this city, however, remained the most important city in the Roman east, and he was too great a ruler to consult his personal rancour rather than the interest of the State, after he had satisfied justice, or what he regarded as justice. Antioch, like Byzantium, therefore, was first punished and after that favoured. On his return from Mesopotamia he stopped in the old Syrian metropolis, not for the purpose of enjoying the delights of Daphne, in the pleasure-haunted shades of the sanctuary of Apollo, but to efface the memory of his former severities. There he gave his eldest son the *toga virilis* (201), and a year later the consulship,

¹ Upon the coins of Trajan's reign Nineveh is called *Colonia Augusta*. Dion, a contemporary of Severus, says of Nineveh: *ὑπερὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀποκοκὸς ἡμῶν νομίζεσθαι* (xxxvi. 6).

² Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, No. 1,480. The inscription in No. 616 shows these two provinces united to Galatia.

³ Under Alexander Severus there were five legions in Syria and in Palestine.

which he wished to share with Caracalla. This was treating Antioch as a capital. These solemnities and their accompanying



1.



2.



3.

Plaques of Gold of the Second or Third Century, found in Syria. No. 1, Dionysus; No. 2, Silenus; No. 3, a Box in which the Plaques were kept.¹

festivities had their effect in bringing the frivolous city into friendly relations with the new dynasty, and Severus completed the reconciliation in causing magnificent baths to be built at Antioch.²

¹ *Cabinet de France*. Cf. *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pl. 2; and p. 513, a dissertation by Baron de Witte.

² *Chronicles* of Eusebius and S. Jerome, *ad ann.* 202, and Malalas, p. 294, in the *Byzantine Chronicle*.

In Phœnician Syria great public works were undertaken. Four military milestones, which have been found on the road from Sour to Sayda, all bearing the same inscription, dated in the year 198, show the emperor's lieutenant putting in repair the roads in this province; the name of Severus engraved upon another mile-



Roman Bridge in Syria (at Abu-el-as-Waad; Syrian coast).¹

stone in the neighbourhood of Laodicea proves that the same orders had been given in respect to Syria Prima.²

The Syrian region sloping down to the Mediterranean Sea had long been in possession of all the advantages that ancient civilization could bestow. Alexander and his successors had Hellenized these populations of Punic or Aramæan origin, and the colonies that Rome had established there, the garrisons maintained there by her, had introduced her language, which the soldiers were obliged

¹ From the *Album de voyage du duc de Luynes*, pl. 7.

² *C. I. L.*, iii. No. 203. Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 1838.

to employ.¹ Tyre, which had been burnt by Niger's Moors,² was repopled by the veterans of the Third Gallic Legion, and obtained the *jus Italicum*. Berytus, where dwelt the descendants of the legionaries of Augustus, had long enjoyed this right, and the city contained the most important school of Roman law: Papinian, Ulpian, and all those juriseonsults whose "judaisms" have been noted in the *Pandects*, were students here. Berytus had at first declared against Severus. We do not know whether the city was punished for this, or whether Papinian appeased the emperor's anger. At any rate, she quickly changed her attitude: an inscription of the year 196 found in the neighbourhood contains the expression of the city's desire for the safety of Severus and Julia Domna, the mother of the camps.³

On the eastern slope of the Lebanon and beyond the Jordan Rome had had much to do. Before Trajan's time Batanæa (Hauran) and Trachonitis (Ledja)

were the same that they are to-day, wildernesses traversed by savage nomads. Agrippa, the Jewish king, said to them: "You live like wild beasts in their



Julia Domna, the Wife of Severus.⁴

¹ Upon the statue of Memnon all *proskynemata* of soldiers or officials are in Latin; see Letronne, *Inscr. d'Egypte*, ii. 324.

² Herod., iii. 3.

³ Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 1843. Under Caracalla, the Third Gallic Legion cut through rocks (the inscription says mountains) which obstructed the course of the Lycus. (*Ibid.*, 1845.)

⁴ Statue of Luni marble. Museum of the Capitol. This statue has been preserved with the antique head.

lairs."¹ Trajan and Hadrian had introduced order and life into these regions, where had arisen great and splendid cities; and Severus carried on their work. Doubtless he also visited the province of Arabia, where a Roman legion had not long before revolted. The name of Septimiani, borne by the decurions of Batanæa, connects with his reign, by a tie which unfortunately we cannot trace, the municipal organization of this region. Ruins of cities are found here whose inhabitants had the language, the measures, calendar, and many usages belonging to Rome.² An imperial legate wrote to these Arabs, into whose country the modern traveller now penetrates only at the risk of his life, as he would have written to the magistrates of Spain or Gaul, to guarantee them against the abuse of military billet—a proof that on this remote frontier the Roman administration showed the same care as in the oldest provinces.³ At Bostra, the capital of the province of Arabia, legends on medals in Trajan's time were Greek; a few years after Severus they were Latin.⁴

It is uncertain whether the forty-two block-houses, whose remains are counted between Damascus and Palmyra, were constructed by Severus or by Hadrian, or even at an earlier date.⁵ We only know that Severus kept them well-supplied with men and provisions, for if we do not find traces of him in any certain

¹ ἱμωλίνσαντες (Waddington, *op. cit.*, 2,329). Cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 15, 5, and vol. iii. p. 626 of this work.

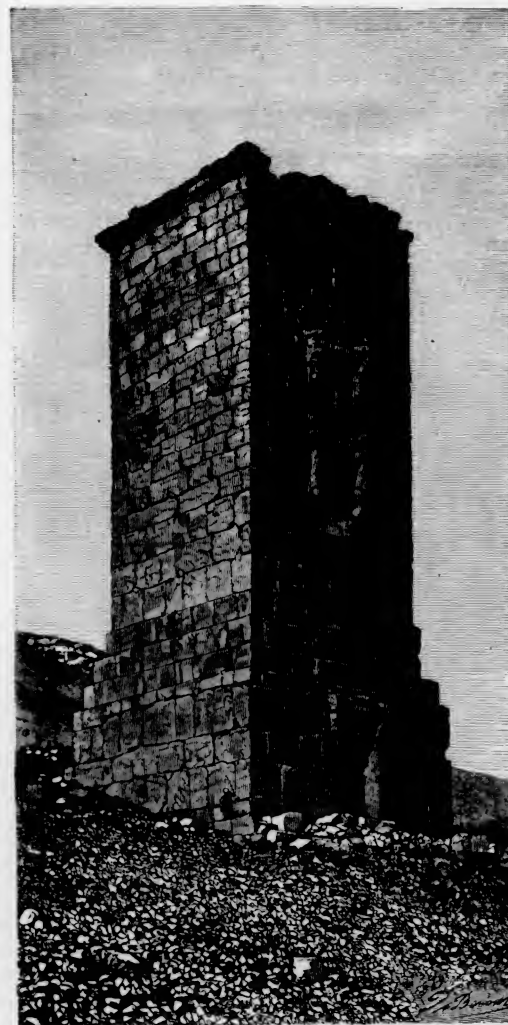
² Cf. Henzen, *Bull. de l'Inst. archéol.*, 1867, pp. 204 et seq. Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 2,136 et seq.

³ "If any soldier or traveller forcibly seeks lodging among you, write me to obtain reparation. You owe nothing to strangers, and since you have a caravanserai (ξενώνα) to receive them, you cannot be compelled to take them into your own houses. Post this letter in some public place in your city where it may easily be read by all men, so that none can plead ignorance as an excuse." (Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 2,424.) The author of this letter is a legate of Alexander Severus.

⁴ Waddington, *ibid.*, 460.

⁵ See vol. v. p. 81 of this work. According to Peutinger's map it was 212 miles from Damascus to Palmyra. Porter (*Handbook for Syria*) reckons it forty hours' walk from one city to the other. MM. de Vogüé and Waddington have also found relay-stations of Roman soldiers along a road leading from Bostra to Palmyra across a desolate region. Unfortunately the *graffiti* that they have read there give no dates. (*Inscr. de Syrie*, 522.) In the African Sahara the same precautions were taken; cf. vol. v. p. 198 of this work, and *Arch. des Missions*, 1877, pp. 362 et seq. When we find the desert everywhere bordered with Roman forts it is easy to understand that the provinces behind them must have enjoyed a prosperity which they lost when the misfortunes of the Empire caused that vigilant police to disappear. An inscription found at Palmyra in 1882 proves that as early as the time of Augustus that city was in some degree dependent upon the Romans. (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, 1882, p. 439.)

manner on the road leading to Palmyra, we do find them at Palmyra itself. This great mart of the desert, this Syrian outpost on the middle Euphrates, had furnished Severus with most useful succour in his expedition against Babylon. Like all commercial cities, Palmyra was cosmopolitan. Parthians and Armenians and Romans were there, also Greeks and a Jewish colony of importance, some of whose members rivalled the most considerable native Palmyrenes in wealth.¹ Accordingly, like Alexandria, the city had a *juridicus* to settle disputes which might arise between foreigners.² The family of the Odainath already held the first rank in Palmyra. One of them, Hairan, doubtless strategus of the city in the time of the Parthian war, so ably seconded Severus by his knowledge of localities and by the supplies that he was able to furnish



Palmyra. Royal Tomb.

¹ De Vogüé, *Inscr. sémit.*, 7, 16, 65 et passim.

² Δικαιοδότης. Cf. Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 2,606a.

to the legions, that the emperor permitted him to assume the name of Septimius, which from that time became the *gentilitium* of the great Palmyrene family. In the same way Herod the Great had been authorized by Augustus to unite himself to the family of the Cæsars by adding to his own names that of Julius. When sixty years later an Odainath, who had assumed the title of "king of kings," made himself the protector of the Roman Empire in the East, his prænomen Septimius recalled the time when his predecessors were but the clients of the emperor Severus.

The desert cities changed their conditions as the Arab sheiks changed their names: the Tadmor of Solomon's time was at this time a Roman colony, invested with the privileges of the *jus Italicum*; it had duumvirs (στρατηγοί), ædiles (ἀγορανόμοι),¹ and assemblies of senate and people. By its monuments it seems of Greek origin, by its institutions of Roman. It even had its distributions: frumentary tesseræ have been found there, and tickets available for corn and oil,² and among its citizens were Roman knights and senators. Severus had already, it is probable, assigned to it for a garrison that body of cavalry which we find there at a later period.³

Then, as now, the wandering Arabs were obliged during the summer to lead their flocks to the springs of Palmyra or to the pastures of Djebel-Hauran.⁴ By strongly occupying these points the Romans made themselves masters of the desert, and preserved order in it better than has ever been done since.

At the eastern extremity of the Hauran, in the midst of what seems an accursed region, rises a volcanic hill at whose base is a Roman camp with walls over six feet in thickness, flanked with towers and protected by a moat: a resolute band within this fort could bid defiance to all the Arabs of the desert. On the summit of the hill an outpost kept watch over this vast plain, where are seen ruins of baths and of houses. "Before us," says

¹ In other Greek and Syrian cities the ædiles bore the name of bishops, ἐπισκοποι, or supervisors.

² De Vogüé, *Inscr. sémit.*, 16, 146-7, and Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 2,606a, 2,607, and 2,629.

³ Waddington, *ibid.*, 2,580.

⁴ The chiefs of these nomads were called ethnarchs, strategi, or οἱ ἀπὸ ἰθνοῦς νομάδων. Cf. Waddington, *op. cit.*, p. 511. Certain of these tribes retain the same names they bore eighteen centuries ago. (*Ibid.*, p. 525, No. 2,287.)

M. de Vogüé, "no European had ever disturbed this solitude."¹ But the Romans had been there, and they had brought civilization and security.

Thus a regular form of life was making its introduction into these desolate solitudes. Sheltered by fortified posts which bordered "the land of thirst," cities came into existence in the valleys to which canals brought down the mountain streams;² a municipal rule was developed there, and inscriptions speak to us of strategi and decuriones in places where was lately heard only the jackal's howl. Often from the summit of a mass of ruins the traveller sees in the distance great blocks of basalt placed regularly and framed with a double row of larger blocks which rise above the surface. It is a Roman road which, after the passage of fifteen centuries, makes known that a great nation has been there.³



Coin of Septimius Severus struck at Petra.⁴

At countless points upon this Biblical soil we find the Roman imprint. In extreme antiquity the plateau of Baalbec bore a sanctuary of Baal, the great god of the Semitic tribes; but the magnificent ruins now to be seen on that spot date from the times of the Antonines and Severus.⁵ We must therefore invert the words of Juvenal: it is not now that the Orontes flows into the Tiber; in the second century and at the beginning of the third of the Christian era, the Tiber flows in the desert, bearing the spirit of the Empire and its arts even to the remote city of Petra.

Severus had followed the track of Trajan as far as Ctesiphon; he also followed Hadrian's track in Palestine and Egypt.

¹ *La Syrie centrale*, by M. de Vogüé.

² Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 2,296 and 2,301, ἐκ προνοίας of Corn. Palma. The first care of Cornelius Palma, the conqueror of Arabia, had been to furnish a supply of water to the new subjects of the Empire. In pursuing this excellent policy in Algeria the French have but followed a Roman example.

³ "The Roman road from Bostra to Damascus still exists, almost in its original condition," says M. Waddington, "and the remains of many others are found here and there in these regions." The Septimian coins are very abundant in all these provinces, and to this epoch belong the ruins of Heliopolis, the temple of Jupiter having been built by Septimius Severus and the temple of the Sun by Hadrian and Antoninus. The latter building was destroyed by Theodosius. (*Revue archéol.*, April, 1877.)

⁴ ΑΔΙΑΝΗ ΠΕΤΡΑ. The personified city seated upon a rock. Reverse of a bronze coin.

⁵ See vol. v. of this work, pp. 79-81, 140, and the *Syria of the Present Day*, by Dr. Lortet.

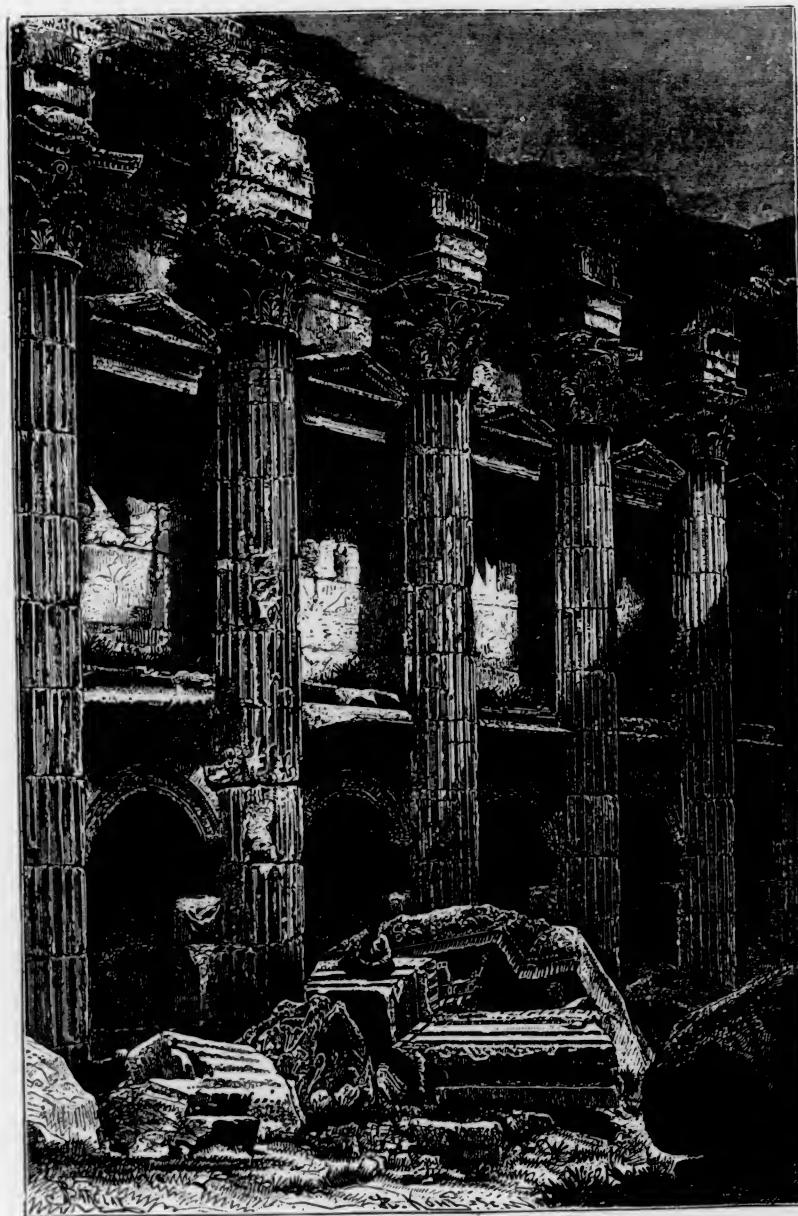
Palestine, as usual, was a prey to disorders. Dion speaks of a certain robber-chief who devastated Judæa and was able to baffle all his pursuers. One day he had the audacity to enter the emperor's camp, and to converse with Severus as though he had been a tribune of the Roman army. No one suspected the rash



Ruins of Heliopolis (Baalbec). Temple of Jupiter.

act, and the chief, who probably only wished to maintain his independence, returned in safety to his mountains. This fact, the story of Bullas, one of the curious legends of Italian outlawry,¹ the history of Maternus, who, under Commodus, pillaged the entire country of Gaul, and of Numerianus, the false senator, of whose exploits we have recently made mention, show what rapid progress

¹ See vol. v. p. 490.



Interior of the Small Temple at Baalbec.

disorganization was making in this great body, the Empire, as soon as Comodi and Juliani succeeded the Trajans and Hadrians. To maintain order in so many countries and amid populations so diverse, it was plainly needful that factious persons, senatorial mischief-makers, ambitious chiefs, or highway-robbers, should feel that there rested upon them the hand of an energetic ruler, a man whose conscience would not be disturbed by any severity however extreme. One of the Odainath of whom we have just now spoken was planning a revolt and had intrigued with the Persians. Rufinus, the Roman general in command, put him to death, and, being summoned before the emperor on complaint of the son of the murdered man, made reply: "Would to the gods that the emperor would authorize me to rid him of the son also!"¹ This justice was summary; but it had the effect of preventing a Persian invasion. Is it safe to say that we ourselves in Algeria or the English in India have never acted in a similar manner? The Roman emperors not infrequently found themselves in the presence of these formidable perils, when what was believed to be the safety of the State appeared the supreme law.

Severus was one of those men who are ready to sacrifice everything to the public tranquillity.² Unfortunately, he included the Christians among the disturbers of the provinces. The Jews and Samaritans had just recommenced in Palestine with weapons in their hands their ancient quarrel. Whether the Christians were involved in it is not now clear. But this rumour of disturbances on account of religious opinions irritated the emperor. The legions struck a few blows, and tranquillity was restored by some executions. Later, the senate saw fit to give these measures taken in the interest of public order the importance of a victory. When the emperor declined to make a triumphal entry into Rome in honour of the taking of Ctesiphon, the senators, to pay his son a compliment and to give Rome a holiday, decreed to Caracalla a Jewish triumph. In order to prevent the recurrence of these disorders, "Severus," says his biographer, "made many regulations during his stay in Palestine." Of these we know but one, renewed

¹ De Vogüé, *la Syrie centrale*, p. 30. This took place in the reign of Severus, between 241 and 251.

² *Fuit delendarum factionum cupidus* (Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 20).

from the old imperial decree which forbade the rabbis to practise circumcision upon men of other races than their own,¹ and forbade the Christians to make proselytes. The same measure was applied to both religions, not with the design of destroying them, but in order to prevent them from extending themselves. Elsewhere we shall see that the results of this edict differed extremely in the two cases.

It was not the intention of Severus that these Jews, shut up by his edict within their religion and their race, should be like pariahs amid their fellow-citizens; he permitted them to aspire to municipal honours, dispensing them from obligations which were inconsistent with their religion.² But national sentiment was stronger than the law; the Jews remained isolated until the time when Constantine, anxious to recruit the exhausted senatorial class, ordered that all who had the requisite landed property should be included in it.³ This however brought in but few recruits, for the Jews, considering themselves as strangers and sojourners in any land save Palestine, bought neither land nor houses; they already had their preference for property that they could carry with them wherever they went.

From Palestine Severus went into Egypt, a fruitful land where the race was as prolific as vegetation,⁴ numbering at this time over 8,000,000, with few slaves, for agricultural labour was carried on then, as now, by fellahs of free condition, and the industrial labour by a multitude of Greeks and Jews. Life was not painful in Egypt, except in the quarries, which were worked only by convicts, and to this industry the emperor caused great activity to be imparted.⁵ At Mount Casius, Severus, like Hadrian, offered a funeral sacrifice at Pompey's tomb, and thence went up the Nile

¹ See vol. iv. p. 728. An edict of persecution against the Jews never was issued: *Judeorum sectam nulla lege prohibitam satis constat* (Constitution of Theodosius, anno 393. *Cod. Theod.*, xvi. 8 and 9).

² *Honores adipisci permisit, sed et necessitates eis imposuit quæ superstitionem eorum non laderent* (*Digest*, l. 2, 3, § 3).

³ *Cod. Theod.*, xvi. 8, 3.

⁴ Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, ii. 16, 4) reckons the population at 8,700,000, a number which, a hundred years later, was even larger. Cf. Letronne, *Journ. des Savants*, 1844, p. 434.

⁵ An inscription of Septimius Severus in Egypt consecrated the discovery near Philæ of new granite quarries, whence were obtained "large and numerous columns." Cf. Letronne, *Journ. des Savants*, 1836, p. 684; *C. I. L.*, iii. 75. The quarries of Djebel Fatereh continued to be worked up to the time of Diocletian.

by the Pelusiac mouth.¹ He visited with interest the pyramids of Ghizeh, finer, or at least more regular at that time, because they had still their facing of stone; the great Sphinx at their feet, a mysterious monument already damaged by the many centuries which had then passed over it, and repaired by Severus; the Serapeum of Memphis, which led to the tombs of Apis, which a Frenchman, Mariette, has rediscovered; the Labyrinth, the marvels of Thebes



The Egyptian Sphinx.

and of Philæ, and the rest. He had explained to him the hieroglyphics which it was still the custom to put on the walls of the temples;² and his name has been read by Champollion at the side of sculptures which the emperor ordered for the pronaos of the great temple of Esne.³ Memnon still spoke, but it was for the last time. In an excess of pious zeal, Severus restored as we now see it this colossus, broken in the time of Augustus; but from the day when the statue no longer offered to the rising sun its wide

¹ Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 487-518.

² The last known hieroglyphic inscription is an offering of the Emperor Decius about the year 250; but Letronne is of opinion that the use of this writing continued as late as the sixth century. (*Journ. des Savants*, 1843, p. 464.) Inscriptions exist in which the Greeks call themselves engravers of hieroglyphics. (Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 475.)

³ *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, p. 86.

cleft of unequal surface, impregnated with the dews of night, the god ceased to utter "his divine voice."¹

"Curious in respect to all things human and divine, even the most secret," Severus informed himself as to the sources of the



The Temple of Isis at Philae.

Nile, to which the Romans approached very near.² Dion Cassius speaks of them in mentioning this journey of the emperor, of which he probably heard the story, and, if he is deceived in placing the sources of the river at the extremity of the Mauretanian Atlas, he says nearly the truth when he speaks of it as

¹ See vol. v. p. 97, and the famous paper by Letronne upon the statue of the Pharaoh Amen'otep, who lived about the year 1680 B.C. No one of the inscriptions engraved upon this colossus is later than the time of Severus.

² Mariette's last discoveries at Karnak prove that the Pharaohs had bequeathed to their successors a much more complete knowledge of the valley of the Upper Nile than was believed. The armies of Thothmes III. certainly penetrated as far as Cape Ras-Hafun, south of Cape Guardafui, probably even in the interior going beyond Khartoum, and Ptolemy speaks of three great equatorial lakes. However, Amm. Marcellinus (xxii. 15) declares the sources of the Nile to be undiscoverable: . . . *postera ignorabunt aetates*. Nubian inscriptions state that the Blemmyes and the Axumites were conquered by Severus.

emerging from vast marshes which lie at the base of a high mountain covered with snow.¹ Severus had the intention of penetrating into the upper valley of the Nile, but a pestilence breaking out he relinquished the design and returned down the river to Alexandria. Here he visited the tomb of Alexander, the Museum, always busy



Pylons of the Temple of Isis at Philae.²

with its useless labours,³ and the library of the Serapeum, one of whose courts was adorned with the famous Pompey's Pillar. The emperor was pleased with this city, or thought it politic to appear so. The Alexandrians had taken sides with Pescennius, and inscribed upon their gates: "This city belongs to Niger, our master." When Severus appeared they said to him: "We did indeed write this, but were well aware that thou wert Niger's

¹ Dion, lxxv. 13.

² See vol. v. p. 87, the restoration of this temple.

³ See vol. v. p. 89. In respect to the *nugæ difficiles* of the Museum, cf. Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 399-400, the inscription of that pensioner of the Museum who calls himself an Homeric poet because he composed *centos* of Homer's verses.

master."¹ The emperor asked no better excuse to pardon them. He restored to them the senate and municipal magistrates of which Augustus had deprived them, revised their laws,² restricted to voluntary jurisdiction the functions of the Roman *juridicus*, who



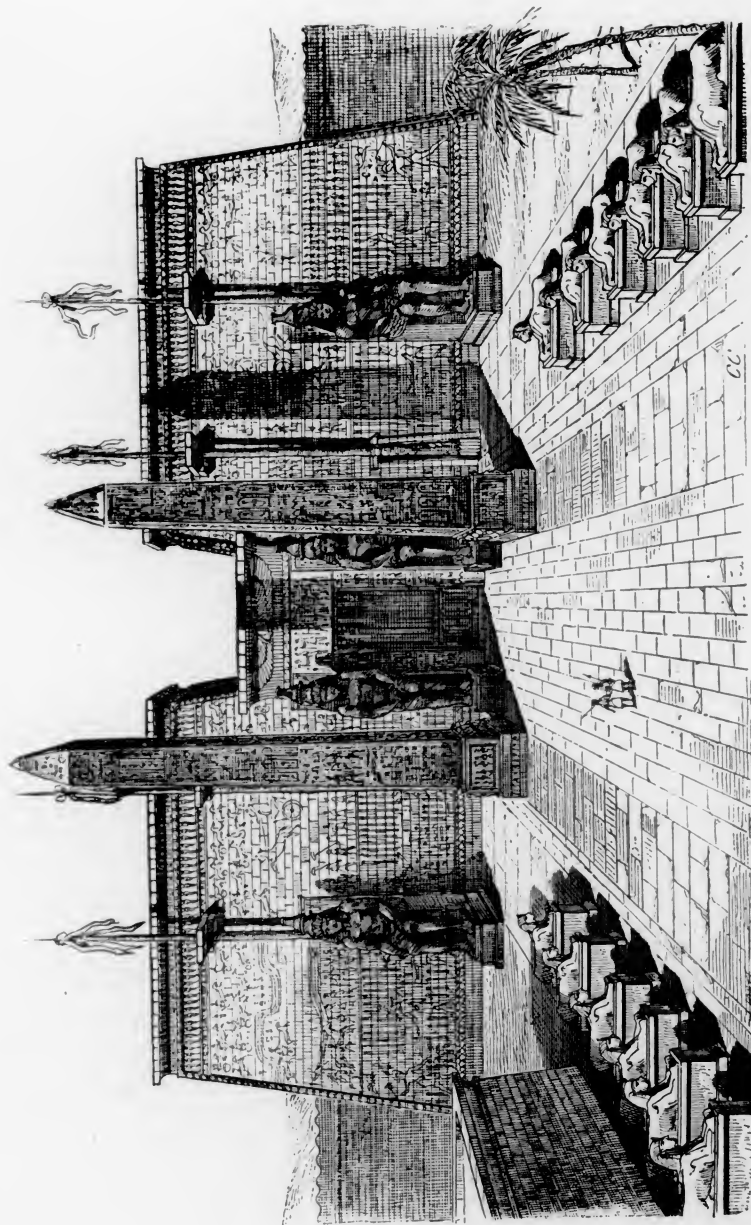
The Pharaoh Amenhotep III. (Memnon). (Basalt Statue in the British Museum.)

had been for over two centuries the supreme judge in Alexandria, and to mark his confidence in this province he cancelled the rule established by the first emperor, that Egypt should have for governor only a prefect of the equestrian order;³ and finally he

¹ Spart., *Sev.*, 17.

² Dion, li. 17. Also Malalas says (xii. p. 293): 'Ἰνδογενείας αὐτοῖς παρασχὼν ἰδίκατο αὐτούς.

³ *Chron. Alex.*, ad ann. 202.



Principal Façade of the Temple of Luxor (Thebes). Restoration by Ch. Chipiez (Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Arch.*, vol. i. p. 349).

gave the city a gymnasium and a great temple, which he called, like the temple built by Agrippa at Rome, the Pantheon.¹ Severus, like Trajan and Hadrian, was a great builder, and monumental Egypt was not likely to discourage his taste for magnificent constructions. The worship of Serapis, whose sanctuaries he had everywhere found,² particularly attracted him. He was impressed with that powerful synthesis of different doctrines by which the heathen essayed to satisfy the ideas then dominant of divine unity and of salvation by the god "master of light and of darkness, of life and death." Macrobius has preserved this reply of an oracle of Serapis: "Who am I? I will tell you what I am: the vault of heaven is my head; the sea, my breast; the region of the sky, my ears; and my eye, the brilliant torch of the sun, which sees all things."³ Serapis represented therefore the god in whom all others were united; combined with Isis, "the goddess of a thousand names," he was the fecundating force and the nature which conceives; also he was the god who gave safety in heaven and earth. His temples were thronged with pilgrims; the walls of them were hidden with offerings, and all men talked of the miraculous cures that he wrought, while the old divinities remained silent and gloomy at their deserted altars. Severus and those who accompanied him seem to have been won over to this cult.⁴ Caracalla, at least, consecrated to Serapis many temples, even some in Rome, notably near the Colosseum, a sanctuary of Isis and Serapis which gave its name to that region of the city;⁵ and when Severus built a Pantheon at Alexandria we are led to believe that he was



Serapis,
on a Bronze of
Septimius Severus
coined
at Ptolemais.

¹ An inscription (Letronne, *ibid.*, p. 463) shows him also repairing the pavement of a temple. If so many epigraphic monuments had not perished we should certainly have had more numerous proofs of the works ordered by Severus in Egypt.

² The rhetorician Aristides enumerates forty-three in Egypt. To this author Serapis is the god of the gods, who rules the land and sea, light and darkness, life and death.

³ *Saturn.*, I. xx. 17.

⁴ *Jucundam sibi peregrinationem hanc propter religionem dei Serapidis . . . Severus ipse postea semper ostendit* (Spart., *Sev.*, 17).

⁵ The third. The worship of Isis had been surreptitiously introduced into Rome as early as the time of the Second Punic War (Val. Max., I. ii. 3), and two centuries before the Christian era Delphi already had a Serapeion, which the French School of Athens has recently discovered. (*Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, 1882, p. 306.) In respect to this cult, see vol. v. p. 705 of this work. Commodus was a fervent worshipper of Isis. (Lamp., *Comm.*, 9.)

influenced by an idea of religious syncretism, in giving the name of all the gods to a temple which in his mind he dedicated to the One Divine Principle. Thus took shape this new form of paganism which we have seen coming into existence in the preceding century, which prepared the way for the Jehovah of the Mosaic religion.¹

Notwithstanding his interest in religions, Severus was no more favourable to theological quarrels in Egypt than he had been in Palestine. He removed from all the sanctuaries the books containing secret doctrines, those which kept alive organizations that existed in secrecy and were prolific in seditious schemes. These books he did not destroy, but he shut them up in the tomb of Alexander, so that no person should read them. He was a true Roman, one of those statesmen and soldiers who had no affection for matters which the sword can never settle and by which governments are for ever disturbed. But he was also a man of fine intelligence. Among these books there is one which, instead of proscribing, he certainly admired, the *Book of the Dead*, which we find with the mummies, as it were a voice from beyond the tomb. Here are words like these: "When that divine principle, intelligence, enters a human soul, it seeks to rescue it from the tyranny of the body and raise it to its own elevation. . . . Often it triumphs; then the conquered passions become virtues, the soul, set free from its bonds, aspires to good, and divines the eternal splendours through the veil of matter which obscures its vision.

"When a man dies his soul appears before Osiris, and his actions are weighed in the infallible balance. If it is pronounced guilty, it is given over to the tempests and storms of the combined elements, until it can return into a body, which in its turn it tortures and overwhelms with evils and drives into crime and madness." That is to say, the wicked man is a condemned soul expiating the sins of a former existence.

But heaven opens to the soul which can say to its judge: "I

¹ See vol. v. pp. 690 *et seq.* Severus had already erected in Byzantium a temple and a statue to the Sun, *Deo Zeuxippo*. Malalas, *Chronogr.*, xii. p. 291. Tertullian (*Apol.*, 24) says himself to the Romans: *Nonne conceditis de estimatione communi aliquem esse sublimiorem et potentiores velut principem mundi . . . imperium summæ dominationis esse penes unum*. We shall see in the time of Aurelian, Constantine, and Julian, the increasing popularity of the worship of the Sun.

have followed what is right and spoken the truth; no man can complain of me; I have cherished my parents; I have been the joy of my brothers and the delight of my servants. I have committed no crime or abominable act. No labourer has exceeded his day's work for me. I have done the slave no ill turn with his master, nor driven the flock away from its pasturage; I have committed no adultery. I am pure! I am pure!"

And again: "I have neither lied nor done evil, and I have sowed joy, giving bread to the hungry, and water to the thirsty, and garments to the naked."

"Then this pure soul rises through the unknown heavens. Its knowledge increases, its strength is augmented, it passes through the heavenly dwelling and tills the mystic fields of Aalu. At last the day of the blessed eternity dawns for it; it is united with the flock of the gods in adoration of the Perfect One; it sees God face to face, and is lost in Him."¹

That which ancient Egypt had so long kept for herself alone was now spreading through the world. This country, of which Bossuet, judging by external appearances, said that all was god there save God himself, was teaching divine unity, the judgment of the dead, and eternal blessedness gained by merit in our earthly life. From Memphis, from Jerusalem, from Palmyra, from even remoter lands, a current of ideas was setting which had a general similarity, and, meeting another current from Athens and Rome, was destined to blend with it. Upon these united streams was to sail, first discreetly and silently, but presently under full sail, S. Peter's bark bearing the triumphant cross.

¹ M. Maspero, *Revue critique*, 1872, p. 338.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

GOVERNMENT OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211 A.D.).

I.—THE COURT; PLAUTIANUS AND JULIA DOMNA.

THE East being pacified and organized, Severus returned to Italy through Asia Minor and Thrace. Like Hadrian, he was in no haste to return to the *fêtes* and intrigues of the capital. It seemed to him more useful to inspect the frontier of the Danube which he had not visited for nine years, and to visit the armies of Mœsia and Pannonia to which he owed his throne. "Everywhere,"

says Herodian, "he introduced order throughout the provinces."¹ We admit the assertion as well-founded; unhappily, however, we have not the facts to prove it.



Souvenir of the
Return of
Septimius
Severus to Rome
(*Adventus
augg.*).²

In the middle of the year 202² Severus at last came back to Rome. It was the tenth year of his reign. At this point it had been the custom to renew the imperial powers, *sacra decennalia*; but this fiction had been long since given up. The solemnity was but an anniversary celebrated with great magnificence. Severus on this occasion added a largess of 50,000,000 drachmæ, which was distributed at the rate of 1,000 sesterces apiece⁴ among the prætorians and all those who received public corn. The ruler had his share: an arch of triumph, which is still in existence, was erected in his honour at the foot of the Capitol. Its proportions are fine, but the extreme amount of carving, which seems the work of artisans rather than of artists, betrays the decline of decorative

¹ Herod., iii. 10.

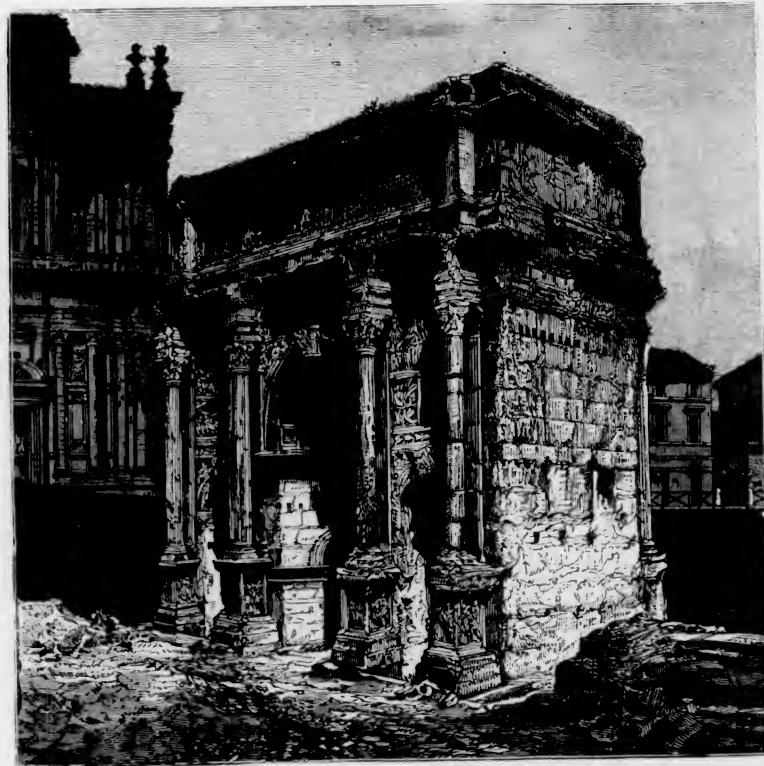
² There exists in the *Code* (ii. 53, 1) an edict dated at Sirmium the 18th of March, 202, and in Cohen (iii. 234) a coin . . . ADVENT. AVG., struck in the third consulship of Severus. An inscription of Lambesa (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 69) gives ground for the supposition that in 203 Severus went to Africa.

³ The emperor and his two sons on horseback, lifting the right hand. (Gold coin.)

⁴ Dion, lxxvi. 1: this largess implies 200,000 persons to receive it. See vol. v. p. 524.

art. A long inscription states that the arch was constructed in honour of the emperor "who has strengthened the State and enlarged the Empire."¹

Two years later were celebrated the Secular games, which



Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome.

brought new gifts² to the people and the soldiers. Heralds went through the city and throughout Italy proclaiming: "Come to these games, which you will never see again." The last ones had been given by Domitian in the year 88. Three generations were allowed to pass between one celebration of these games and the

¹ . . . *ab rem publicam restitutam imperiumque populi Romani propagatum* (Orelli, No. 912).

² Josephus, ii. 7; Herod., iii. 8; Cohen, iii. pp. 254 and 273.

next. That in the time of Severus was the eighth which the Romans had observed.

At this time there was in Rome a man almost as powerful as the emperor himself, Plautianus, the prefect of the city. It will be remembered that Augustus had seemed to divide the authority into two parts, giving up one part to the senate and reserving the other for the emperor; and that he had constituted two kinds of offices, those belonging to the senatorial order and those belonging to the equestrian order. At the head of the former was the prefect of the city; at the head of the latter, the praetorian prefect. This division



Memorial of the
Secular Games
(*Saecularia
saera*).¹

of authority was not a real one; the truth quickly appeared, and the emperor was politically what he must be in such a condition of society, the sole power.² He absorbed by degrees into his council,³ which was composed of senators, juriseconsults, and the heads of the imperial judiciary, almost all the legislative, judicial, and administrative power of the senate. The latter retained scarcely any other function than that of registering the decrees determined on by the council.

The official who had especially the imperial confidence, since he held the emperor's life in his hands, was the man who gained most by this change. In the beginning the praetorian prefect had no other duty than that of protecting the emperor's person, who, to this end, had invested him with military jurisdiction over all the troops stationed in Italy.⁴ The Greeks called him "the king's sword,"⁵ and he followed close behind the emperor in all military expeditions. This "sword," however, the emperor employed for all kinds of uses. Was it necessary to arrest a guilty person, to kill an innocent one, or merely to make preliminary investigations, the praetorians were there. They and their chief owed the ruler

¹ Severus veiled, standing, sacrificing at an altar; opposite the emperor, Caracalla, standing; behind the altar, Concord; at the left, a flute player; at the right, a woman playing the lyre. (Gold coin.)

² I mean to say that, in the nature of the case, he inevitably became the political and military head, but he was not obliged to become the sole administrator.

³ See vol. iii. p. 718, and vol. v. pp. 109 *et seq.*

⁴ Except the urban cohorts, which were under the orders of the *praefectus urbi*. (Dion, lii. 24.)

⁵ τὸ βασιλεῖον ξίφος (Phil., *Vita Apoll.*, vii. 16).

a military obedience in whatever he might command. The criminal jurisdiction of the prefect was extended at first from the soldiers to the slaves, and by degrees invaded all classes. He who originally was only the emperor's sword became "the sharer in his labours, his assistant,"¹ and in many cases his representative, *vice sacra agens*, as was the phrase later. He was a member of the council, and, in the emperor's absence, its presiding officer; he shared in the decision and execution of all affairs, assisted the emperor in determining matters, took his place with delegated power even in the civil jurisdiction, and received appeals in his stead. Alexander Severus afterwards gave the sanction of law to the prefect's decisions.² He was, therefore, with undetermined (and, therefore, unlimited) power a sort of prime minister, supreme judge, and in certain respects commander-in-chief of the army, for he filled the office of superintendent of military stores, inspector of arms and arsenals, and of adjutant-general in military operations.³ The practice of composing the active army of detachments selected from the different legions, and placing at the head of these bodies of troops *duces* having no territorial command, had given occasion for this new duty of the praetorian prefects. They are the predecessors of those viziers of the sultan who hold in one hand the emperor's signet and in the other the standard of the Empire.

Such was the authority possessed by Perennis under Commodus, and now by Plautianus under Severus. As it was but a reflection of the imperial authority it is proper for us to distrust the accusations vaguely made against the prefects of the good reigns. Rulers mindful of the public welfare might have permitted great severities, but they would not have authorized crimes. This remark is particularly necessary in judging of Plautianus.

¹ *Socius laborum* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 2) and *adjutor imperii*. Pomponius, in the time of Hadrian, compared the praetorian prefect to the tribune of the *celeris* under the kings and the *magister equitum* under the dictators. (*Digest*, i. 2, 2, § 19.) Herodian (v. 1) quotes a letter of Macrinus to the senate, in which it is said that this office was very near the sovereign power, τῆς πράξεως οὐ πολὺ τι ἱξουσίας καὶ ἐννάμειος βασιλικῆς ἀποδείσεως, summed up by Lampridius (*Diad.*, 7) in the words, *secundus imperii*. See also what is said by Charisius in the *Digest* (i. 11) and by Dion (lxxv. 14).

² In 235. Cf. *Code*, i. 26, 2.

³ *Hist. Aug.*, *Gord.*, 28-29; *Trig. Tyr.*, 11. Later he had the duty of levying that part of the public tax which served for the pay and support of the army (Zosimus, ii. 32), and already punished financial agents guilty of extortion (Paulus, *Senten.*, v. 12, 6).

Of low birth, but like Severus an African, and possibly a member of the emperor's family,¹ he had followed the latter in all his wars at the head of the guards, and in the intervals between these expeditions he doubtless returned to Rome, where the emperor had need of a man upon whom he could rely. The authority of the



Plautilla, Wife of Caracalla. (Marble Bust in the Louvre.)

office therefore was increased by the absolute confidence which the emperor reposed in him who at this time held it.

On one occasion Plautianus, however, narrowly escaped a fatal disgrace. The order had been given to throw down the statues of the prefect which he had erected to himself near those

¹ His name was Caius Fulvius Plautianus. As the mother of Severus was Fulvia Pia, and his grandfather, Fulvius Pius, Reimar (*ad* Dion, lxxv. 14) concludes from this that Plautianus belonged to the imperial family. In certain inscriptions it is said, *adfinis*, D.D. N.N. (*C. I. L.*, iii. 6,075; v. 2,821); in others, *Augg. necessarius et comes per omnes expeditiones eorum* (*C. I. L.*, v. 1,074). Another inscription, No. 226, includes him in "the Divine House," and his name follows that of the Augusti, the Caesar Geta, and the Empress Julia.

of the imperial family, and Severus had used the formidable expression, "public enemy," which had been caught up and repeated.

But Plautianus had regained the emperor's favour, and the ruler, so severe towards others, seemed to make it his duty to dissipate the memory of his momentary displeasure by loading the prefect with public expressions of regard. An orator having said in the senate: "Before Severus does any harm to Plautianus the sky will fall," the emperor remarked to the senators at his side that this was true. "I could not injure Plautianus," he said, "and I hope not to survive him."¹ The emperor had violated, in favour of his prefect, a rule established by Augustus, twice appointing Plautianus consul,² and with the design of securing his son an experienced guide, had made his prefect the father-in-law of the designate emperor.

Dion relates that he saw the dowry of Plautilla, "the new Juno,"³ carried into the palace, and that it was enough for fifty kings' daughters.



Juno. (Statue in the Museum of Naples.)

¹ Dion, lxxv. 15 and 16.

² Plautianus had really had only the consular ornaments, but Severus counted this honour as if it had been a real consulship. (Dion, lxxv. 15; *C. I. L.*, vi. 220.) The rule of Augustus had already been violated: Clemens, under Domitian (*Tac., Hist.*, iv. 68), and Tatianus, under Hadrian (*Spart., Hadr.*, 8), had been at the same time consuls and praetorian prefects. Alexander Severus decided, contrary to the ordinance of Augustus, that the praetorian prefecture should be a senatorial office.

³ *Nia Hpa* (Waddington, *Fastes de la prov. d'Asie* (p. 247).

Accordingly, the prefect had a royal retinue, and all ranks of men, the senate, the people, and the army, vied with each other in basely flattering him. Though it was no longer permitted to erect statues to him of equal height with those of the emperor himself, men called him the cousin of the emperor, they made oath by his fortune, and they prayed for him in the temples with all the more fervour because he seemed in no need of their prayers. Did Plautianus abuse this vast power, more dangerous in the hands of the minister than of the master? Dion accuses him of many follies and of every crime, without giving details, or else giving them too exactly. For example, the historian declares that Plautianus had stolen "the horses of the Sun, animals resembling tigers, that were kept on an island in the Red Sea." If we must explain this, it might be said that tiger-horses were zebras. But when he relates that Plautianus snatched from their homes a hundred Romans of free condition, married men and fathers of families, and submitted them to mutilation that his daughter might have a train of attendants in Oriental style, and adds, "the thing was not known until after his death," we are justified in saying that Dion allowed himself to repeat one of those foolish calumnies that gather about great men in their fall. Such an act could not have been accomplished in silence, and the prefect could never with impunity have outraged by this crime an imperial decree¹ in force at the time, or the public indignation which would have been aroused by the complaints of the wives and children of the victims.

His great wealth caused him to be suspected of great rapine, but Severus, who had seized the heritage of the Antonines, of Niger, and of Albinus, gave a large share to Plautianus in the numerous confiscations of the reign.² This African was no more reluctant to shed blood than was his master. After the victory at Lyons he insisted on the destruction of the family of Niger,

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 2. See vol. iv. p. 696. Amm. Marcellinus points out that this law was still in force in the fourth century, and he esteems it very useful, *receptissima inclaruit lego*. (*Dom.*, xviii. 4.)

² Herod., iii. 10. Plautianus did not have, as has been asserted, "procurators of the private domain," like those of the emperor, scattered through the provinces to administer his estates. The *procurator ad bona Plautiani*, whom we find mentioned in the inscriptions (Or.-Henzen, No. 6,920), is a *procurator ad bona damnatorum* (*ibid.*, Nos. 3,190, 6,519).

whom Severus had at first spared. Since the death of Albinus the aristocracy did indeed still murmur and curse the new power in low tones; but it had not the energy to form conspiracies; Plautianus feigned or believed that such there were, and victims fell. It is not easy to see in Severus a weak ruler closing his eyes to crimes committed by his minister. If the prefect ordered unmerited punishments, the responsibility falls back upon the emperor, who, made suspicious by the senate's conduct towards the British Caesar, approved of everything.

I have already indicated the secret of this favour, it was natural. Severus, whose feeble health warned him to take thought for the morrow, sought to secure to his son and to the Empire the assistance of a man capable of carrying on the work he had himself begun, and he believed that he had raised this man so high that he could have no temptation to seek to rise higher. It was a reasonable plan, but passion defeated it.



Gold Coin of Plautilla Augusta. On the obverse the head of the Augusta; on the reverse, Concord.

The excessive prosperity of "the vice-emperor"¹ dazzled him. Plautianus

was guilty of the imprudence of estranging the empress by perfidious insinuations against her conduct, and offending the heir to the throne by the affectation of a paternal affection whose ill-judged advice exasperated this violent youth. The marriage of Plautilla, which seemed to consolidate his fortunes, caused their downfall. It is possible that Julia was averse to this union, and shared her son's feeling against this favourite whose popularity cast into the shade this emperor of fourteen, who, animated with equal hatred against father and daughter, expelled the latter from his bed and the former from his house. Dion does not inform us on this point; but he says that the young Augusta, prouder of her father than of her husband, had rendered herself intolerable to Caracalla, and that Plautianus, extremely exasperated against the empress, tormented her in a thousand ways. These domestic quarrels brought about a catastrophe.

Severus had renewed and strengthened the laws against

¹ "Ὁς [Σεουήρος] οὕτως αὐτῷ ὑπέεικεν ἐς πάντα ὥστ' ἐκείνον μὲν ἐν αὐτοκράτορος αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν ἐπαρχῶν μοίρᾳ εἶναι (Dion lxxv. 15).

adultery, and prosecutions of this crime were innumerable in Rome.¹ Plautianus attempted to involve Julia in accusations of this nature, and Dion asserts, which appears strange, that he sought testimony against her even by subjecting women of rank to torture. Incap-



The Empress Julia Domna.²

able of struggling against the all-powerful minister, the empress took refuge among her men of letters and philosophers; but Caracalla did not accept the vexations of his mother with equal serenity, and his hatred of Plautianus redoubled.

Severus, alone of all the imperial household, supported the

¹ Dion, lxxvi. 16. Cf. in the *Digest* (xlviii. 5, 2, § 3) two edicts of Severus on this subject.

² Statue of Pentelic marble found at Bengazzi (Berenice), on the coast of northern Africa. Severus was a native of this region. (Louvre.)

praetorian prefect. Geta, a brother of the emperor, and colleague with Plautianus in the consulship of the year 203, was convinced that the latter meditated the destruction of all the imperial family, and upon his death-bed conjured his brother to save himself. The words of Geta made an impression; this was apparent from the funeral honours decreed to the accuser of Plautianus, and Caracalla believed the moment propitious to destroy the minister. Three centurions suborned by the young emperor came one evening to the palace to declare that Plautianus had employed them to assassinate Severus and his son; and in proof of this produced a written order to that effect, which they asserted they had received from the prefect. Severus, amazed but not convinced, sent for Plautianus. At the door of the palace he was deprived of his guards and entered the imperial presence alone. Severus spoke to him gently: "Why do you wish to destroy us," he said; "who is it that has persuaded you to this?" Plautianus denying the charge eagerly, Caracalla fell upon him, tore away his sword, and struck him in the face, crying out: "Yes, you have sought to murder me." He would have slain the prefect on the spot, but his father prevented it; upon this the youth called upon a lictor to kill Plautianus, and, being Augustus, his word was law; the lictor obeyed. The body of Plautianus, flung out from the palace, was cast into a lane, where it lay until Severus ordered it to be interred (23rd January, 204).¹

In all this matter the emperor plays a wretched part. Through paternal affection he had suffered his friend to be murdered in his presence. On the morrow it was made clear to every one that the emperor did not believe in the pretended

¹ The *Chronicon paschale* places the death of Plautianus on the 22nd of January, 203. But, after having spoken of the prosecution of Rapius Constans, which took place after the return of Severus to Rome, that is to say, in the year 202, Dion (lxxv. 16) says that Plautianus remained in favour for a year longer, which brings us to the middle of 203. An Algerian inscription (L. Renier, 70) shows that he was alive August 22nd, 203. To conclude, it appears from Dion (lxxvi. 3) that the catastrophe took place at the moment when the last spectators of the Palatine games were leaving the palace. These games, we know, began January 21st, and lasted three days (Marquardt, *Handb.*, iv. 429-445). This gives us the 23rd of January, 204, as the date of the tragedy. The story of Herodian (iii. 11 and 12), which supposes a real plot formed by Plautianus, is much more dramatic, but improbable. It tells the story as put in circulation by Caracalla, and inscriptions testify to its currency in the provinces. But Dion was at Rome; he heard everything; he was no friend to the prefect, and would not have failed to narrate the treason of Plautianus had he believed in it.

conspiracy,¹ for, instead of dwelling on the prefect's crime, in his address to the senate, he had recourse to the usual commonplaces of philosophy, deplored human weakness, which could not support too great elevation, and accused himself of having ruined Plautianus by loading him with honours and tokens of affection. It being necessary, however, for the justification of the murder that it should appear that a plot had been discovered, certain of the prefect's most devoted friends were sent to join him in the other world.² His daughter and his son were banished to Lipari, where, at a later period, Caracalla caused them to be slain.

It is not certain whether it was as a friend of Plautianus that Quintillus was put to death. He was a man of high birth, and one of the principal senators, but he lived in the country, far from public affairs and intrigues. He died in the antique manner. Being condemned upon calumnious depositions, he ordered to be brought out the articles he had long before prepared for his interment, and seeing that they had been injured by time: "How is this?" he said. "We have delayed too long." He burned a few grains of incense on the altar of the gods, and gave himself up to the executioner. Other senators accused of various unknown crimes, were convicted, says Dion,⁴ and condemned. But the crimes of that time would not all be crimes in our day, as is shown by the following instance, which exhibits one of the calamities of



Laurelled Caracalla.³

¹ . . . ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ (to the denouncers) παρτίαις (Dion, lxxvi. 5).

² Dion speaks only of the execution of Cecilius Agricola, and the exile of Cereanus who, recalled seven years later, was the first Egyptian made senator. (lxxvi. 5.) Macrinus, the future emperor, was the steward of Plautianus, and the emperor took him into his own service.

³ Engraved stone, amethyst of 12 mill. by 9, in the *Cabinet de France*.

⁴ After debate, ἀπολογησάμενος καὶ ἀδίκως (lxxvi. 7). Cincius Severus, who perished under accusation of wishing to poison the emperor (Spart., *Sec.*, 13) may have been of this number. Spartian speaks of him as an innocent man.

that form of government and social organization. Apronianus, governor of Asia, was accused of employing the resources of magic to discover if the fates did not intend for him the imperial power. The thing is possible, for magic was the mania of the time. Legislation held it in such fear that such practices were made a capital crime, and Tertullian esteems it only just, since this rash curiosity supposes in all cases evil designs.¹ Apronianus was condemned. The interest of this prosecution is not in its result for the accused, but in the scene that Dion relates. "When we had read all the proofs, we found among them this deposition of an eye-witness: 'I saw a bald senator leaning forward in order to see.' At these words we were in a terrible fright, for neither the witness nor the emperor had mentioned the name. Fear was extreme among the senators whose heads or even foreheads were bald. We looked about us with anxiety, and we said: 'It is this man;' or, 'It is that.' I will not deny that my anxiety was so great that I tried with my hand to draw my hair forward over my head. The person reading, however, went on to say that this senator was clad in the *prætexta*. All eyes then turned to the ædile Bæbius Marcellinus, who was completely bald-headed. He rose, and coming forward, he said: 'The witness will of course recognize me if he has seen me.' The informer was called in, and looked about for some time, until at last on a slight hint from some one he pointed out Marcellinus. Thus convicted of being 'the bald man who had looked on,' he was led out of the senate and decapitated in the forum, before Severus had been informed of his condemnation."²

If he had known, would he have approved it? He had not designated Marcellinus in the papers which he had sent in to the senate, and perhaps he would have remembered that he himself, under Commodus, was in great peril by reason of a similar accusation.³

¹ *Apol.*, 35.

² Dion, lxxvi. 8-9. This narrative, which I have been obliged to abridge, brings to light the method of procedure: it shows that a secret written investigation was first made by the imperial secretary or *cognitioarius*; that the report contained the name of the official who had directed the investigation, the names of the witnesses, the results of the inquiry, and the statement that it had been submitted to the emperor and was by him transmitted to the senate. Cf. Caq., *le Magister sacrarum largitionum*, p. 124.

³ Sent by Commodus to the prefects of the prætorian guard, he was acquitted by them. (Spart., *Sec.*, 4.)

But what we have to observe is this terror in the senate; this joy in directing towards a man probably innocent the blow suspended over the heads of all; this haste in causing instant execution to follow upon the sentence; this depriving the accused of all the guarantees of a fair justice, and the condemned of the benefit of that law of Tiberius requiring a delay of ten days. By this we see that more fatal than the despotism of the Caesars was the base servility of those who surrounded the ruler, and who, not making use of existing laws to restrain him, left men no other resource against him but that of conspiracy.

Were there conspiracies under Severus? Certain witnesses assert that there were. His life was often in danger, says Ammianus Marcellinus,¹ and inscriptions contain thanks to the gods for having protected the emperor and his family against the guilty machinations of the enemies of the State. Ammianus Marcellinus names one only of these plots, the one attributed to Plautianus, and it is difficult for all the inscriptions (one of which is dated 208) to be explained as referring to one event.² Defended by the devotion of his prætorians and his legions, having two sons grown to manhood whom a conspirator must also strike at the same time with their father, Severus had nothing to fear. Between the death of Plautianus and the departure of the emperor for Britain, Dion mentions no other condemnations than those of which we have just spoken. As this historian does not believe in the treason of Plautianus, and mentions no others, we are authorized in believing that there were none, and that this source of the greatest iniquities was dried up.

Severus, however, has a very bad name, and he merits it by reason of the executions which he caused to follow each civil war,

¹ xxix. 1. He mentions, it is true, but one (and that a questionable) fact, the order given by Plautianus to a centurion to assassinate the emperor.

² Guérin, *Voyage archéol. en Tunisie*, vol. ii. p. 82: . . . *ob conservatam eorum salutem, detectis insidiis hostium publicorum*. Inscr. of the year 208. Another (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 2,160), which seems to allude to some plot happily discovered, is expressed in nearly the same words. In No. 5,497 of Orelli, we read: *Quod . . . Domini nostri . . . sustulerunt omnes parricidiales insidiatores*. It is impossible to say to whom Tertullian's language applies: . . . *qui nunc scelestarum partium socii aut plausores quotidie revelantur, post vindemiam parricidarum recematio superstes* (Ap., 35). Do these remnants of "parricidal" conspiracies refer to accomplices of Niger and Albinus, or other guilty persons? In any case, we see that Tertullian has no compassion for these victims of civil wars or plots, and regards them as criminals.

and the condemnations that he allowed to be pronounced in virtue of odious laws—such, however, as our modern world has also known. But if we examine closely the vague accusations of writers not contemporary with Severus, we shall no longer find



Septimius Severus. (Bust found at Otricoli. Vatican, Hall of Busts, No. 290.)

that gloomy tyranny which the name of this emperor suggests. Spartian, for example, reproaches him with many murders in the interest of his cupidity; Dion, on the contrary, expressly says that "he put no man to death for the sake of money."¹ Another

¹ lxxvi. 16; but he reproaches the emperor with having been unscrupulous in respect to methods of enriching himself, which is confirmed by no known fact, save his insisting on adoption by the Antonines.

ancient writer¹ speaks of confiscations only "in case of the wicked who had been condemned," and the great Christian apologist of that day considers all these unhappy wretches as justly condemned. Have we not besides witnesses more credible than the miserable scribes of Diocletian,² men who by the mere fact that they worked with Severus testify in his favour? When we find Paulus and Ulpian sitting in the imperial council³ and Papinian in the prætorship, we have a right to say that there was wisdom in the government and justice in the administration.

The ruler who selected such servants was himself as good a juriconsult as he was an able general. In his council men spoke freely: Paulus argued learnedly against the emperor, and when he published his collection of the imperial decisions he criticized them with a freedom that does honour both to the councillor and to the ruler. By common accord he is represented as simple in his dress, sober in his habits, with dignity in his life,⁴ a respect for himself and for his rank. While legate in Africa he ordered one of his fellow-citizens of Leptis, who had embraced him in the open street, to be beaten; and when emperor he seems to have so lived that he could prosecute offences against morals without any man having ground to reproach him for being less indulgent to others than to himself. There have been made against him no charges, except one in early youth, which has been proved false,⁵ and another of later date, equally unworthy of credence.

He permitted no influence to the Cæsarians, that is to say, his freedmen and the imperial household, even to his brother, who expected to enjoy a large share of power, but was promptly sent away into his province of Dacia: it was a rare case of prudence

¹ Zosimus, i. 8: . . . *περὶ τοὺς ἀναπράσσαντας ἀπαπαίρητος*, etc.

² Spartian and Capitolinus wrote by order of Diocletian.

³ Two other eminent lawyers, Tryphonius and Arrius Menander, were also members of the council. (*Digest*, xlix. 14, 50, and v. 4, 11, 2.)

⁴ Spartian says (*Sev.*, 4) that during his government in Lugdunensis, *Gallis ob severitatem et honorificentiam et abstinentiam tantum quantum nemo dilectus est*. The same writer speaks of an accusation of adultery made against him and judged at Rome by the proconsul Didius Julianus. A proconsul, however, could not judge at Rome, and the error on one point throws doubt upon the other.

⁵ Höfner, who discusses this question in his *Untersuch. zur Gesch. des . . . Severus*, pp. 49-51, says: *Die ganze Geschichte wird nichts anderes sein, als eine gehässige Erfindung*. The reasons assigned by him and M. Roulez seem decisive. Concerning his upright character, see *Hist. Aug., Tyr. Trig.*, 5.

in an absolute ruler, and was the more valued on that account. The courtiers, an inevitable evil, had no chance with this emperor, scornful of the pomp of power, who rejected most of the honours which the senate decreed to him, saying: "Have in your hearts the affection for me that you parade in your decrees." After his Parthian campaign he refused the triumph under pretext that the gout rendered him unable to sit upright in the chariot; but if it were a question of inspecting an army or a province he traversed the whole Empire. He was insensible to the evil that was said of him, and thus could see and act with calmness. A senator whose biting wit had more than once been employed against the ruler, dared to say to him, when Severus caused himself to be inscribed in the family of the Antonines: "I congratulate you, Cæsar, on finding a father." The epigram was transparent, but Severus appeared not to understand it, and its author retained, as before, the imperial favour. Another, a pitiless satirist, had been for his sharp tongue's offences held under arrest in his palace, somewhat as in France, after the prosecution of an editor of a newspaper for libel, the criminal is confined in a private asylum. He continued to attack all men, emperors included. Severus commanded him to be brought into the imperial presence one day, and swore to him that he would cut off his head. "You can cut it off if you choose," said the incorrigible offender; "but I swear to you that so long as it remains on my shoulders neither you nor I can be its masters." The emperor laughed, and the mocker, who ridiculed himself also, was set at liberty.¹ Easy-tempered towards his adversaries when his own safety and public order did not require severity, he was a faithful and devoted friend towards those who had gained his affection; he loaded them with gifts and honours, cared for them if they were ill, and kept a supply of the expensive remedies that Galen prepared for him to distribute among them. He thus cured Antipater, his secretary for Greek letters, the son of one Piso, and the matron Arria.² Conduct such as this does not reveal a savage disposition.

¹ Dion, lxxvi. 6, 9, 16, and lxxvii. 10.

² Galen, *Theriaca*, vol. xiv. p. 218, of Kuhn's edition. This supply of remedies found in the palace after Caracalla's death gave rise to suspicions. The drugs which were believed to be poisonous were solemnly burned, and Macrinus regarded the son of Severus as a poisoner.

All his time was devoted to the public service, for he was anxious to neglect nothing which was necessary to the success of his enterprises.¹ Dion gives us the employ of his day: "At daylight he began his work, interrupting it only to take a walk, during which he conversed on public affairs with those whom he called to accompany him. The hour arriving for the sitting of his tribunal, he went thither, unless it were a holiday, and remained until noon. He allowed to the parties all the time that they needed, and to us who sat with him he allowed great liberty of opinion. After the hearing was over he went out on horseback or took exercise in some other form, and then took his bath. He dined alone or with his sons, then slept awhile, causing himself to be awakened to walk accompanied by Greek and Latin scholars. In the evening he took a second bath, and supped in company with those who chanced to be present, for he specially invited no one, and reserved sumptuous entertainments for days when he could not avoid them."² This well-regulated life shows a man who must have loved order in everything.

The empress was worthy of him. She was the daughter of Julius Bassianus, priest of the Sun at Emesa,³ and was living in that city at the time when Severus commanded a legion in Syria, and perhaps the recollection of her beauty, as well as the fact that an astrological prediction had declared that she was to be a sovereign's wife, decided him to ask her in marriage. There is ascribed to her an adroitness which, in her masculine intellect, was allied to audacity. It is she, we are assured, who decided Severus to assume the purple.⁴ In return, he showed her great respect. He took her with him on his expeditions, and as he

The murderer of Geta's 20,000 partisans had no need of this discreet method of being rid of his adversaries; but succeeding governments always believe that the dishonour of the dead is to the advantage of the living.

¹ ἐπιμελής μὲν πάντων ὧν πράξει ἤθελεν (Dion, lxxvi. 16). Herodian (iii. 32 and 43) shows him very assiduous in his public duties.

² Dion, lxxvi. 17.

³ She was born in 170, in modest circumstances, ἐκ δημοτικοῦ γένους (Dion, lxxviii. 24). The priesthood of Elagabalus at Emesa was, however, hereditary, and its high priests had been called kings up to the time of Vespasian (Dion, liv. 9). Domitian was the emperor who began the imperial coinage at Emesa. Jamblichus, a neo-Platonic philosopher of the fourth century, claimed descent from this royal house.

⁴ At least Capitolinus (*Alb.*, 3) says of Severus: . . . *illorum* (Albinus and Niger) *utrumque bello oppressisse, maxime precibus uxoris adductus*.

allowed himself to be called *dominus noster*, "the master," she called herself *domna*, "the mistress,"¹ and the further title was



The Empress Julia Pia Domna. (Bust found at Rome. Vatican, Rotunda, No. 554.)

given her "mother of the camps," and of the senate and the country, and even the whole Roman people.²

This empress has had in history the sad notoriety of being the mother of Caracalla, and later authors, collecting the evil reports current among this people, "whose tongues were ever in

¹ The Romans were able to give this meaning to the word *domna*, but, according to Suidas (s. v. Δόμνος) the word was a Syrian proper name, and everything seems to confirm this opinion of Suidas.

² Orelli, No. 4,945, and L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, *passim*. Herzberg (*Gesch. Griechenl.*, vol. ii. p. 422) shows by many inscriptions the popularity of Julia Domna among the Greeks, who honoured her as "a new Demeter." In respect to coins, see Cohen, vol. iii. pp. 333 *et seq.*

revolt,"¹ have reproached her with many immoralities; but they also accuse her of conspiring against the emperor. Dion speaks of neither accusation, and the absurdity of the second throws doubt upon the former, even though it were not considered that her elevated mind, her four children,² and her rank ought to have



Julia Domna,
"Mother of the Camps."⁴

protected her from going astray. She had an inquiring mind, directed towards the great problems of life, for she was ill-satisfied with the ideas and beliefs at that time current in the world. In the palace she had gathered about her a circle³ of intellectual men where all



Julia Domna, Mother of the Senate, Mother of the Country. (Reverse of a large Bronze, Cohen, No. 168.)

subjects were discussed, and whence a contemporary perhaps derived the idea of his Banquet of Learned Men (*Deipno-sophistae*).⁵ She was not offended to be called Julia the Philosopher.⁶ There is reason to believe that Diogenes Laërtius dedicated to her his history of Greek philosophers,⁷ and it is certain that she employed Philostratus to write for her the life of Apollonius Tyaneus, to whom the son of Severus consecrated a *heroon*.⁸ All-powerful

¹ Tertullian, *ad Nationes*, i. 17, and *Apol.*, 35: *Ipsos Quirites, ipsam vernaculam . . . plebem convenio, an alicui Cesari suo parcat illa lingua Romana.*

² Her two sons, and the two daughters of whom we know nothing. Eckhel, vii. 195: . . . *tulit quoque liberos sexus muliebris*, "whom Severus gave in marriage after he became emperor." (Tillemont, vol. iii. p. 592.)

³ . . . *τοῦ περὶ ἀνδρῶν* (Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.*, i. 3). . . . *τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἰουλιαν γεωμέτραις τε καὶ φιλοσόφοις* (*ibid.*, ii. 30).

⁴ The empress veiled, holding a patera over an altar; in front of her, three military standards. (Cohen, No. 176.)

⁵ This sort of work was of ancient Greek origin; Plato gave an example of them, which Lucian followed. It is not certain, therefore, that Athenæus was inspired by what passed at the court of Severus. At the same time, among the guests in the work of Athenæus are Ulpian and Galen, two intimates of the imperial palace, and the entertainment is represented as taking place in Rome, where it is given by the wealthy Larensius.

⁶ . . . *τῆς φιλοσόφου Ἰουλίας* (Philostratus, *ibid.*, ii. 30).

⁷ The book was dedicated to a woman who greatly admired the Academy, but the dedication, which contained her name, is lost, and we are at liberty to choose between Arria and the Empress Julia.

⁸ Dion, lxxvii. 18. Many cities in Greece and Asia had already made a divinity of Apollonius (Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.*, i. 5), and Aurelian erected altars to him (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 24). The Christians themselves believed in his miracles and in the oracles given by his statue;

during her son's reign, she still philosophized while ruling the Empire,¹ and preserved her intellectual tastes until her death; and these tastes lingered upon the Palatine after her time: a half century later the empress Salonina took pleasure in conversing with Plotinus.

With Julia Domna were her sister and her two nieces, also famous for their beauty: Julia Mæsa, who later was able with her own hand to avenge her race by overthrowing an emperor, and twice caused the purple to be conferred on boys whom she had selected; Julia Soæmias, who is represented on coins as the Heavenly Virgin, but whom Lampridius accuses of mundane



Apollonius of Tyana, on a Medallion in the Cabinet de France.

frailties, a reputation due perhaps to her son Elagabalus; and third, the high-minded Mamæa, doubly mother to Alexander, by blood and by the education she gave this young prince, in whom men delighted to recognize a new Marcus Aurelius. Deeply interested in the great movement of the intellectual world of her time, Mamæa desired, when she heard of Origen, to know the most learned Christian of his time; and just as the empress ordered to be written for her the marvellous history of that Pythagorean ascetic called in those days an incarnation of the god Proteus, Apollonius of Tyana, so her niece wished to learn from the "man of brass"² those strange doctrines which led men rejoicing to martyrdom.



Julia Mamæa.
(Gold Coin.)

Into this circle of superior minds we have the right to introduce three men whose names posterity never mentions but with respect: Papinian, a relative of Julia Domna, who either owed to her his fortune or else made hers;³ Ulpian, a fellow-countryman of the illustrious Syrian ladies of the imperial household; and

this is explained by the theory of demons. See, after the list of S. Jerome's works, the twenty-sixth question and its answer.

¹ . . . *μετὰ τούτων ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ* (Dion, lxxvii. 18).

² *Ἀδαμάντιος* (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, vi. 14). This was the name which his contemporaries gave him. In respect to his relations with Mamæa, see the same author (*ibid.*, vi. 21).

³ . . . *et, ut aliqui loquuntur, ad fin.* (Spart., *Car.*, 8). Papinian, like Julia, was a Syrian, and from his youth one of the emperor's friends. The marriage with Julia was made . . . *interventu amicorum* (Spart., *Sev.*, 3).

Paulus, who together with Ulpian was a member of the supreme council.¹ In the presence of the empress, these grave personages forgot the courts of law, and remembered only what of their profound learning was suited to an intellectual conversation. Sometimes verses of Oppianus were read aloud, which the emperor had paid for by their weight in gold,² or those which Gordian, himself afterwards an emperor, was writing in these days to extol the Antonine³ house, in which the new dynasty sought for its ancestors. Philostratus, a frequent visitor, recited in the palace his *Heroicos*, representing Caracalla as Achilles; Ælian, famous in that time

Julia Mæsa.⁴

for the sweetness of his style and for his profound piety, doubtless was admitted to relate some of his *Varia Historia*,⁵ and Galen,

¹ It cannot be affirmed that Ulpian and Paulus were great friends. The former never quotes the latter, and Paulus mentions Ulpian only once in the *Digest*, xix. 1, i. 43. Fragments from Ulpian, however, form a third part and those from Paulus a sixth part of the *Pandects*.

² The poem on the chase is dedicated to Caracalla τὸν μεγάλην μεγάλῃ φησὶσας Δόμνα Σεβήρῃ (*de Venat.*, i. 4).

³ In thirty books, called the *Antoniniad*, he had sung of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius. Capitolinus says (*Gord. tres*, 3): *declamavit audientibus etiam imperatoribus suis*.

⁴ Statue found at Rome near the Porta Capena. (Capitoline Gallery, No. 56.)

⁵ The empress took Philostratus with her on her journeys. Ælian was established at Rome permanently; and his reputation of writing Greek with great purity gave him the name of Μετρίλωσσος, which must have opened to him the gates of the Palatine, where Greek was

whose noble words we have already quoted,¹ words certainly more than once repeated in the imperial circle, discoursed there with charming enthusiasm on science and philosophy, especially when he

Julia Soëmias as Venus. (Statue in the Vatican.)²

encountered Serenus Sammonicus, one of Geta's friends, who dipped into medicine, and could draw many curious facts from the 62,000 books of his library.³

more in favour than Latin. Cf. Lampridius, *Alex.*: *nec valde amavit Latinam facundiam* (3) *et librum in mensa et legebat, sed Græce magis* (34).

¹ Vol. v. p. 724.

² Marble statue found at Palestrina (Præeste) on the site of the forum. The hair seems to be fitted to the head like a wig. The Amor placed beside the Venus is stretched upon a dolphin. (*Museo Pio Clem.*, vol. ii. pl. 51.)

³ Sammonicus wrote in verse on the subject of medicine and dedicated some of his treatises to Severus and Caracalla. (Macrob., *Saturn.*, III. xvi. 6.) Geta read his books assiduously, *familiarissimos habuit*. (Spart., *Geta*, 5.)

The emperor took pleasure in these intellectual discussions, for the rude soldier loved letters and desired to understand all learning.¹ Before



Galen, Physician and Philosopher.¹

attaining the imperial dignity he had passed in the schools of Athens, *causa studiorum*, a period when he was in disgrace at Rome,² and Galen tells us that the emperor had a special esteem for a great lady at Rome "because she read Plato."³ This Arria must also have made one in the imperial circle. Was it not like one of those Italian courts of the fifteenth century where Plato lived again, and the greatest ladies were pleased to listen

to learned dissertations on a world which was also seeking to regenerate itself? But at Florence men were entering into full day, while in the Rome of Severus, notwithstanding equal mental curiosity, men could but wander in the midst of confusing twilight.

¹ *Philosophie ac dicendi studiis satis deditus, doctrinæ quoque nimis cupidus* (Spart., *Sev.*, 18 and 1); . . . *cunctis liberalium deditus studiis* (Aur. Vict., *de Cæs.*, 20). *Civilibus studiis clarus fuit et litteris doctus, philosophiæ ad plenum adeptus* (Eutropius, viii. 19).

² Spart., *Sev.*, 3. He took pleasure in hearing all the famous sophists of the time (Philostratus, *Vitæ Soph.*, ii. 27, 3).

³ Galen's *Works*, vol. xiv. p. 218, Kuhn's ed.

⁴ Visconti, *Icon. grecq.*, vol. i. 1st part, p. 138.



Gold Coin of Suetonius.

II.—LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION; PAPINIAN.

A ruler is judged also by the counsellors he selects. I have mentioned Papinian among the intimates of the palace. The great juriconsult had been the friend of Severus since the youth of both, and after the latter's accession to the Empire he appointed Papinian *magister libellorum*.¹ This office obliged the Chief Secretary to settle the doubts of judges, to reply to questions from governors, and to attend to petitions of private individuals. The *rescripta*, in such cases issued frequently, formed exceptions to the common law. They enlarged previous legislation, and interpenetrated it with that spirit of justice which we have seen the juriconsults exhibit. Those of Papinian have this character especially.² His was a clear and sure intelligence, an elevated mind in which law and equity were combined, and he was an elegant writer whose works became classic and were text-books in the schools of law.³ The code published two centuries later (439 A.D.) by two Christian emperors, places him above all the other Roman juriconsults.⁴

After the death of Plautianus, Severus gave to Papinian the office of prætorian prefect, reverting at the same time to the often interrupted but very ancient custom of sharing this very great duty between two or even three persons.⁵ This usage, contrary to

¹ . . . *amicissimum imperatori* (Spart., *Car.*, 8). *Digest*, xx. 5, 12 pr.

² See vol. v. p. 687. Tertullian (*Apolog.*, 4) recognizes this openly: *Nonne et vos quotidie, experimentis illuminantibus tenebras antiquitatis, totam illam veterem et squalentem silvam legum novis principalium rescriptorum et edictorum securibus rusticis et cæditis*. This is the same legislative labour which England, heir of the Romans' practical sense, is carrying on in India, where she prudently waits, before making laws, until interested parties claim their rights and experience reveals needs. In one of his books, for instance, Papinian restrains the testamentary authority of the father, refusing him the right to put into his will a clause *quam senatus aut princeps improbant* . . . *nam quæ facta ledunt pietatem, existimationem, verecundiam nostram et, ut generaliter dixerim, contra bonos mores fiunt nec facere nos posse credendum est* (*Digest*, xxviii. 7, 15). Besides Ulpian, Paulus, and Marcian, there were at this time living, Callistratus, of whose works ninety-nine fragments are contained in the *Pandects*, and two members of the council, Cl. Tryphonius and Arrius Menander, who also contributed to the *Pandects*. The reign of Severus, with still another renowned lawyer, Tertullianus, continues, therefore, the flourishing period of Roman jurisprudence.

³ For students of the third year, "Papinianists." Spartian (*Sev.*, 21) calls it *juris asylum et doctrinæ legalis thesaurum*.

⁴ *Cod. Theod.*, i. 4, *lex unica de responsis prudentium*.

⁵ Herod., iii. 8. In the reign of Caligula we find two prætorian prefects (Suet., *Cal.*,

all the military institutions of the Empire, was required by the importance of the office and the variety of talents it required.

Papinian had for colleague a soldier, Mæcius Lætus; and when we see at the head of the army the valiant and able defender of Nisibis,¹ and at the head of the civil administration the jurisconsult of whom an old writer says, "his love for justice and his understanding of it were equal," we must feel sure that the State was well served by these two men who, for eight years, remained as much the friends as the ministers of the emperor. Unfortunately, we have but little information in respect to their labours.

The legislative work of Severus was, however, considerable: the fragments of his rescripts surpass in number those of his most active predecessors. "He made many excellent laws," says Aurelius Victor, and Tertullian adds, "useful laws;" for he congratulates the emperor, calling him "the most conservative of rulers,"² on having reformed the Papian Poppæan Law, "which was almost a whole code in itself."³ Unfortunately, there exists scarcely anything of this legislation, and most of the rescripts of Severus which are left to us are merely applications of early law which served the jurisconsults in defining jurisprudence.⁴ In respect to the history of Roman legislation, these rescripts, therefore, have little importance; but they have much in reference to political history, for they show in what spirit this emperor caused the laws to be executed, and this spirit is one of benevolent equity, which we are bound to keep in remembrance: *benignissime rescripsit*, says a jurisconsult. He himself marked this character of his administration, when, in a speech which he caused his son to read to the senate, he called upon the Conscript Fathers to soften the rigour

56), and also two in the time of Nero (Plut., *Galba*, 8; Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 2) and under Antoninus.

¹ See p. 70. An inscription of May 28th, 205, shows them both prætorian prefects. (Or.-Henzen, No. 5,603.)

² *Legum conditor longe æquilibrium* (Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 20). *Constantissimus principum* (Tert., *Apol.*, i. 4).

³ The Christians desired the suppression of this law, which was decreed by Constantine (*Code*, viii. 58, 1).

⁴ Many imperial rescripts may be compared to the decrees of the French Court of Cassation, whose dates do not determine the date of the legislative provision sanctioned by the decree, nor even that of the commencement of jurisprudence in respect to the point in question, but attest that this provision and this jurisprudence were in force at the period where history meets them, and this suffices to justify our citations.

of the laws.¹ If a man, says one of the great legal authorities of the time, be accused of crimes which fall under two different penal ordinances, one milder, the other more severe, it is the former which shall be applied in the case.² And acts corresponded to words.

To put one's treasures in a secure place, it was the custom to deposit them in a temple, and a theft from the sacred building brought with it the penalty of sacrilege; Severus granted only the *actio furti* against those who, without touching the sacred objects, had carried off the possessions of a private person. At the same time he condemned to exile the son of a senator who had caused to be carried into a temple a chest in which a man was concealed, in the intention that when night had come and the doors had been closed the latter might steal at leisure.³

In cases of treason the public treasury inherited the property either present or future of the condemned; the emperor decided that the sons of the criminal should retain the rights which their father had had over his freedman; and this was esteemed a great indulgence.⁴ While he did not abolish the unjust, but profoundly Roman, law of confiscation, at least he modified its rigour, and his counsellors wrote, in all cases, that the fault of the father should not fall upon the son; and that illegitimate children, those born of adulterous or even incestuous connections, should not, on account of the stain on their birth, be excluded from public honours.⁵ One of his rescripts established a new mode of confiscation against which there can be no objection made: "The husband," he said, "who does not avenge his murdered wife shall lose whatever of her dowry would fall to him."⁶ He condemned to temporary exile the woman who, by practising abortion, deprived her husband of the hope of children.⁷

¹ . . . *ut aliquid laxaret (senatus) ex juris rigore* (*Digest*, xxiv. 1, 32 pr.). It was on a special point, namely, of gifts between married persons; but the same spirit is found in other rescripts. In one of Alexander Severus we read: *quæ a D. Antonino, patre meo et quæ a me rescripta sunt, cum juris et æquitatis rationibus congruant* (*Code*, ii. 1, 8).

² *Mitior lex erit sequenda* (Ulpian, *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 32).

³ *Digest*, xlviii. 13, 12.

⁴ *Digest*, xxxvii. 14, 4, and xlviii. 4, 9. In speaking of this rescript Marcian uses the expression: *benignissime rescripsit*.

⁵ *Digest*, i. 2, § 2: *ne patris nota filius maculetur*. *Ibid.*, i. 2, 6: *non impedienda dignitas ejus qui nihil admisit*.

⁶ *Digest*, xlix. 14, 27.

⁷ *Digest*, xlvii. ii. 4.

To sell a statue of the emperor or to strike it with a stone was a *crimen majestatis* which had cost many men their lives; he authorized the sale of unconsecrated statues, and admitted the excuse of accident.¹

No sentence was to be pronounced against an absent man: equity forbidding that a judgment should be given until both sides had been heard.²

If the accuser should desist, he was forbidden to resume his accusation.³ The same is the law in France when the prosecuting officer abandons the case.

The accused person should be brought before the judge of the place where the crime had been committed;⁴ there also he was to suffer the penalty,⁵ so that the witnesses of the offence might also witness the expiation; and modern law makes the same provision.

In the case of banishment the penalty existed after death, and the corpse of the criminal was condemned also to be exiled from the paternal tomb. Severus did not repeal this law, but he frequently granted a dispensation from it.⁶

Wards were frequently robbed by faithless guardians, and he prohibited the latter from alienating the property of minors without authorization from the urban prætor or the governor.⁷ We have similar prohibitions.

Let us also remember to his honour the rescript which allowed the Jews to be candidates for municipal honours without renouncing their religion.

It is not certain that Severus greatly ameliorated the condition of slaves; but certainly after his time they were much more secure in the possession of the advantages they had already obtained, in consequence of the application which he made in certain circumstances of provisions favourable to them.

¹ *Digest*, xlviii. 4, 5, § 1: *lapide incerto*.

² *Digest*, xlviii. 17, 1. Absence did not prevent, however, a favourable verdict, at least in some cases. Thus the prætor could declare a slave free to whom liberty had been given by testament, even when he did not present himself to claim it. Senatus-consultum of the year 182, under Commodus. (*Digest*, xl. 5, 28, § 4.)

³ *Ibid.*, 16, 15, § 4.

⁴ *Digest*, xlviii. 2, 22.

⁵ *Digest*, xlix. 16, 3 pr.

⁶ *Digest*, xlviii. 24, 2: . . . *multis petentibus indulxit*.

⁷ *Digest*, xxvii. 9, 1. This important matter of wardship was regulated in all its details by an *oratio Severi*, read in the senate on the ides of June, 195.

It was forbidden to a master to set on foot an action against his freedman by reason of a fault which the latter had committed while in the state of servitude; it was also forbidden to all to reproach a woman with the wages of disgrace which she had been forced to earn before her enfranchisement; it was also forbidden to women to fight in the arena.¹

If a slave owed his liberty to a forged *codicillum*, he should keep his freedom, but should pay twenty *solidi* to the heir:² a decision which satisfied at the same time both law and equity, leaving to the slave the benefit of a lucky error and compensating the heir for the diminution of his inheritance.

The emperor even gave access to public office to the children of mixed condition: "Let not Titius, the son of a free woman and a father yet in slavery, from attaining the decurionate in his city."³

A man condemned was said to be *servus pænæ*. What was to be the condition of the slave sent to the mines, when the emperor's pardon took him thence? The condemned man, said Severus, was the slave of the penalty; the penalty being suppressed, the man is free.⁴ The method of enfranchisement is curious: a capital sentence resulting in giving the slave his liberty! The slave's penal sentence had, it was considered, placed the State in the master's position towards him; and the master could not recover his rights by the fact that the emperor had pardoned the *servus pænæ*. This was a rigorous application of principles, but it must be that these principles were sometimes violated, and that the

¹ *Digest*, iv. 4, 11; iii. 2, 24; Dion, lxxv. 16.

² *Digest*, xl. 4, 47.

³ *Digest*, l. 2, 9 pr.

⁴ *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 8, § 12. This rescript belongs to the reign of Caracalla, who in his civil laws followed out the spirit of his father's legislation. Ulpian, who reports this rescript, adds: *rectissime rescipit*. Alexander Severus applied the same principle to the son, who, under similar conditions, was set free from the *patria potestas* (*Co le*, ix. 51, 6). The following are also rescripts of Caracalla: The slave cannot be enfranchised until after he has given account of his stewardship (*Digest*, xl. 12, 34. See vol. v. of this work, p. 308). The patron who does not maintain his freedman loses his rights over him (*Digest*, xxxvii. 14, 5, § 1. This rescript is possibly of the reign of Alexander Severus). Banishment involved the confiscation of property. Two persons about to be exiled asked permission to levy each upon his and her individual property which was about to be taken from them enough to secure, the mother to the son, and the son to the mother, the bare necessities of life, *ad victum necessaria*. "I cannot change a law," the emperor replied. "but your request is a pious one; it shall be done as you desire." (*Digest*, xlviii. 22, 16.) He condemned to be beaten with rods and sent into exile for three years those who pillaged shipwrecked persons. (*Digest*, xlvii. 9, 4, etc.)

emperor being asked for his opinion on the subject, confirmed them anew.

The prefect of the city had now the entire criminal jurisdiction in Rome and as far as the hundredth mile, excepting over



Septimius Severus. (Museum of the Louvre.)

senators, who were amenable to the senate. Severus ordered him to receive the complaints of slaves against their cruel or profligate masters, and to keep watch that none should be compelled to a life of shame.¹

¹ officium præf. urbi datum ut mancipia tueatur, ne prostituantur (Digest, i. 12, 1, § 8) ut servos de dominis querentes audiat si sævitiam, si duritiam, si famem, qua

There were, especially in the army, many slaves belonging to several masters at once. Severus decided that if one of the latter enfranchised the common slave, the co-proprietor or proprietors should be obliged to sell to him their share at a price fixed by the prætor, so that the freedman might thus obtain his full liberty. This rule lasted until the time of Justinian. Contrary to Hadrian's rescript, he did not allow the common slaves to be put to the torture in case of a prosecution of one of the masters; and calling to mind that the law did not permit, save in certain defined cases, confessions against the master to be extorted from the slave by torture, he added: so much the more are their denunciations of their masters not to be received.¹ This principle of domestic discipline having been so often violated under bad emperors, we must set it down to the credit of Severus that he made its legal authority clear.

In fiscal prosecutions it had been usual to compel the accused person to prove that his fortune had been legitimately acquired; Severus decided that it was the business of the informer to prove the justice of his accusation. This also is one of the rules of our legislation. Lastly, he uttered this principle, that whenever there were doubts in regard to the meaning of the law, precedents should be examined, or custom, which in such case, should have the force of law. Local custom, therefore, had not been abolished at the beginning of the third century.²

Severus, who took pleasure in directing the law towards milder constructions, was rigorous towards all forms of disorder. He augmented the severities of the Julian law in respect to cases of adultery, but without great profit to public morals, which cannot be corrected by articles of a code.³ But neither was he indulgent

eos premant; si obscenitatem in qua eos compulerent vel compellant (ibid.). The slave, however, could not publicly accuse his master. Severus wished to constrain the latter to humanity, while not destroying domestic discipline (Digest, xlix. 14, 2, § 6). An ordinance of Commodus had decreed that the enfranchised person who did not come to the help of his patron in sickness or destitution should be given back into slavery (Digest, xxv. 3, 6, § 1). In article 12 of the Digest, book i., Ulpian gives a summary of the letter of Severus, which is, so to speak, the constituent charter of the urban prefecture.

¹ Code, vii. 7, 1; Digest, xlviii. 18, 17, § 2; *ibid.*, § 3: *Plurium servum in nullius caput torqueri posse*; Code, ix. 14, 1; Digest, xlviii. 18, 1, § 16.

² Digest, xlix. 14, 26; *ibid.*, i. 3, 38; see vol. v. of this work, p. 326.

³ When he became consul, Dion found 3,000 accusations entered on the lists. See vol. v. p. 644, n. 1.

towards his own interests: he rejected any legacy where the simplest formality had been omitted, using those words which are so honourable in the mouth of a ruler whom the constitution exempts from all laws: "It is true that I am above the laws; but it is with and by the laws that I desire to live."¹

The law forbade public officers to take a wife, or even suffer their sons to marry, in the province where they were on duty. However, marriages of this class had taken place. To prevent all pressure upon provincial families by reason of interested marriages, Severus decided that an official who had taken to wife a rich heiress living in his province should not inherit from her.²

Billeting of military and civil functionaries was a burden to the provincials and often there was much abuse under this head; Severus therefore recommended the governors to observe the rules strictly.³

Many of these provisions were not new;⁴ but Severus made them his own by repeating them, and some of them prove that the Roman world was steadily effecting by itself the greatest social evolution of antiquity: the slave ceasing to be a thing and becoming a person.

We must notice, on the other hand, the decline of the municipal régime which was now beginning. The kind of heredity established by Augustus in respect to the senate at Rome had by degrees extended itself over the Empire. Certain sons of decurions, doubtless in limited number, *prætextati*, sat in the local senate, but did not vote until after their twenty-fifth year, after having occupied some public office, and when death or some sentence of punishment had made a vacancy.⁵ Paulus, one of the emperor's council, wrote about this time: "He who is not a member of the curia cannot be appointed duumvir, because it is forbidden to plebeians to aspire to the honours of the decurionate." On the other hand, his eminent contemporaries, Ulpian and Papinian, admitted that a man of the people might arrive at the senate, not

¹ *Licet legibus soluti sumus, attamen legibus vivimus* (*Inst.*, ii. 17, § 8).

² *Digest*, xxxiv. 9, 2, § 1, and xxxiii. 2, 57, 63.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 16, 4, *proem.*

⁴ See p. 114.

⁵ At Canusium, in 223, there were twenty-five *prætextati* to a hundred decurions. (Papinian, in the *Digest*, i. 2, 6, § 1.)

by the *lectio*, which no longer made the quinquennial duumvir, but by the *cooptatio*. But for these authorities also the sons of the decurions formed a privileged class.¹ We are at a period of transition, therefore, when the early liberties were becoming effaced without having completely disappeared. The curia is not yet closed to new men, but the municipal aristocracy was drawing itself closer and the movement of concentration accelerated. Already Ulpian is of opinion that the decurion who abandons his city should be brought back to it by the governor of the province, that he may fulfil the duties which are incumbent upon him;² and Septimius Severus proscribed to all his agents to act with extreme circumspection in the imposition of new municipal taxes; and to his proconsuls and legates to keep rigorous watch over public works and over illegal associations.³ "There is nothing in the province," said the councillor of Severus, "which cannot be executed by the governor."⁴ Centralization was gaining at the expense of local vitality. But later we shall see it was less the rulers who encroached than the towns which made the encroachments necessary.

As we read all these rescripts, and there are many others of which I have not spoken, we are forced to acknowledge that if Septimius Severus was not the reformer for whom the Empire had been looking since the death of Augustus, he was at least a ruler attentive to the needs of the time.

Of all these needs the most imperious—after the horrible confusion which began under Commodus and continued five years after his reign had ceased—was public order. To have done with civil wars, with military revolts, with armed brigandage, and to put every man and everything in the proper place, required no

¹ *Digest*, i. 2, § 2, and 7, §§ 2-7.

² *Digest*, i. 2, 1. Rescripts of Severus exist forbidding the cities to lay too heavy burdens on the rich; but also to constrain to the execution of their promises those who had made a formal engagement to construct some work of public utility or decoration (*Digest*, i. 12, 6, §§ 2 and 3); in respect to the recall of the doctor or professor appointed by the city (*Digest*, xxvii. 1, 6, §§ 6, 9, and 11); concerning the age requisite for municipal office, from twenty-five to fifty-five years (*Digest*, i. 2, 11); in regard to peculating magistrates (*Digest*, iii. 5, 38); on the extent of the responsibility of the magistrates' surety (*Code*, vi. 34, 1, etc.).

³ *Code*, iv. 62, 1; Ulpian, in the *Digest*, i. 16, 7; *ibid.*, i. 12, § 14, and Marcian, *ibid.*, xlvii. 22, 1.

⁴ *Nec quicquam est in provincia quod non per ipsum expeditur* (*Digest*, i. 16, 9, 1).

common energy, but this was what Severus accomplished. "He corrected many abuses," say Spartian and Aurelius Victor;¹ "he was terrible to the wicked," says Zosimus; according to Herodian, he re-established order in the provinces; and all agree that he was unsparing towards governors who were found guilty,² "since he knew that the great robbers produce the less."³ An Egyptian prefect, accused of counterfeiting, suffered the penalties prescribed by the old Cornelian law *de falsis*. But Severus took care to have rare occasion to punish, being extremely careful to choose wisely, which is for a sovereign the art *par excellence*, and then loading with honours those who fulfilled their duties worthily.⁴

Herodian, and, following him, modern authors, reproach Severus with a relaxation of discipline, a strange charge against a man like this. It arises from a remark brought back by Dion⁵ from Britain, but very possibly fabricated at Rome. On his death-bed the emperor is reported as saying to his sons: "Enrich your soldiers and you can defy everything." The expression is brutal in form, and that very brutality has made it famous. But who overheard this dangerous confession of a dying man? Besides, the words, like many other pretended historic sayings, have a certain truth if they are reduced to the simple terms of what may well have been the emperor's conviction: "Keep the army content, that it may be devoted to you"—that is to say, pay your soldiers well, and honour them, for they are the one power in the State. What he thus advised he had himself done, giving the generals immense estates; the prætorian tribunes were excused from acting as guardians even in the case of their comrades' children; the veterans, from personal obligations towards their city;⁶ the legionaries received larger pay, a ration of better corn, more frequent largesses, and the

¹ *Implacabilis delictis* (Spart., *Sev.*, 18). . . . *ne parva latrocinia quidem impunita patiebatur* (Aur. Vict., *de Cæs.*, 20).

² *Accusatos a provincialibus iudices, probatis rebus, graviter punivit* (Spart., *Sev.*, 8).

³ Aur. Vict., *de Cæs.*, 20.

⁴ *Digest*, xlviii. 10, 1, § 4. *Ad erigendos industrios quosque iudicii singularis* (Spart., *ibid.*, 18). . . . *homo in legendis magistratibus diligens* (Capit., *Alb.*, 3). *Strenuum quemque præmiis extollebat* (Aur. Vict., *de Cæs.*, 20).

⁵ Herod., iii. 25; Dion, lxxvi. 15: . . . *τάδε λέγειται τοῖς πασι τοῖς ἀνδράσι*. Later Alexander Severus said: *Miles non timet, nisi vestitus, armatus, calceatus et satur et habens aliquid in zonula* (Lamp., *Alex.*, 52).

⁶ *Digest*, xxvii. 1, 9. *A muneribus quæ non patrimonius indicuntur veterani . . . perpetuo excusantur* (*Digest*, l. v. 7). In respect to the *munera*, see vol. v. of this work, p. 375.

right of wearing a gold ring, a mark of honour which thereafter made part of the uniform. The depreciation of the precious metals and the need of attracting the Roman population into the army made these measures necessary. We modern nations act in the same manner in respect to pay and rations and the military medal, without thinking that we corrupt our troops. And these expenses did not exhaust the treasury, for the finances were never in a more flourishing condition.¹ Herodian says further that he authorized the legionaries "to dwell with their wives."² This was a measure of morality. Since the establishment of permanent armies it had been the rule that the soldier should not marry. "The law does not permit it," says Dion; "to certain veterans the emperor gives the right to contract legitimate marriages," adds Gaius,³ designating the soldiers who obtained the honourable discharge. In the beginning of the third century Tertullian refers to this principle.⁴ But nature asserted her rights; profligate women followed the armies, and in the villages which by degrees gathered about the encampments were countless families which the law did not recognize.⁵ The emperor, who had increased the severity of the penalties against

¹ We have the proof of this in the immense resources which were allowed to remain in money (Herod., iii. 49, and Spart., *Sev.*, 12: *Filiis suis . . . tantum reliquit quantum nullus imperatorum*), and in supplies of all sorts. Severus established the rule, or perhaps renewed it, following Trajan (Lamp., *Elag.*, 26), that there always be seven years' supply of corn in Rome; this was better than the old French *greniers d'abondance*, but in an economic point of view it was a very bad measure.

² *γυναῖκι τε συνοικεῖν* (iii. 8). Marriage is permitted in the English army, but with restrictions which greatly reduce the disadvantages of this custom. Those designated as "non-commissioned officers holding the rank of first or second class staff-sergeant," etc., may marry. Among the non-commissioned officers three out of four or five, four out of six or seven, six out of ten, according to the grade, and among the soldiers four per cent. (formerly seven) can obtain this permission. These married couples have a right to a furnished room in barracks; the wife and the children receive half and quarter rations; or, when the family does not accompany its head into the colonies, an indemnity of sixpence a day for the wife and twopence for each child. (Circular of the War Office, April 1st, 1871.) These expenses of pay and lodging are possible in the case of a small army like the English; but they would have imposed tremendous burdens upon the Roman government, and the more since the authorization granted by Severus did not contain those unjust restrictions which, in the English army, make marriage a premium reserved for only one soldier out of twenty-five.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 22; Dion, lx. 24; *Inst.*, i. 57. The veterans of the legions had no need of this authorization, being all citizens, but it was necessary for the veterans of the auxiliary troops, who were not so.

⁴ *Echort. ad Cast.*, 12.

⁵ When the soldiers in the camp of Emesa rose in insurrection against Macrinus they called in their wives and children from the adjacent towns to shelter them behind the fortifications of the camp. Many of these families had been legitimated by Severus.

adultery, was extremely displeased at this immorality.¹ Domitian had already granted to the veterans, without discharging them, the *jus connubii*. The soldiers took advantage of this new right to establish their families near the camps and to live with them; from this resulted disadvantages which a firm hand and some simple regulations of the service would have been able to prevent. Severus had the necessary firmness, but his successors had not, and the discipline of the army was impaired.

The religious observance of the military oath, to which the armies of Trajan and Hadrian were still faithful, had been much weakened at the accession of Severus. We have seen under Commodus the insurrection of the legions of Britain; upon his death, of the prætorians; and later of all the armies. Severus himself in the beginning had to subdue in his own camp two seditions; in Rome a third;² and a fourth in the province of Arabia. He restored discipline at first by giving the example of military virtues; at Lyons he fought as a common soldier; in Mesopotamia the army suffered with thirst and would not drink the foul water of a marsh: in sight of all men he drank a great cupful of it.³ Then he would not allow a fault-finding spirit to make its way among the troops: a tribune of the prætorian cohorts expiated by death some cowardly words.⁴ Finally, he banished disorder and indolence from the camps. More than one governor, it is probable, received from him a letter similar to this which he one day sent to a legate in Gaul: "Is it not a disgrace that we cannot imitate the discipline of those whom we have conquered? Your soldiers roam about the country, and your tribunes are at the bath in the middle of the day. . . . They eat in taverns and sleep in houses of debauchery. . . They spend their time in eating and drinking and singing; their whole occupation is gluttony and

¹ The wives of soldiers who had accompanied their husbands, absent on service for the State, did not incur foreclosure when they had allowed the legal delay to pass before entering on a temporary action: (Rescripts of the year 227. *Code*, ii. 52, 1-2.) At this date the legal condition of the soldier's wife was therefore well-established, and the rescript of Severus was in full force.

² Spart., *Sev.*, 7 and 8. On the day after his entry into Rome, at the Red Rocks, and at Atræ.

³ Dion, lxxv. 2.

⁴ See p. 73. He condemned to exile again the deserter who after five years ventured to return. (*Digest*, xlix. 16, 13, § 6.)

drunkenness. Should we see such things if any feeling of the ancient discipline prevailed? Let the tribune be first corrected and then the soldiers. So long as you fear them they will not fear you. Niger must have taught you this: for the soldier to be obedient his officers must be worthy of respect."¹

These last words do honour to the man who spoke thus of Niger after having conquered him; but, in the presence of this letter, what becomes of the charge that Severus neglected the discipline of the army? A cowardly or indolent ruler may let the reins hang loosely; but never did a general whom five years of war had placed in possession of the supreme power feel that disorder in the camps was an advantage for him, and Severus, who so energetically maintained civil discipline, must have been least likely of all men to feel this. An ancient writer² expressly bears him witness that he established excellent order in the armies, and Dion proves this when he shows that the troops broke into insurrection against Macrinus when the latter sought to enforce anew the military regulations of the first African emperor.

Severus increased the army by three legions, to which he gave the name Parthicæ. The first and third of these guarded the new province of Mesopotamia; the second, composed, no doubt, of soldiers on whose fidelity he could specially rely, was, contrary to usage, brought back to Italy and quartered near Albano,³ to keep perpetually before the Romans the memory of the Eastern victories, and also to be a faithful force in reserve in case of a popular riot or some prætorian sedition. Severus could certainly rely upon his new guard; but he was too prudent to forget the part this corps had played in the recent catastrophes, which brought back the recollection of earlier ones. The second Parthica was a precaution against the possibility of a surprise. Herodian says, however, that he quadrupled the number of the prætorians; this is not at all probable, and could not have been done without seriously disturbing the whole military organization of the Empire. Dion and Spartian say nothing of it, and we shall follow their example.⁴

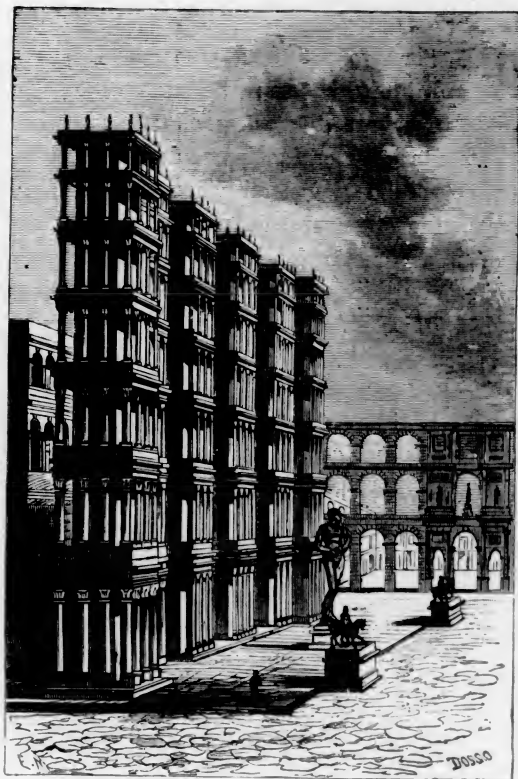
¹ Spart., *Nig.*, 3.

² Zosimus, i. 8: . . . διαθείς επιμελῶς τὰ στρατόπεδα.

³ Dion, lv. 24; Henzen, *Annales de l'Inst. archéol.*, 1867, p. 73-88.

⁴ The author has discussed this question in the *Revue archéol.* of 1877, pp. 290 et seq.

Was it the emperor who employed Menander, a member of his council, in writing four books *de Re militari*,¹ that is to say, preparing a sort of military code? We can at least believe that he encouraged this enterprise, and we know that later it was com-



The Septizonium. (Restoration by Canina.)

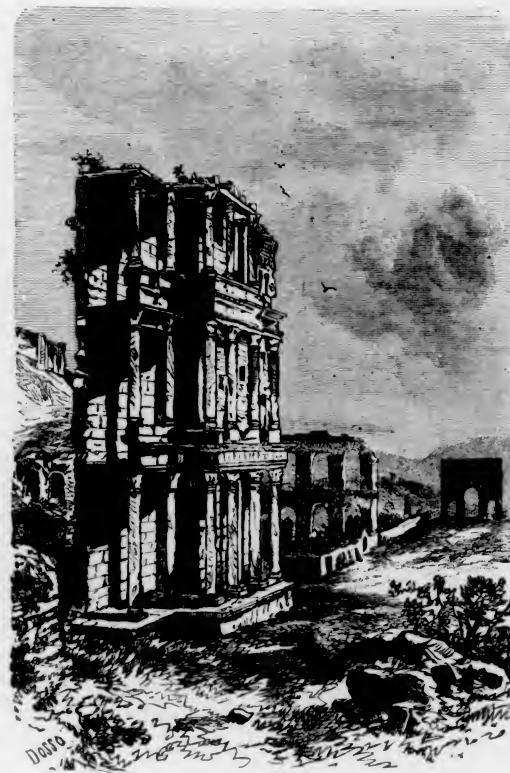
mon to speak of "the regulations of Severus in regard to the army."² In the number of his military measures we may count the division of certain of the provinces which were too large. Serious wars had lately sprung up in Syria and in Britain; he divided each of these countries into two commands; he did the same in Africa, where Numidia, comprised since 25 B.C. in the proconsular province of Africa, formed finally a province by itself.³

¹ This work of Arrius Menander seems to have been more important than those of Paternus, prepared in the time of Commodus, and of Macer under Caracalla; for it is from Menander that the *Pandects* most largely borrow. Cf. *Digest*, xlix. 11.

² Dion, lxxviii. 28.

³ See the Memoir of L. Renier upon the inscription of Velleius Paterculus in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. d'inscr.* for 1876, p. 431, and Marquardt, *Handb.*, vol. iv. p. 310.

oil for five. He built a great temple to Bacchus and Hercules, hot baths, of which nothing now remains, and the Septizonium, a portico with seven stories of columns which would have made a vestibule, perhaps magnificent, certainly singular, to the palace of the Cæsars, on the side of the Appian Way, if the augurs had not declared that the gods forbade changing the entrance to the Palatine. For himself he built upon the slopes of the Janiculum, where now stand the Corsini palace and the Farnesina, a villa whose gardens descended to the Tiber and went up to the top of the hill. A gate opened near this spot, in the wall of Aurelian, still bears its name, the *porta Settimania*. Severus also repaired all the public buildings which had suffered injury, among others, the Pantheon of Agrippa² and the theatre of Ostia. Dion is of opinion that the emperor expended too much money in these works; but public constructions are a necessary and at

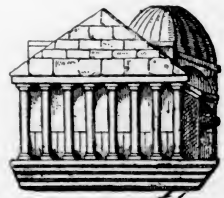


Ruins of the Septizonium. (From Canina.)¹

¹ Canina, *Storia et topogr. di Roma ant.*, vol. v., *Gli edif. di Roma*, pl. 267. As late as the sixteenth century some ruins of this portico were in existence which were seen by Dupérac and designed in his work, *delle Antichità di Roma*, pl. 13. Cf. *l'Antichità di Roma*, by V. Scamozzi, 1583, pl. 23 and 24. Some of the columns of the Septizonium were employed by Sixtus V. in the Vatican. Cf. Montfaucon, *l'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, vol. v. p. 122. He believes that the structures forming the immense ruins of Rabbath-Ammon, on the sterile plateau of Moab, and those of Er-Rabbah, are of the same date.

² *Pantheon vetustate corruptum cum omni cultu restituerit* (C. I. L., vi. 896).

times an honourable expense, and the economy that Severus insisted upon in the palace permitted him to spend large sums for useful purposes. There still exist some interesting remains of the little arch which the traders of the *Forum boarium* erected, and many fragments have been found of a plan of Rome, which appears to have been engraved on tablets of marble in this reign; the whole size must have been over 300 square mètres.¹



Souvenir of the Restoration of Agrippa's Pantheon in the year 202.²

The provinces felt the benefits of this liberality. We have seen what was done at Byzantium, Antioch, Alexandria, and throughout Egypt.

In Syria, the emperor built at Baalbec (Heliopolis) the temple of Jupiter, at the right of the hillock on which Antoninus had



Front.



Back.

Altar found in 1880 on the site of the Theatre of Ostia, rebuilt by Septimius Severus.³

erected a temple of the Sun, on the site of the enormous sanctuary built there by the Phoenicians at a remote period. The ornamentation of this work marks, with its lavish profusion, as does the Septimian arch at Rome, the decline of decorative art. The architects of that time had no longer the calm serenity of the

¹ Jordan, *Forma Urbis*, with illustrations. See later the arch of the *Forum boarium*.

² From an engraved stone (transparent amethyst) found at Constantine. (*Gazette archéol.* of 1880, p. 92.)

³ *Notizie degli scavi di Antichità*, May, 1880, and April, 1881.

early masters. Their imagination had run wild, and they tormented their materials as the philosophers of the time tormented theirs. This period, which loved to make everything colossal, had lost the power of simplicity together with the feeling of true greatness. But, seen from a distance, what a magnificent whole is formed by these vast edifices of Heliopolis, whose mere ruins oppose to the threatening grandeur of the desert an image of the prodigious activity of the men who once filled these solitudes with motion and noise and wealth.

"Many other cities," his biographer adds, "owe to him remarkable public edifices."¹ Carthage, Utica, and Leptis Magna received from him the *jus Italicum* or exemption from the land-tax.² The last-named of these cities was his native place; he probably did not fail to embellish it, but no trace is left of any such works,³ nor of his paternal house, which the city had carefully preserved and which Justinian caused to be rebuilt.⁴ Severus had provided against the most urgent needs, in compelling, by military executions, the nomadic tribes who desolated these regions to respect the frontier. In gratitude for the security thus restored to it, the province made an engagement, which it kept up to the time of Constantine, to furnish to Rome every year a fixed quantity of corn and oil. "To the Africans," says his biographer, "Severus was a god." The arch of triumph of Thevesta (Tebessa), finished under Caracalla in 214, had been commenced in honour of his father.⁵



Reverse of a Coin of Septimius Severus, struck at Carthage. Cybele seated on a lion. Large Bronze.

He adopted for the provinces some of the regulations proposed by Nîger to Marcus Aurelius, and made certain others himself which showed his care to prevent even the smallest abuses: he prohibited any man, taking a wife in a province where he held office, from

¹ Spart., *Sen.*, 23. Zosimus says also: "He adorned a great number of cities," and Eutropius (viii. 8): *Multa toto Romano orbe reparavit*.

² *Digest*, l. 15, § 11. We have seen already what he did for the cities of Syria.

³ The coin here given bears the legend: *Indulgentia Augg. in Carth.* But we know not in memory of what favour granted to this city the coin was struck. (Eckhel, vii. p. 183.)

⁴ Procop., *de Edib. Justin.*, vi. 4.

⁵ Inscriptions, whose number increases yearly, proves the active impulse given by Severus to public works in Roman Africa. See Renier's *Inscr. d'Alg.*, and many numbers of the *Bull. de corr. afr.*

receiving anything from her by will;¹ he forbade the soldier to buy property in the district where he was in service, and the governor to allow military or civil quarterings to become a burden



Ruins of the Arch of Thevesta.

to the provincials.² Lastly, he completed for the benefit of the cities the reorganization of the imperial post which Hadrian had commenced.³ Ulpian has preserved for us one of the rescripts in which the legislator did not disdain to be epigrammatic. The

¹ *Digest*, xxxiv. 9, 2, § 1.

² *Digest*, xlix. 16, 9; *ibid.*, xxxiv. 9, 2, § 1; xlix. 16, 9, and 1, 16, 4 pr.: . . . *ne in hospitibus praebeendis onerit provinciam.*

³ *Spart., Sev.*, 4. The extent of the reform made by Severus is not known. Augustus had organized this service, *vehiculatio*, and imposed on the landowners heavy burdens, from which Nerva exempted Italy. Trajan developed this institution and corrected the abuses which had been caused by too easy concession of rights of travelling. The assistance furnished by the cities remained, however, considerable, although it appears that magistrates using the *cursus publicus* had to pay something, since Hadrian released them from this, *ne magistratus hoc onere gravarentur* (*Spart., Hadr.*, 7). Antoninus introduced some relief, and Severus granted as the expense of the imperial treasury a reduction by which those profited who had the duty of collecting these taxes: *vehicularium munus a privatis ad fiscum traduxit* (*Spart., Sev.*, 14). But after his time the whole expense fell upon the municipalities.

Roman world was very fond of presents; many and forced ones were made to the governors under the Republic, and some were still offered to those of the Empire. Consulted by one of them on this subject, Severus replied to him: "An old Greek proverb says: 'Neither everything, nor always, nor from all;'" and the ruler added: "To refuse from all men would be uncivil; to accept at random is contemptible; to take everything would be avaricious."¹ One thing, however, was worth more than the best rescripts—good governors—and the old authors all acknowledge that he took care to make an excellent choice. One of them, the prefect of Egypt, having been guilty of an offence, was sent into exile.²

The soldiers, meanwhile, continued, wherever there was need, to be at the service of peaceful labour, but without letting the sword be too far distant from the pick and the trowel.³

Accordingly tranquillity was never once seriously interrupted at the foot of the Atlas, nor on the banks of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Tigris. In the presence of this vigilant ruler, whose hand was so heavy, the barbarians remained in a timid repose. Under this reign we find soldiers established in certain fixed posts in all the provinces to hunt down the bandits of the neighbourhood.⁴ Was this an original measure of this emperor whom his biographer calls "the enemy of robbers in all places"?⁵ The long impunity of brigands in Spain and Gaul and Syria, even in Italy itself, in the time of Commodus and during the period of the civil wars,⁶ proves that, even if this institution was anterior to Severus, it had fallen greatly into disuse, and that he was obliged to reorganize it. This ruler, implacable in respect to disorder, must surely have desired that security should be as well-guarded in the interior as on the frontiers. In view of rendering the repression more energetic and more prompt, he decided that

¹ *Digest*, i. 16, 6, § 3: *quam rem (veniorum) D. Sev. et imp. Ant. elegantissime epistula sicut moderati*, etc.

² *Digest*, xlviii. 10, 1, § 4.

³ Cf. Or.-Heuzen, 905 in Syria; 937 in Rhætia; 3,586 in Lower Germany; 4,987 in Pannonia, near Buda; 6,701 in Britain; in Africa, the *via Septimiana*, constructed by the Third Augustan legion. (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 4,361, etc.)

⁴ Tertull., *Apol.*, 3: *Latronibus vestigandis per universas provincias militaris statio sortitur.*

⁵ . . . *latronum ubique hostis* (*Spart., Sev.*, 18).

⁶ *Digest*, i. 12, 1, § 4; xlviii. 19, 8; xxii. 6, § 1.

the prefect of the city should have cognizance of all crimes committed in Italy, with power to sentence to the mines or to deportation.

III.—SEVERUS IN BRITAIN; HIS DEATH (208-211 A.D.).

To remove his sons from the dangers of Rome, Severus remained there but seldom; he made long sojourns in his Sabine and Campanian villas, but without being able to subjugate these fiery natures. Geta, as well as Antoninus, rushed madly into pleasure. Both fled from the learned society with which their mother surrounded herself, and their father's grave friends, to seek the society of gladiators and the charioteers of the circus. Even in their sports they hated each other with bitter rivalry: one day, on the race-course, they disputed so hotly for victory that Antoninus was flung from his chariot and had his thigh broken in the fall. Severus resumed the cuirass, and took them away with him into Britain (208).¹

There were no perils to be encountered at that extremity of the Empire, that the old emperor, gouty and infirm, should be obliged to undertake the long journey and to remain absent for so considerable a time. Julia Domna and Papinian accompanied the emperor. There was not a single battle fought, for Fingal and Ossian, the legendary heroes, did not emerge from their rustic palace of Selma; and still the emperor lost many troops in surprises, which were the chief warfare of these savages. But their densely-wooded hills, over which an army could advance only by cutting its way with an axe, their marshes, whose yielding soil required a whole forest to be thrown into it, did not hinder the heavily-armed legions from reaching the extremity of the island, where these men of the south beheld with amazement days that were almost without intervening night.

Severus remained three years in this country, where the enervating luxury of Italy was a thing unknown. After the victory over Albinus he had divided it into two provinces, that the action of the imperial government might be more efficacious there and

¹ Coins of the year 208 bear the legend: PROF. AVGG.

the influence of the individual governor less to be dreaded. Geta, to whom the dignity of Augustus had now been given and the tribunitian power, administered the southern province. Antoninus led the army in the north and negotiated with the Caledonians, while the emperor, established in the city of York, superintended the restoration carried forward by his soldiers of Hadrian's wall.¹

In 210 the submission of the barbarians seeming to be secured by a treaty which obliged them to yield a part of their territory, he added to the titles given by his victories in the East that of Britannicus, which Antoninus also took. In memory of this last triumph of the African conqueror, the senate caused a medal to be struck representing two Caledonians bound to the trunk of a palm-tree.

While he designedly lingered at this extremity of the Empire, the loungers of Lake Curtius² imagined news at will. Sometimes the story ran that a barbarian woman, extremely well-informed, it appears, in respect to Roman life, had given a lesson to Julia Domna, contrasting with the depravity of the Roman ladies the far too virile manners of the women of Caledonia. Now it was a little drama, in which the emperor was the actor and the



Geta in a Toga, wearing the *Bulla*.³

¹ *C. I. L.*, vii. No. 912c, and pp. 99 *et seq.* See vol. v. of this work, p. 41. Spartian is the first author who speaks of a wall constructed by Severus to the north of Hadrian's wall, an opinion now abandoned.

² A little grove which was a rendezvous of the *ardeliones* (Phædrus, II. v. 1), the "reporters" of the time, . . . *garruli* . . . *supra Lacum* (Plautus, *Curcul.*, IV. i. 16).

³ Marble statue in the Grey collection. (Clarac, *Musee*, pl. 966, No. 2,486A.)

soldiers the audience: his eldest son had sought to gain over the troops; the sedition being reduced to order, the emperor had caused himself to be borne to his tribunal, and had said to the mutinous soldiers who now implored his clemency: "Do you see at last that the head commands and not the feet?"¹

They represented him as uttering specious platitudes, suited to a monk and quite out of place in the mouth of a ruler who was not counting, as Charles V. did, on the compensations of the other world: "I have been everything and nothing is of value," or these words, perhaps more truthful, addressed to the urn which was to contain his ashes: "Thou shalt hold that which the world itself has not been able to hold." Some related that to make an end of cruel suffering he asked for poison, but it was refused him; others, that his eldest son had endeavoured to persuade the physicians to poison him. But a secret poisoning does not afford proper tragic effect. More expert story-tellers showed Caracalla riding upon horseback behind his father with drawn sword ready to kill him; the old emperor, warned by the cries of horror of his escort, looks around, he sees the naked weapon, and the parricide dares not complete his crime. Then we have contradictory scenes such as the declaimers of the time delighted in: in one, Severus, in his tent, deliberates with his prefects whether the guilty son shall be put to death; in another, he calls for Caracalla, gives him a dagger, and says: "Strike, or bid Papinian strike; he will obey you, for you are his emperor."

All this is very dramatic and highly improbable. Caracalla doubtless showed an impatience to reign which obliged the emperor



Coin of Septimius Severus, representing the Bridge over the Tyne.²



Coin commemorative of the Victories of Severus in Britain.³

¹ The epigram became famous; we meet it again sixty-four years later in an official document, the proclamation of the emperor Tacitus: *Acclamationes senatus: . . . Severus dixit, caput imperare, non pedes.*

² P. M. TR. P. XVI. COS. III. PP. Bridge ended on each side by a tower with four columns; under the bridge, a vessel. Gold coin.

³ VICT. BRIT. P. M. TR. P. XIX. COS. III. PP. SC. Two victories placing a buckler on a palm-tree, under which are seated two captives. Bronze. (Cohen, No. 644.)

to remind him that the true master was "the white-bearded king,"¹ and he was quite capable of conceiving the designs attributed to him. But, if he held them, why did he not execute them? Nothing could have been easier for the man who in Rome itself murdered another emperor, his brother, in their mother's arms. At sixty-six years of age, Severus, whom a distressing disease had long undermined, was at his life's end, and Caracalla had no need to hasten the work of destruction which nature was accomplishing. But the great idle city welcomed whatever could amuse it; and the imagination easily created in those remote regions tragic adventures, which, after the death of Geta, appeared to all men to be realities.

To these doubtful legends we shall prefer the truly imperial words of the old emperor: "It is to me a great satisfaction to leave in profound peace the Empire which I found a prey to dissensions of every kind;" and the last order given in his dying moments, an order so characteristic: "Go, see if there is anything to be done." Chateaubriand says in his *Études historiques*: "The officer of the guard having approached to obtain the countersign for the day the emperor gave him this: 'Let us work,' and with that fell into eternal rest." (February 4th, 211 A.D.) This adieu to life of the valiant soldier, his last counsel to those about him, has become the motto of humanity: *Laboremus*.



Julia Domna.²

Regis Romani . . . incanaque menta

(Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi. 810.)

² Cameo in agate onyx (two layers) hung to a collar found in 1809 at Naix (Meuse), the ancient Nasium, capital of the Leuci.

Severus had written the history of his life, and it was doubtless his will that, after the example of the Testament of Augustus, a summary of it should be engraved on marble. At least, in the time of Spartian, it was to be read upon the portico built by Caracalla.

For the next eighty years no succeeding emperor died, as did Severus, in his bed. That Severus had this good fortune was due to great wisdom on his part, and to the State it was a great advantage; for this reign of eighteen years ending quietly proves how thoroughly he had introduced order everywhere.

He was lacking in gentleness, a quality charming in the individual but often tending to weakness in the ruler. When Julian compares the Cæsars in the assembly of the gods, Silenus cries out at sight of Severus: "Of that man I shall say nothing; I am afraid of his savage and inexorable temper." Severe on principle, he struck heavy blows, so that he might not have to strike often,¹ and in his autobiography, which the old writers believed authentic,² he justified his severities. But these heavy blows have resounded so far that posterity still hears them, and Severus remains the man of his name.³ Contemporaries judged differently,⁴ and he was greatly lamented. Let us read his history, remembering that the principal duty of an emperor of that century was to secure order to 100,000,000 men, and we shall say of him more truly even than it was said of Louis XI. of France: "All things considered, he was a king."

¹ . . . quo deinceps mitius (Aur. Vict., de Cæs., 20).

² . . . abs se texta, ornatu et fide paribus composuit (Aur. Vict., de Cæs., 20).

³ Imperator vere nominis sui, vere Pertinax, vere Severus (Spart., Sev., 14).

⁴ Judicium de eo post mortem magnum omnium fuit . . . ac multum post mortem amatus (ibid., 19). . . . ab Afris ut deus habetur (ibid., 13).

⁵ Silver coin, with the legend: PROPECTIO AVG. (Cohen, No. 343.)



Septimius Severus on Horseback holding a Lance.⁵

CHAPTER XC.

THE CHURCH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

I.—GENERAL CONDITION OF MINDS; TENDENCY TO MYSTICISM; THE ALEXANDRIANS.

THE third century is the heroic age of the Christian society which we have seen forming in obscurity and gaining growth in silence. At this period it possesses all its means of action, and the mortal struggle begins between it and the Empire. The moment has come then to measure the forces of the two combatants. We are acquainted with those of the one, the State; let us look at those of the other, the Church.

In the preceding volume¹ we have shown that the human mind takes different directions according to epochs, and that it forms as it were great currents of ideas, in which flows the best of the national life.² The lawyers and administrative officers, the architects and generals, the artists and moral philosophers, had been the strength and glory of Rome in the second century. In the third, law has still some eminent interpreters, but the last representative of the ancient science, Galen, has just died and left no successor. Art, and letters properly so-called, disappeared. For twelve centuries³ humanity will not hear again that hymn of beauty which Greece had sung so long, and whose echoes had resounded in the Rome of Lucretius, Horace, and Virgil. The

¹ Vol. v., the beginning of the chapter entitled: "The Spirit of the Age."

² Hegel has said in his *Philosophie de l'histoire*, p. 9: *Jede Zeit hat so eigenthümliche Umstände —ist ein so individueller Zustand, dass in ihm aus ihm selbst entschieden werden muss, und allein entschieden werden kann.* It is a law of history; and to be thoroughly acquainted with the special character, or what may be termed the dominant tone of an epoch, is the first requisite of historical criticism. The influence of the environment is so great upon the intellectual life that there can be no just judgment of men and things except by replacing them in their environment.

³ On the literary poverty of the third century, see Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, pp. 835-875. Of science there is no longer any question; as to the arts, see below, chap. xcv. § 5.

new spirit proscribes earthly magnificence, *la bellezza del mondo*,¹ which man is nevertheless called to delight in. "Why have they fallen?" was the doleful cry of some sacred writers, referring to certain heretics. "Aristotle and Theophrastus are the objects of their admiration;* Euclid is continually in their hands. They neglect the science of the Church for the study of geometry, and, absorbed in measuring the earth, they lose sight of heaven."² Another, scoffing at the man who was esteemed the most learned of his century, Ptolemy, wrote with reference to the exact sciences: "O frivolous labour, which serves only to inflate the soul with pride!"³ The highest eulogium at that time was to be "diligent in divine things."⁴

This is the language heard among philosophers as well as among Christians. While the author of the letter to Diognetus condemned every doctrine which had not for its object the invisible, Plotinus wrote: "Why does not man arrive at the truth? Because the soul is continually drawn away from the perception of divine things by external impressions." And it was his desire that, deaf to all sounds from without, it should hearken only to the voice from on high.⁵ Then occurred this phenomenon, unusual in the western world: men become oblivious of the earth, so long the object of their love, that they may lift their heads toward those ærial palaces of which the imagination is the sole sovereign.

The sons of old Italy, a sluggish race, would not have had these aspirations after the unknown which are an honour to the human mind; but Italy, in her turn, has experienced an invasion more terrible than that of Hannibal and of the Gauls:

All Egypt's monsters now in Rome their temple find.

The men and the beliefs of Asia had taken possession of the land where formerly simplicity of ideas and of morals prevailed. The mind of the Orient dominated that of Rome, and the ardent soul of those visionaries from the banks of the Orontes and of the

¹ The expression is Da Vinci's.

² Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 28.

³ *Philosoph.*, iv. 12.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 10.

⁵ ἀκούειν φθόγγων τῶν ἄνω (*Enneads*, v. 12).

Nile, lacking the ballast of science, roamed at will through the thousand systems of abstract thought and philosophy. New gods were desired, and crowds flocked to the strange worship of the Syrian goddess and of Sabazius, or to the monotheistic religions of Mithra and Serapis: the latter having a remarkably pure moral doctrine,¹ and the former presenting in its dogmas and its ceremonies more than one instance of agreement with Christianity.²

In this way, and along every channel, the current of the



Mithra sacrificing the Bull in the Grotto.³

century conducted human thought towards religious questions: seductive but insoluble problems, some of which, however, must be held as demonstrated, even when a demonstration of them is impossible. As at Athens they formerly philosophized at every street corner, now they dogmatize in each petty village of the Empire. It is the fashion to appear devout, to call oneself pontiff of some divinity, and the municipal curiæ are full of priests hitherto unknown there.⁴ In the century of Pericles, on

¹ See above, pp. 97 *et seq.*

² Mithra was a *mediator* between the supreme deity and man, a representative of the love of the creator for the creature. He was also a *redeemer* who purified souls and remitted sins. Hence Tertullian (*de Corona*, 15) attributed to a device of the evil one those relations, which he could not help recognizing, between this ancient Assyrian religion and the new religion of Christ. See vol. v. p. 751.

³ *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,031. Intaglio on chalcedony, $\frac{63}{100}$ in. by $\frac{72}{100}$ in. Behind the bull is a priest, wearing, as the god does, a Phrygian cap (tiara) and holding two inverted torches. Above the principal group, the sun, the moon, and the prophetic raven.

⁴ This is seen even in the inscriptions. Among the 164 decurions of Canusium in 223, not a priest is found, while of the seventy-one names of the Album of Thamugas, in the following

the day when the ephebi received their arms from the State, they took this oath: "I swear never to dishonour these sacred arms, to fight for my gods and my hearth, either alone or with all, and to leave behind me my country not impaired but strengthened." This heroic oath the ephebi had kept at Salamis and Marathon, when they there preserved with their liberty the civilization of the world. In the third century of our era they still took this oath, but as one repeats a prayer in an unknown tongue. The Athenian ephebeia was now merely a religious college, and this transformation had certainly been effected in the numerous cities which had possessed the ephebic institution.¹ The pythoness of Delphi and the prophetic oaks of Dodona, mute in Strabo's time, had recovered



Serapis. (Bronze Statue in the Florence Gallery.)

century (from 364 to 367), we count two *sacerdotes*, thirty-six *flamens* for life, four pontiffs, four augurs, that is, two-thirds of the members who are or have been invested with religious functions. Whatever hypothesis may be adopted to explain the presence of so many priests in the curia of Thamugas (see *Ephem. epigr.*, iii. p. 82), the fact will still remain that the greater part of the members of this municipal council had a sacerdotal character, or were indebted to the priestly office which they had filled for the honour of being inscribed upon the Album after the *duumviri* in charge, but before the other magistrates. M. Dumont has established the same fact in reference to Athens (*Éphébie attique*, vol. i. p. 137); it was general. See in the *Philopatrias*, included in the works of Lucian, the ridiculous characters of which are caricatures of actual persons.

¹ Alb. Dumont, *Éphébie attique*, vol. i. pp. 9, 36, and 39; and Collignon, *de Colleg. epheborum*.

their speech.¹ Alexander even, the personification of war, had assumed a religious character: he is at this time invoked as the beneficent genius who rescues from witchcraft.²

This turn of mind is seen all through Roman society. The provincials, who had replaced in the senate and official positions the sceptical aristocracy of the last century of the Republic and the early days of the Empire, wished to believe in something. The Syrian princes had their minds filled with religious visions. In the third century the emperors added to their titles that of Pious, *Pius*; ³ the empresses were styled the "most holy," *sanctissimæ*, and at court as well as in town, the histories of Philostratus and of Ælian, replete with miracles, and the marvellous *Lives* of Apollonius and Pythagoras transformed into divine incarnations, found readers.⁴ They were no longer content with the ebon door from which old Homer, half smiling, caused dreams, sleep, and death to issue forth: they sought for that dread passage in order to rend the veil which closed it, and there find something other than the monotonous pleasures promised by the Græco-Roman polytheism. They pretended "to penetrate the secrets of the inmost life of God," by



Septimius Severus
the Pious.
(Gold Coin.)

¹ Strabo, vii. p. 327, and Pausanias, I. xvii. 6.

² See, in the reign of Caracalla, the species of worship of which Alexander was the object, and in that of Elagabalus "an apparition of this genius."

³ In the case of Severus and the princes of his house, it was a proper name borrowed from Antoninus the Pious, or more properly from Commodus, whose adopted brother Severus declared himself to be. Beginning with Macrinus, it is a qualification which all the emperors of the third century assume. An inscription of Gallienus (Orelli, No. 1,007) says of him: *cujus invicta virtus sola pietate superata est*. Another (1,014) styles him *sanctissimus*. Julia Mæsa (Or.-Henzen, No. 5,515, and Eckhel, vii. 249), and the wives of Gordian III. (Orelli, No. 977), of Philippus (*C. I. L.*, iii. 3,718), of Gallienus (Orelli, No. 1,010), are *sanctissimæ*. Victorina, mother of the usurper Victorinus, is called *piissima* (*ibid.*, No. 1,017). I am aware that *sanctus* in classic Latin signifies pure, chaste, inviolate; but I believe that in the third century the idea of sanctity was added. The imperial house, *domus divina* (in an inscription of the year 202, Wilmanns, 985), affirmed its pagan faith the more in proportion as that was attacked by the Christians. The word *sacer* will become synonymous with imperial, and will soon be applied to all the functions which devolve on a prince. The cities and individuals do as the princes: the curiæ of Lyons (Boissieu, pp. 24, 80, 160), of Volcei (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 218), etc., are called *ordo sanctissimus*, that of Brixia (*C. I. L.*, v. 4,192) is *piissimus*. The same qualifying epithets are found in the third century in many inscriptions of unimportant persons, for instance, on the monumental slabs of Carthage.

⁴ The *Lives of Pythagoras*, by Porphyry and Iamblichus, are as marvellous as that of *Apollonius*, by Philostratus. They were not written as yet, but the legends already circulated everywhere.

determining his nature, his attributes and will. All eminent minds joined in the quest of the divine: some by the way of Christianity, others by the neo-platonic school in which the philosophic effort of the pagan world had resulted. Thus, under the passing breeze, the ears of the ripening harvest bow in the same direction.

This condition of minds is susceptible of explanation. After centuries of combat, which had won for itself the earth and its wealth, Roman society had for two succeeding centuries feasted in pleasures and become surfeited with delights. Seneca, Epictetus, and the moralists of the Antonine epoch have pictured it to us, wearied with the long travail for its grandeurs and arriving at satiety, at disdain of the useful and the real. All the great motives were gone. In this Empire, too vast to be one's country, the lofty sentiment which had inspired the hearts of the citizens of former times had now no sustenance: hence there was no patriotism for the Empire. Nor was there any political life. The grand stream of poetry which Greece had poured forth to the world had dried up in traversing the Roman wastes: the artists were mechanics, the poets arrangers of words; the Virgil of the time, Oppianus of Syria, sang of the chase.¹ Nothing of that which only a century before constituted the fulness of life now filled the void of their souls. This people, violent when in action, sat down and dreamed.

Besides, around them the world seemed to be growing old;² on all sides the horizon will soon be threatening: without, the barbarians are becoming formidable; within, continual revolutions, of which Rome will no longer be the sole theatre and victim; everywhere the economy of life profoundly disturbed and the State foundering. Confronted by such misfortunes, which seemed the penalty of its past happiness, this society so long tranquil and joyous gave itself up to more serious thoughts: it had the anticipation of death which besets old age. In the time of Septimius Severus, without reckoning the jurists, pagans and Christians produce only philosophers and religious writers or theurgists: for

¹ A writer without taste or originality, who must not be confounded with another writer of the same name, Oppianus of Cilicia, author of the *Halieutica* or marine fishery, who lived under Marcus Aurelius, and whose work, in 3,506 Greek verses, is one of our best didactic poems. See Bourquin, *la Chasse et la pêche dans l'antiquité*, 1878.

² This is an expression of S. Cyprian to Demetrius, *senuisse jam mundum*.

the first, Ammonius Saccas, Plotinus, Porphyry, with the subtle doctrines discovered by them in that higher world of mind which Plato had laid open; for the second, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and Cyprian among the Latins, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen among the Greeks—six men who, in other times, would have been the honour of profane literature and who have continued to be the glory of the Church.

Religion as a sentiment will ever elude the grasp of science, because it is indestructible; besides, the two do not pertain to the same world, and do not proceed in the same manner in the formation of ideas. But science may inflict incurable wounds on established creeds; the Roman society not possessing it, the supernatural had preserved its power, and a religious reaction had swept away the superficial scepticism of the philosophers, as would have been the case with that of our eighteenth century had it not found an auxiliary in "the satanic sciences." From Lucretius to Lucian many had doubted; from Athens to Alexandria, from Rome to Jerusalem, all now believe: here, in the God-man of the Christian faith or in the *hypostases* of the Alexandrians; there, in the ancient deities who retained their place in the sanctuaries, or in the new gods which the East was continually giving to the Romans.

In speaking thus, we of course leave out of account the crowd which follows without thinking—that which Lucian in his *Jupiter Tragedus* has called "the vile mob"—to consider those who think and who, even under the tunic of the slave, conduct themselves like Epictetus and Blandina. These are the elect souls who influence others and by whom moral revolutions are accomplished; they are consequently those who must be studied.

Those who are styled the Alexandrians attempted an impossible compromise between religion and science; between the spirit of ancient Greece and the Oriental spirit, they would have wished to believe and to know; commencing with dialectics, which can furnish only abstractions incomprehensible to the vulgar, they ended with mysticism, that is to say, in the midst of clouds, where the multitude could not follow them. With reference to the great question of the divine unity, for instance, they arrived at an abstract and sterile conception, a being for ever separate from the world. While the God of the Christians is seen, touched, and enters into daily

communion with man, their god is without form, attributes, or name; he is the *unnameable*, he is even without intelligence, for intelligence, which supposes a division between the subject comprehending and the object comprehended, would forbid admitting the absolute unity of being in itself. "The gods are impassive," says Porphyry, "and cannot be turned aside by invocations, expiations, or prayers, . . . since what is impassive can be neither moved nor constrained." This was the god of Epicurus, devoid of hate, without love and without power: and, it must also be said, that of Plato in the *Philebus*, and still more that of Aristotle, dwelling apart from the world which he ignores.

As the Christian has the Trinity, three persons in one God, they have their three hypostases, in which we may see the absolute principle of the Eleatics, the *demiourgos* of Plato, and the god of Aristotle, *immovable motor* of the world: and of these they essayed to form a divine unity.¹ But that which is profound is obscure, and the people pay no regard to it. This Unity which thinks itself without producing, this Intelligence which comprehends the world and does not make it, this Movement which gives life and cannot have cognizance of it, what is this, in its effect upon the multitudes, when placed by the side of Jehovah whom Moses saw face to face, of the Holy Spirit who descends in tongues of fire upon the heads of the apostles; what is it, above all, when compared with Christ who treads the rugged pathways of life, enduring all the miseries, all the griefs of humanity; who at Golgotha ransoms it with his blood; who in the garden of Joseph of Arimathea rends the stone of his sepulchre to teach men that they, like him, are immortal as well in their flesh as in their spirit?

Thus, to escape the anthropomorphism which had been the ruin of the pagan religions, the Alexandrians had suffered themselves

¹ The idea of the Trinity is one of the oldest beliefs of humanity. It is found in Egypt, in Chaldea, among the Etruscans, the Scandinavians, the Germans, and strange monuments exhibit it to us in the Gallic triads. This myth consisted in the conception of a god unique in his essence, without being unique in his person. "This god," says Maspero (*Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, p. 28), speaking of the Egyptian triad, "is *father*, simply because he *is*, and the power of his nature is such that he *begets eternally* without ever becoming enfeebled or exhausted. . . . He is at once the *father*, the *mother*, the *son*. Begotten of God, born of God, without issuing from God, these three persons are God in God, and so far from dividing the unity of the divine nature, all three contribute to his infinite perfection."

to be led by dialectics to an impersonal God, having no relation with the earth. But it had indeed been necessary that from this abode of the absolute, of immobility and consequently of death, they should again come down to the world of life; and they returned with allegories and symbols to produce a revival of popularity for the old mythology, which had lost even the poetry of ruins.

Their moral tone is elevated, their life was pure, they had restored to a position of honour the Pythagorean abstemiousness, and they had institutes in which the most austere rules of monastic observances were enforced. "When the soul came forth from the hand of God," said they, "it was a fall which must be redeemed by holy acts. The work regarded as especially pious consists in conquering the body, the principle of all the passions, the gross garment in which the soul is captive. Let it, at least in this prison, lead an angelic life, *βίος ἀγγελικὸς ἐν τῷ σώματι*." "What matters the body to me?" said another: "it is my soul that I shall take away with me when I die." S. Paul was never more harsh towards the body, and Origen, who committed partial suicide, repeated: "Who will deliver me from this wretch?" The spirit of struggle against the flesh is the same on both sides.

And what reward did the Alexandrians promise themselves for these austerities? Annihilation in the infinite Being. "To die is to live," they said with Plato. But this life of an unconscious particle lost in the great All was real death; while faith gave to the Christian the certainty of personal immortality. Besides, they possessed neither a creed having the authority of the divine word, nor an organization to preserve and extend it, nor discipline to maintain its authority. They had a philosophy and sought the higher knowledge of things; they had not a religion, a faith, an absolute rule of conduct and a promise of redemption. Now to move and hold the multitude the most subtle reasonings are useless; feeling and passion are required. These powerful means of acting upon souls were to be found on that road to Calvary marked with the sweat of blood; they were not found in the tranquil gardens of the Academy. This is why humanity deserted one of these ways for the other, in which, nevertheless, for the same reasons some will long continue to walk.

It was the very year of the accession of Severus that Ammonius Saccas, or the porter, opened that school of Alexandria which for two centuries disputed with Christianity the spiritual supremacy. When Plotinus had heard him he exclaimed, "This is the man whom I have been seeking." He was far superior to him and was the veritable founder of that school at once rational and mystical, which, combining contrary principles, could never exert the victorious influence of a simple and ardent faith. Being eclectics, the Alexandrians accepted everything on condition of interpreting all things. Priests, philosophers, and poets seemed to them to murmur the same thought in different tongues, and this broad comprehensiveness rendered them at the same time superstitious and sceptical. Being logicians, they placed above reason the dangerous faculty of illumination or ecstasy, in which man believes he participates in the divine intelligence and sees that which reason is unable to show. Being idealists, with their God inaccessible and solitary above the summits of human thought, they became pantheists by their system of emanations, which made of all beings—bodies or spirits—"an effluence of the divine substance," as light is an irradiation from the sun. And it is by prayer, by love, that they lift up themselves to this absolute, incomprehensible, ineffable being, from whom everything proceeds and to whom all returns. Faith, according to these strange dialecticians, is far superior to all human wisdom. It leads to theurgy, and that to supernatural inspiration, to ecstasy, which is the ideal of the pagan devotees, because "in ecstasy," said Plotinus, "man possesses all good and lacks nothing; he feels neither pain nor death." We shall find the same words again in the mouth of Tertullian, and the same sentiment in the martyrs. The Alexandrians then are in many points akin to the Christians. S. Augustine has recognized this; but on coming out of the ecstasy of their subtle reasonings the former fell back into bleak allegories, the latter into living reality.

Porphyry, the successor of Plotinus, formulating the Platonic doctrine of demons, admits souls intermediate between the Trinity and man, *archontes* representing the forces of nature, angels, divine messengers bearing to heaven our prayers and bringing down gifts of grace, even baleful genii who impel us to evil. Later, the school will pretend to become a Church: Iamblichus, and Proclus,

who will style himself "the priest of nature," will be visionaries or thaumaturgists performing miracles, and a rivalry will spring up between these men who contend for the world. A great work of Porphyry against Christianity was the signal of the war to the death which Diocletian declared against it; but Constantine burned the books of the philosopher,¹ and Proclus was obliged to escape by voluntary exile the persecution of the Christian emperors.

This school, which is called that of Alexandria, was scattered over the entire surface of the Roman world, since Plotinus taught



Christ and the Twelve Apostles.²

in Rome. Porphyry in Sicily, Amelius in Syria, others at Ephesus, at Pergamus, and at Athens, where their disciples struggled to the last moment against Christianity. It was a noble effort of religious philosophy and its adepts deserve respect for their pure morality. They exhibit, in certain respects, what we shall find among the Christians: contempt of the body and of earth, divine love, union with God by ecstasy and all the mystic ardour. Singular condition of souls, which is the moral characteristic of that age of

¹ See, in the *Cod. Just.*, i. 1, 3, 3, a constitution of the year 449 which condemns all books contrary to the doctrine of Nicea and Ephesus to be burnt, and decrees the penalty of death against those who preserve or read them. Justinian (*Nov.*, xlii. 1, § 2) renewed these penalties, and this abominable legislation lasted fourteen centuries. The triumph of the Mussulman theologians in the thirteenth century also resulted in the persecution of the philosophers. The progress of Arab civilization was checked, and night overspread that East, whence, for three centuries, had gleamed a quickening light which brought back life to the West. (See G. Dugat, *Hist. des philosophes et des théologiens musulmans*, 1878.)

² Martigny, *Dict. des Antiquités chrétiennes*, p. 54. Bottom of a glass bearing this legend: *Petrus cum suis omnes elares (hilares) pie zeses* (a Greek word taken from the verb ζάω, to live). This mixture of the two languages was not uncommon.

the world, and which can be terminated only by a religious revolution! But it is not to the profit of the Alexandrians that this revolution will be effected. "You bring nothing new," they said to the Christians, "unless it be your contempt of the gods and of philosophy." They spoke truly. But this very contempt was that which was to assure victory to the members of the new alliance, to the redeemed of Christ. Let us turn then to these, since the future is theirs.¹

II.—TRANSFORMATION OF THE MESSIANIC IDEA.

In the midst of the confusion of systems and rites Christianity had already, in the time of Severus, made for itself a large place. Born in a country which had been for centuries condemned to every misery, it proceeded at once from despair and from hope. Since the captivity the Jews had always awaited the mighty hand which should restore the house of David. But, in face of this Roman Empire which was for them impregnable, the Messianic idea had been compelled to undergo a transformation. Cursing the present, they had directed their gaze into the future, in the only direction by which, as it now seemed to them, this future could arrive, toward the heaven which would raise up a Messiah saviour. The conqueror of the earth, vainly expected, had given place to the conqueror of souls: the new Jerusalem became a celestial Jerusalem.

The masters of the Roman world gained nothing by the transformation of Jewish ideas into Christian, by this new conception of the expected Messiah. The prophets had announced to all the mighty that they should fall under the sword of Israel; the sibyl and S. John condemned them to perish, with their gods of wood and their magnificent luxury, in the flames kindled by the wrath divine, while the conquerors of demons received the promise of immortality.² Yet, in a political point of view, this promise disengaged Christianity, in the first phase of its existence, from all

¹ On the school of Alexandria, see the two learned books of MM. Simon and Vacherot, and the more recent one of Zeller, *die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*.

² Lactantius (*Div. Inst.*, iii. 12) terminates his search for the sovereign good by these words: *Id vero nihil aliud potest esse quam immortalitas*.

earthly ambition. It seems as if the propagation of it, with its principles of human equality and community of goods among the disinherited classes, must have introduced the spirit of revolt. But by a fatal exaggeration of the doctrines of indifference, taught for two centuries by all the philosophies,¹ the primitive church added to its fundamental dogma of redemption contempt for the present life.

Pre-occupied with heaven and the rewards in reserve for his



Jesus between two Apostles in the Attitude of Adoration.²

faith, the Christian did not envy the prosperous on earth their riches and their enjoyments. He left the things of earth as he found them, because existence here below was to him only a life of trial, the earliest termination of which would be the best, while the other, that beyond the tomb, was the true life and ardently desired. "Let him fear to die whom hell awaits," said S. Cyprian, "but the Christian inhabiting a house whose walls are tottering and whose roof is trembling, passenger on board a vessel which

¹ Indifference to civic duties and disdain for the good things of this world were the lessons given by the new Academy and Zeno, by Pyrrho and Epicurus. "Christianity will combine all these dislikes, will show itself still more disdainful of political action, will preach indifference with greater ardour, will crown all its contempt by despising the very philosophy which had already taught to despise all the rest, and, the better to take souls captive on earth, will offer to them only the good which is not of this world." (Martha, *Lucrèce*, p. 200.)

² After a sarcophagus at Arles which serves as altar-front in the church of S. Trophimus. Christ seated upon a *scabellum*, his head surmounted by the cruciform monogram, is giving the law (in the form of an unrolled volume) to the two apostles. Cf. E. Le Blant, *Études sur les sarcophages de la ville d'Arles*, pl. xxvii. and p. 44.

the waves are about to engulf, why should he not bless the hand which, hastening his departure, restores him to heaven, his own country?"¹ Christianity did not change then the conditions of life, but it changed the conditions of death; and this new solution of the terrible problem was of itself the greatest of revolutions.

Despite the temptation which always exists to demand of death its secret, the ancients had contented themselves with admitting, without a great deal of metaphysics, a vague existence beyond the grave.² In those old days life was rude; to lose it was often to gain rest and peace, *requiem æternam*, and the Church repeats it still. It is the time when Greece represents death under the form of a beautiful child fallen asleep, whose drooping hand held an inverted torch. But mind becomes developed; conscience is enlightened and projects gleams of light into the darkness of the tomb. Thither justice is made to descend, which society, in becoming civilized, seeks to establish upon the earth. Rewards for the good are placed there, and chastisements for the wicked, as is the case in the Forum before the prætor; and that judgment of the dead which Homer reserved for the heroes is extended to all men. The city of shades is peopled, enlarged, and civilized, like the city of men. The life elysian is submitted to the moral laws of recompense, and its pleasures, retraced on funeral monuments, continue those of the life on earth. It is to this point of equality between the two existences that the Græco-Roman philosophy had brought the eschatology of the pagans.

But the movement once begun does not stop. The development of religious thought pursues its course, and the equilibrium between the two existences is reversed: heaven prevails over earth, the

¹ *De Mortalitate*, 25.

² To the present day, man has been able to find but three solutions to the problem of death. The soul, the vital spark, returns and loses itself in the centre of universal life: this is the *Nirvâna* of India and indifference to personal existence; or it goes to enjoy with delight the same pleasures which it has made use of upon earth: this is the love of physical life, the Græco-Roman and Mussulmanic solution; or else, in an eternal rapture, it will contemplate God face to face: this is divine love, but also a sort of annihilation in God. Science fashions a different dream: since nothing is lost, thought must subsist as force; separated from the body, its imperfect organ, it will endure, and intelligence will arrive at the knowledge of all things. This will be for humanity that which takes place in the individual: the need of knowing succeeding the need of loving. But perfect science is the perfect knowledge of the true, the good, and the beautiful, that is, of God himself, and unto that he will attain in the higher life who shall have made the greatest effort to approach to it in the present life.

future life over the present—the latter, condemned and cursed; the former, glorified and awaited with impatience.

After having sought for God, as it were blindfold, in the religions of Greece, Phrygia, Egypt, and Phœnicia, the Romans had seen coming to them a new God who went to the hearts of the refined and the afflicted. There were many souls whom the gross naturalism of the official religion offended, and in spite of the mitigation of servitude, slavery was still to this society a bleeding wound in its side. And now, behold hope is brought to these "desperate classes," as Pliny calls them.¹ . . . But not that of earth. The old abode which sunlight and life once made so beautiful, has become the vale of tears which the divine vengeance is about to fill with lamentations; and the



Genius of Sleep or of Death.²

¹ . . . *Coli rura ab ergastulis pessimum est et quidquid agitur a desperantibus*. We have seen what was the condition of the *humiliores*, and for the immense class of the freedmen, the constitution of Commodus. (See above, p. 129.) In the middle of the third century Origen regarded as an honour to Christianity the reproach which Celsus and the pagan of the *Octavius* made against it, of recruiting itself among men of low condition. "Yes," said he, "we go to all those disdained by philosophy—to the woman, to the slave, even to the robber." In doing so the Christians were faithful to the pure doctrine of the Master, who became so great only because he loved the little ones. In the fourth century S. Jerome said again: *Ecclesia Christi de vili plebecula congregata est* (*Opera*, iv. 289, ed. of 1693). The paintings of the catacombs prove the very humble condition of the artists and of the dead who had ordered them.

² Oxford, *Marm. Oxon.*, pl. 15. See vol. v. p. 280, the Genius of Death of the Louvre.

pious souls shall dwell eternally. "The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven. . . . They shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And He shall send forth His angels . . . and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. . . . Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished."

The generation passed and the earth was not rent asunder. But the sibyl and the prophets of the *Apocalypse* constantly renewed the fearful menace, which was a promise of endless torments for the haughty masters of the earth and of eternal bliss for their victims.¹ These unfortunate men, says a writer of the time, speaking of the Christians, fancying to themselves that they are immortal, despise punishments and voluntarily give themselves up to death.² The love of heaven led them to hatred of earth; they henceforth had before their eyes only God and Eternity, with their tremendous majesty.

The true character of the revolution which took place in the obscure depths of Roman society is in this new view of our destiny much more than in moral reform, since humanity had already, as we have shown,³ been put in possession of all the precepts which serve to regulate this world's existence. Life was purified, but became gloomy in the living tomb, where those confined it who pushed this revolution to its logical consequences, and the Roman magistrates, not being able to see beyond its outward manifestations, found in them the two things which form the grand drama of persecutions: contempt of society and its laws, which raised up executioners, and love of death, which made victims.

The hatred of the flesh which the ancient Jews had not known, but which philosophy taught, this aspiration after death, so contrary to the conception which paganism had formed of life,

¹ S. Matthew, xxiv. 29-34; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vii. 9.

² Lucian, *Peregrinus*, 13. See in vol. v. p. 215, what Marcus Aurelius said of the Christians. Epictetus, Galen, and the advocate of paganism in the *Octavius* say the same.

³ In vol. v. chap. "The Spirit of the Age." M. Reuss, in his *Histoire de la théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, says very justly (p. 650): "The main point is that the originality of the Gospel does not so much consist in the novelty of certain dogmas or of certain moral precepts as in the novelty of the basis which it gives to the religious life."

could not have been produced except in a small number of stricken and suffering souls. But the heaven resplendent with light, which Christianity opened to their gaze; its teachings, which addressed themselves to the noblest instincts of the conscience; the penetrating sweetness of the parables and the grand poem of the Passion, won all those in whom were found the two most potent faculties of our being—sentiment and imagination. And, along with these allurements, what terrors were prepared by these men whose words appropriated the terrible beauty of the prophetic singers of the old dispensation or the apocalyptic threatenings of the new!—when they announced the speedy coming of the last days; when they portrayed empires destroyed, worlds reduced to dust, the trumpet of the judgment resounding in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and man endowed with eternity, either for happiness or for tortures!

Never had the world known such sanctions of moral action,¹ and they were produced at an epoch when the unvarying order of nature was regarded as the plaything of angels and demons who hovered about man, scattering his pathway with temptations or prodigies which he beheld with the eyes of a spirit dazzled by faith or fear.

Under Diocletian a farce was played entitled, *The Testament of the Defunct Jupiter*; we know only its title, but a poet of our day has represented the god, who had so long made heaven and earth quake with his thunderbolts, as broken down with age, decrepit, yet with a remnant of majesty, and banished far from mankind on a desert island, where he tries in vain to warm his shrunken hands before a pitiful fire of briars and thorns. The poet and the philosopher, who know how to estimate the grandeur of the fall, have at least a word of compassion for the outcasts of heaven; religions, less generous, pursue with lively hatred those whom they have conquered; they take from them their power for good and give them that for evil. The Christians still believed in the existence of the gods of paganism and in the prodigies performed in their temples; but they transformed these masters of

¹ The *Apocalypse* has created a new kind of oratory, by placing at the disposal of the Christian priest the terrors of hell and the bliss of paradise. Paganism never had anything like this.

the old world into demons infuriated for the destruction of the new. To conduct this war against humanity they gave to these fallen divinities a chief whom no one had as yet known, except among the Chaldeans, in Persia, and to some extent in Judæa.¹ Satan, who was going to play so important a part in the Middle Ages, commenced his reign; he turned to evil the most legitimate pleasures, concealed a snare in all the magnificence of nature, and spread terror over the earth, now become his kingdom. That which is within us—these frailties and vices which an energetic will keeps in restraint, which a vacillating will suffers to develop—this was made external and the universe filled with malignant beings who were really but part of ourselves. Humanity saw its *double*, and trembled before it; and the Christian who believed himself surrounded by temptations pernicious to his safety, said with S. John: "He that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal."²

This doctrine of despair is as living as that of hope, because humanity will always have its woes and its diseased minds who can see only the sorrows of existence, and will never comprehend a Providence which permits evil to fall upon the innocent. For many centuries the votaries of Çâkyamuni have taught in the East to countless multitudes that life is an evil, and the Alexandrians had just repeated that one ought to aspire to death as to deliverance.³ The books of the Jews had also uttered this melancholy cry, which finds response in one of the chords of the human soul: "All is vanity;" and this cry has found echoes in all times: in the Middle Ages, in the full tide of the century of Louis XIV., and even in the midst of our clamorous and busy life. We have the poets and philosophers of malediction, Leopardi and Hartmann,⁴ at the same time that the Carthusians and the

¹ Satan is hardly mentioned thrice in the Old Testament. The book of *Wisdom*, in which he appears in his true character, was written shortly before the Christian era at Alexandria. [This is not true in the case of Job.—*Ed.*]

² xii. 25. These words are still according to the spirit of the Church and are frequently repeated. I heard them recently in a sermon.

³ The singular analogies which exist between the doctrine of Plotinus and the Buddhist *Nirvâna* have frequently been pointed out; fortuitous analogies which do not result from imitation, but from the same condition of spirits.

⁴ Without mentioning René, Werther, and Manfred, which have brought into fashion a morbid sadness which their originators, Chateaubriand, Goethe, and Byron, did not share. I hardly dare mention the strange sect of the Russian Skoptzi which proceeds from this spirit.

Trappists represent to us, under a religious form, weariness or ignorance of the world, the spirit of hatred towards the flesh, and that poetry of solitude at once bitter and sweet. To them, whether philosophers or recluses, the sombre bride is always beautiful, and, from contrary reasons, they find sweetness in death: *la gentilezza del morir*.

III.—THE CHRISTIAN DOGMAS.

However, thoughts like these do violence to human nature, and though the Roman Empire might extend to those countries where exertion and the struggle for existence easily become a source of suffering, the doctrine of rest in God would have had, amongst the more virile populations of the West, only a transient duration, if the beliefs which had produced it had not been, so to speak, incarnated in the most strongly constituted sacerdotal body which ever existed. With a marvellous instinct for the government of souls, and by means of a labour of organization which has never ceased, the Church restrained and gave stability to that faith which, without her, would have been dispersed and lost, like precious perfume which evaporates.

With the Platonic theory of the *Logos*, or of the Holy Spirit sent by Jesus to his disciples, the revelation could continue after the disappearance of the revealer. In proportion then as life became more active in the Church, she prepared, according to the times, new organs for new functions, to ward off a peril or respond to a demand. This is the condition of every great and powerful system. The primitive Church, that of the apostolic age, had become transformed. All that had been free and spontaneous, or vague and fluctuating—doctrine, hierarchy, or discipline—was precisely formulated and set in order for a mighty endeavour.¹ The Catholics refuse to recognize this progressive

¹ Vol. v. p. 736 *et seq.*: *S. John*, xiv. 16, 26, and xvi. 13. See in 1 *Cor.*, xiv. 26, what liberty S. Paul allowed to "those who had received the gift of teaching or of revealing the secret things of God." The constitutions of the Church of Alexandria (Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. vi. yet say (ii. 41): *ἔχωμεν πάντες τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*. The propagation of the faith was "by the living word." J. Donaldson (*The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. i. p. 60, 1874), commenting on the words of Irenæus, well says: "In fact, there was a spoken Christianity as well as a written Christianity. The former existed before the latter." And he attempts to

revolution, and the Protestants condemn it; yet it is by this that the Church has endured. What are the longest dynasties of kings and emperors by the side of the succession of her pontiffs, and what institution has lived eighteen centuries? We do not consider that of all the miracles this is the greatest: human wisdom rearing a temple in which the noblest minds have lived so long and which shelters so many still.

In the first and second centuries evangelical liberty was very great and it was gradually lost.¹ Most of the apologists of the epoch of the Antonines did not even belong to the clergy, and Eusebius² shows that for a long time there were volunteers for the faith who spread abroad the glad tidings according to their own inspiration. From this resulted diversities which at an early date produced what the constituted Church called heresies.

The apostles and the apostolic Fathers had taught, with some discrepancies which are lost in their remoteness, the fundamental doctrine of the divinity of Christ and consequently a revealed law. This law was recorded in numerous accounts of the life of Jesus, which had at first only a traditional value.³ To the early Fathers the Holy Scriptures were above all the Pentateuch and the Prophets; even in the middle of the second century, Papias, bishop

demonstrate what were the faith and the free constitution of the Church at this time when free speech was not fettered by the written formula, and when each body of Christians was independent under its *elders* and *inspectors*.

¹ Letter 72 of S. Cyprian to S. Stephen, bishop of Rome, closes with these words: *Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus aut legem damus, quando habeat in Ecclesie administratione voluntatis suae arbitrium liberum unusquisque praepositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.*

² *Hist. eccl.*, iii. 37. What is termed the Council of Jerusalem (*Acts*, chap. xv.) had itself, on some important points, respected the liberty of the faithful.

³ Donaldson, *The Apost.*, etc., pp. 68, 107, 155, 234, etc. Origen attests (*in Matth.*, xii. 6) that some Christians did not find the divinity of Christ clearly expressed in the Gospel of S. Matthew, and Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 126, addresses the same reproach to S. Clement of Rome for his epistle to the Corinthians, in which Jesus is nowhere called God, but the beloved child of God, the high priest, the head of souls. The pseudo Hermas speaks in the same manner. See also the words of S. Peter (i. 2, 25), which are not contradicted by the *Acts* (ii. 36). Cf. Clemens Romanus, *Epist.*, ed. Hilgenfeld, 1876, after the manuscript discovered the year before at Constantinople. Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, iii. 34) gives the date of Clement's death as A.D. 101. The idea of a Messiah was exceedingly Jewish, that of a God become man was not so, and it is quite natural that in the early times it should have entered with great difficulty into the minds of the Jews converted to the Gospel; this was the case, for instance, with Cerinthus, the famous heresiarch, whom certain accounts place in communication with S. John. S. Ignatius, dying under Trajan, had combated the Ebionites, who denied the divinity of Jesus (*Ep. ad Magn.*, 7-8; *ad Philad.*, 6-9), and the Docetae, who rejected his humanity (*Ep. ad Smyrn.*, 1-5; *ad Trall.*, 6-10).

of Hierapolis in Phrygia, then said that it was far less important to consult the books than living tradition.¹ But before the end of this century the choice between all these accounts was made, and the apostolic authority had been recognized in the three synoptics into which the oldest writings had been cast,² and in the Gospel of S. John, though composed later and differing from the three others on an essential point, the doctrine of the *Word*. This doctrine, which the Alexandrian Jew Philo had brilliantly enunciated, was related to some ancient Egyptian beliefs, and at the same time to certain ideas of Plato. By giving rise in philosophic minds to the boldest speculations, it was destined to serve as a foundation for the Christian theology which made of the Messiah the *incarnate Word*, while the synoptics supplied to the ordinary preaching, to attract the multitude, the tender and charming chapters of the parables, or the sombre and sublime one of the Passion. The Acts and the Epistles had likewise been admitted, so that the canon of the Scriptures was nearly determined, though no authority had as yet closed or promulgated it.³ The Church,

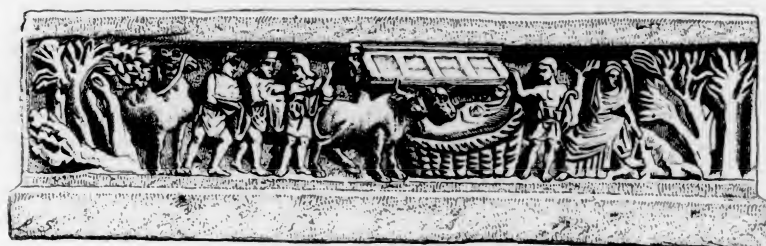
¹ . . . τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, iii. 39. Irenaeus (iii. 2) also said: *non per litteras traditam veritatem, sed per vivam vocem*. According to Eusebius (*ibid.*), Papias could only have known and employed the Gospels of Mark and of Matthew, of which he speaks with great liberty, the Apocalypse, the first Epistle of Peter, and the first of John. A very important work for the knowledge of the canon of the Scriptures towards the end of the second century is the *Fragment* called that of *Murator*, discovered in 1840 at Milan. [The best general guide is now G. Salmon's *Critical Introduction to the N. T.* J. Murray, 1885.—*Ed.*]

² S. Luke, *in proem.*, says πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν.

³ I do not need to investigate as to when and how the canonical books were prepared: a multitude of learned works may furnish information on this subject. My duty is to show what were the spirit and the organization of the Church at the epoch when its power was sufficiently great to enable it to exert an influence on Roman society and the destinies of the Empire. Now this epoch corresponds to the reign of Severus. Under Marcus Aurelius, Celsus (Origen, *Contra Cels.*, ii. 27) at that time represented the Christians as continually occupied in correcting and altering their Gospels, . . . *mutant pervertuntque*, and Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, iv. 23, and v. 28) confirms this testimony. Origen, who died in 253, in fact says (*Hom. 1, in Luc.*): *Multi conati sunt scribere Evangelica*, but he adds, *sed non omnes recepti*. There was then, in the first and second centuries, a great work of editing, co-ordinating, and eliminating, which resulted in an evangelical canon. At the time of Tertullian (beginning of the third century), the canon was fixed, for he speaks (*ad Marcionem*, iv. 2) of the four Gospels "of the apostles Matthew and John" and the "apostolic men" Luke and Mark, as forming the "evangelical instrument" accepted in his time. So also S. Irenaeus, who was put to death under Severus (*Adv. haer.*, iii. 11), and Clement of Alexandria, who died under Caracalla or Elagabalus (*Strom.*, iii. 13); but both quote freely from the Apocrypha; Origen thinks "it may be used with discretion." (*Hom. 26 in Matth.*, 23.) The author of the *Letters* of S. Ignatius regards the Gospel of the Hebrews as an authentic text (*ad Smyrn.*, 3); S. Irenaeus mentions also the

therefore, had its holy book, the New Testament, less poetical than the Old, but far superior as a winner of souls.

Finally, Theophilus of Antioch had just found a word which is not in the Gospels, the word Trinity,¹ a brief and clear description of the dogma which the Council of Nicæa will put into exact language by determining the relations of the three divine persons;²



Nativity of Christ, after a Marble in the Museum of the Lateran.
(Roller, *les Catac. de Rome*, pl. lxvii. No. 2.)

and S. Irenæus wrote, between the years 177 and 192, the Catholic profession of faith in almost the same terms that we read in the doctrinal formulary of 325.³ But all the faithful did not attach the same importance to these obscure dogmas. In the fourth century, Lactantius, one of the most valiant defenders of the Church, understood them so imperfectly that Pope Gelasius placed his works among the apocrypha; later still, Gregory Nazianzen will show what uncertainty existed with regard to the Holy Spirit.⁴

Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse. S. Justin, half a century earlier, never cites the *Epistles* and very rarely the fourth Gospel, the authenticity of which was still under discussion. Even in the middle of the third century Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, does not know who is the author of the *Apocalypse*, and is not without some distrust of the value of this book. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, vii. 25.) "Peter," says Origen (*ap. Eusebius, ibid.*, vi. 25), "has left but one epistle which is generally received. . . . John has also left one very short epistle. . . . As to the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews, my belief is that God alone knows who is its author." The authenticity of the Pauline epistles to Titus and Timothy is also much contested.

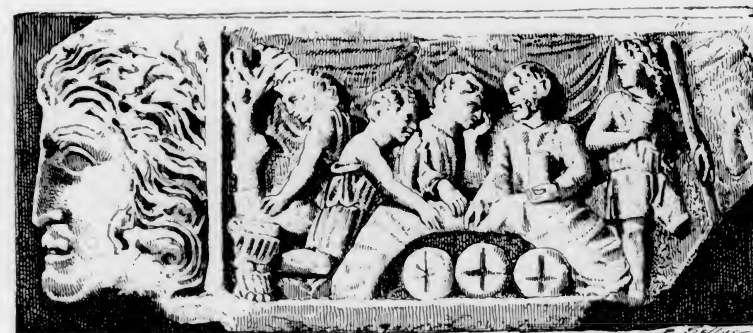
¹ *Τριάς* (*ad Autolyc.*, ii. 15), which Tertullian translated by the Latin word *Trinitas* (*de Pudicitia*, 21).

² On this old trinitarian belief, which is found to be fundamental in the Gospels, particularly in that of S. John, see p. 154, note. Theophilus was bishop of Antioch and died in the reign of Commodus.

³ *Adv. her.*, i. 10; likewise Tertullian in the *de Præscr.*, 13, and, less at length, in the *de Velandis Virg.*

⁴ Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.*, xxxi. *Spiritus sancti negat substantiam*, says S. Jerome (*Epist.*, 49), with reference to Lactantius, and he adds that he displays more power to combat error than to establish truth. (*Epist.* 13, *ad Paulin.*)

Thus, at the epoch where we take up the history of the Church, the close of the second century, Christian theology had made a brilliant beginning; it was Greek genius which had done this by the mouth of Ignatius and Irenæus, of Justin and Athenagoras, of Tatian and Theophilus, of Melito of Sardis and



The Agapæ (after a Bas-relief of the Kircher Museum). (Roller, pl. liv. fig. 7.)

Apollinarius of Hierapolis; and other Greeks, Clement and Origen, will develop it in the third, in the great school of Alexandria.¹

The fraternal agapæ had at first been only a remembrance of the Last Supper and a transformation of the great feast of the Jews, the Passover, at which the paschal lamb was eaten in commemoration of the miraculous exodus of the Hebrews, when they escaped from the bondage of Egypt. The increasing number of believers changed their character; they became the mystic repast which derived its name, *εὐχαριστία*, from the acts of grace pronounced in the benediction of the cup and the breaking of the bread.² For the bloody sacrifice of the old creed, Christianity substituted one of a nature wholly spiritual, like itself, and which also celebrated a deliverance, that of souls.

Sacrifice, that is to say, the gift offered to the gods with the view of gaining their favour, had been the basis of all religions; and the costlier the offering the more efficacious was to be the sacrifice. Hence the immolation of human victims. Time has softened this cruel piety, philosophers have condemned it, and

¹ *Τὸ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διδασκαλεῖον* (Eusebius, *ibid.*, v. 10).

² On the *eucharistia* in the middle of the second century, see S. Irenæus, *Adv. her.*, iv. 18, and S. Justin, *Apol.*, i. 65-67.

emperors have issued edicts against it; but the belief in the merits of sacrifice has not ceased: it has become transformed and purified. The pagan god received the offering and shared it with his adorers;¹ the new God gave himself to his priests and followers. No more shedding of blood, no more flame consuming the victim, no more smoke veiling the face divine. The gifts of the heavenly Father which sustain life upon the earth, the bread, the water, and the wine, became symbols of the communion of men with him. His Spirit was incarnate in Jesus; Jesus, ascended to heaven, became incarnate in the bread and wine consecrated on earth: *hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus*. This was at first only a figure.² As one participated in idolatry by eating the flesh of pagan victims, one participated in the new religious worship by breaking the bread and drinking the cup. But, seeing the condition of minds, the figure must very soon become to the faithful a reality. At the middle of the second century the Eucharist was already "the sacrament of the altar."³ If they were far from believing in transubstantiation, they already admitted consubstantiation, and the mystic sanctity which the Lord's Supper had acquired communicated to the priest who offered the sacrifice a more exalted dignity, with the character of a necessary mediator between heaven and earth.

This character was to come to him in another manner.

Jesus had left only two commands to the apostles: "Preach the Gospel to all the nations, and baptize them." This baptism, which he himself had desired to receive, was a symbol of purification and the condition of salvation.⁴ In early times it pre-supposed on the part of the one who presented himself for it a personal adherence given after receiving instruction, and marked by the profession of the Christian faith. Hence it was administered to adults only: the catechumens of Alexandria waited three years for it.⁵ But the sacramental idea attached especial virtues to it; by it he who was baptized was born again in the spirit.

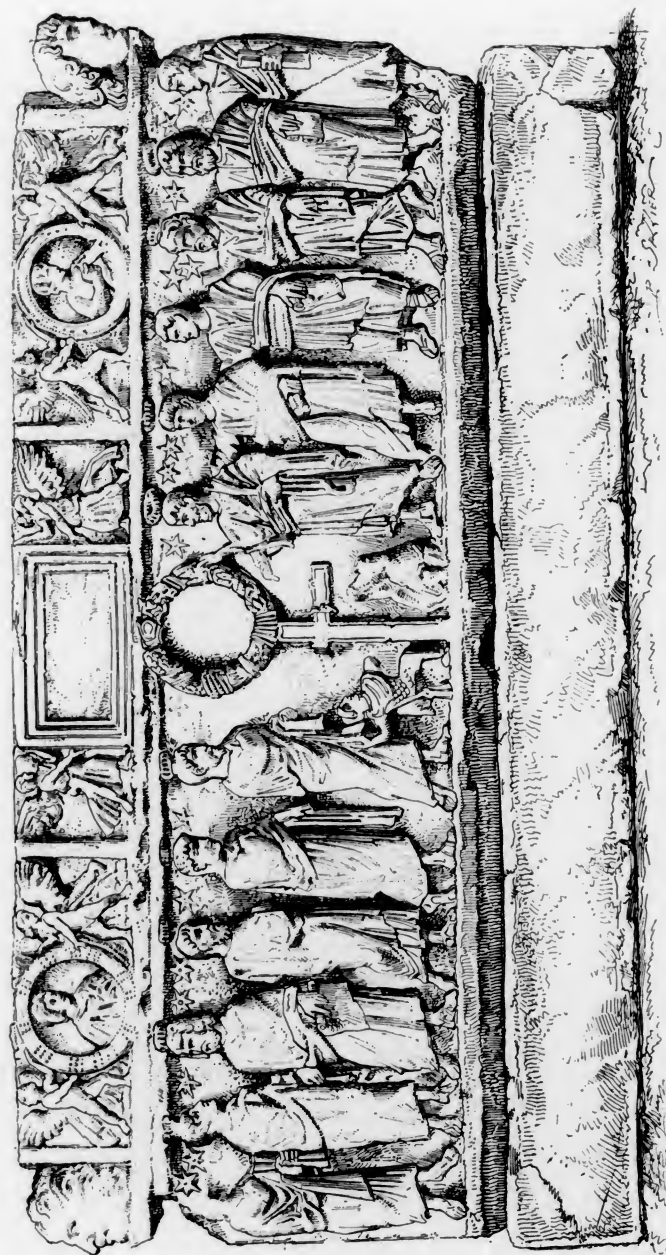
¹ In ancient Italy the repast was always preceded by libations to the Penates.

² The *Acts of the Apostles* (ii. 42, and xx. 7) explain the words of Paul, 1 *Cor.*, x. 16.

³ Ignatius, *ad Rom.*, 7; *ad Smyrna.*, 7; Justin, *Apol.*, i. 66, and Irenaeus, *op. cit.*, iv. 18, and v. 2.

⁴ *John*, iii. 5.

⁵ *Κανόνες τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐκκλησίας* (ii. 45, *ap.* Bunsen, vol. iv. pp. 451 *et seq.*).



The Apostles. (Bas-relief of a Sarcophagus of Arles.) (E. Le Blant, *op. cit.*, pl. xiv.)

"Plunged in the darkness of a dense night and drifting at random on the stormy sea of the time, I strayed hither and thither," says S. Cyprian, "without knowing whither to direct my life. Divine goodness caused me to be born again in the saving water of baptism. . . . At once a serene and pure light was shed from on high upon my soul and I became a new man."¹ This efficacy of baptism dispensing with personal adherence, children were admitted to regeneration. This was a noteworthy innovation. The Master had said: *Sinite venire ad me parvulos*; the Church called them and took them. Its action was extended over the beginnings of life, as it watched over the approach of death, and thus it was enabled to keep or recover, in the turbulent hours of youth, those whom it, from their birth, had "enrolled in the army of Christ, *census Dei*."²

Baptism.²

On coming out of the baptismal font the neophyte was clothed with a white robe, symbol of innocence, and he moistened his lips in a vessel of milk and honey, the sweet and pure nourishment of the body and the image of the spiritual food which the Church distributed to all its members.⁴

¹ S. Cyprian, *Ep. ad Donat.* S. Justin (*Apol.*, i. 61) had spoken of this new birth by baptism, and Origen called it "the principle and the source of the gifts of grace" (*in Joann.*, 17).

² After a painting in the crypt of Pope Callistus. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. xxiv. fig. 4. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 131.)

³ Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, 17. "Baptism was habitually administered by immersion for those in health, by sprinkling for the sick. This rite was also the foundation of the cultus of Mithra, then widely extended, and it "regenerated for eternity" him who received it; but it was a baptism of blood, giving rise to a hideous ceremony (vol. v. p. 704), which was to keep away women, children, and all sensitive persons. Another baptism of blood, that of the Jews, continued for some time to be practised by the Christian Jews also. The fifteen bishops of Jerusalem down to the destruction of the temple were circumcised. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 5.)

⁴ . . . *mellis et lactis societatem* (Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.*, i. 14).

Jesus had said: "Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them." This was a powerful means of action for the government of souls promised to the new priesthood. At first, the penitent "made unto the Lord"¹ the avowal of his fault in the presence of the believers, and the priests determined the necessary expiation. But it was inevitable that auricular confession should take the place of public confession. The penitent and the priest were equally interested in this change, for the first being only possible in the case of grave offences, the minor ones escaped the action of the Church. With the second, the sinner, especially women,² avoided the shame of humiliation before all the people, and the priest penetrated into the private life of the penitent, which permitted him to direct it better for salvation. If the penitent, in a dying condition, desired to be reconciled to the Church, it was needful that the priest should take the place of the assembly of the brethren at his bedside, and the exception ended by becoming the rule. However, public confession was not interdicted until the middle of the fifth century; but, at that moment, auricular confession, the dawning of which we see in the epoch we are now considering,³ will long since have acquired the power of a sacrament. By the counsels which follow the confession, the priest will assume the direction of the life of the penitents; he will teach them the practice of justice according to the Church, and by the power to bind and to loose, he will make saints destined to sit down at the right hand of God, and the damned whom Satan and his tortures await. The pagan mysteries, too, granted salvation, but by an initiation which was not repeated. In the bosom of the Church the initiation is perpetually renewed, by the eucharistic communion which restores to a state of purity, by the religious teaching which prepares for it, by the sacrament of penitence which brings back the sinner or

¹ *Exomologesis est qua delictum domino nostro confitemur* (Tertullian, *de Penit.*, 9). It is the public confession of which Matthew speaks (iii. 6), Mark (i. 5), and the *Acts*, (xix. 18).

² S. Irenæus (*Adv. hæc.*, i. 3) speaks of women who publicly confessed their faults.

³ Origen, in the second homily upon *Psalms*, xxxvii. 19, in the *Homilia 2 in Levit.*, 4, and in his *De Orat.*, 28, is already more explicit. At this moment, the middle of the third century, the two modes of confession co-exist, but the confession to the priest is already more customary than the confession to the assembly. Cf. the *Octavius*, 9, 10, 11, 12, 25, 26, and 29, and the *de Lapideis*: As to the laying on of hands, that was a Jewish custom.

which turns away for ever the excommunicated, banished at the same time from the Church and from heaven.

Another sacrament arose, or rather an ancient usage was continued after its transformation: extreme unction.¹ This again is merely a prayer of the priests over the sick, the Jewish usage of anointing with oil in the name of the Lord, and the assertion of faith by dying persons.²

The civil law does not favour celibacy, because it renders a



The Agapæ, Symbol of the Eucharistic Communion³ (after a Marble of the Lateran).

man free from the obligations of the family, and because the family is the basis of society. But in the East, and even in Greece, certain churches or philosophic sects recommend it. At the period of the ancient fervour, some of the goddesses—Diana, Minerva, Vesta, and the Muses—had repudiated chaste love, and at Athens and Rome, and among the Gauls, the holiest prayers were those of virgins. The apostles and the early Fathers did not impose celibacy; there was, however, a tendency towards it. It was the natural consequence of a doctrine which prescribed

¹ Origen, *Homilia 2 in Levit.*, 2.

² *James*, v. 14-15. Among the Jews perfumed olive oil served for various religious uses (*Genesis*, xxviii. 18, and *Erodus*, xxx. 24-29) and for the anointing of high-priests and kings, for the treatment of diseases and wounds (*Isaiah*, i. 6), for the purification of lepers (*Levit.*, xiv. 17).

³ The genius which occupies the left is foreign to the eucharistic supper. He supports the frame of the epitaph. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. liv. fig. 6.)

mortifying the flesh and renunciation.¹ Already they refused to admit to the episcopate those who had contracted a second mar-



The Virgin.²

riage, and this regulation has been preserved in the Greek Church. In order to hold man at every moment of his life, from the cradle

¹ We find in the early centuries numbers of bishops who are married but live in celibacy. Cæcilius, who converted S. Cyprian, commended to him at his death his wife and children (Fleury, *Hist. eccles.*, ii. p. 173), and during the persecution of Decius, the bishop of Nicopolis, in Egypt, fled to the desert "with his wife." (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, vi. 42.) Some of the records of martyrs relating to the persecution of Diocletian speak of married bishops, and a law of 357 (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi. 2, 14), confirming the benefits granted by Constantine to the clergy, extended them to their wives and children, *mares et femine*. The Church recommended continence to the married clergy. (Council of Elvira, 33rd canon; Council of Nicea, 3rd canon.) See in Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, i. 11, the speech of S. Paphnutius in opposition at the Council of Nicea. The same writer mentions (v. 22), at the end of the fourth century, married bishops who had had legitimate children after their ordination.

² After a fresco of the subterranean basilica of S. Clement at Rome. This Virgin, doubtless of the eighth century, is the oldest known after that of the cemetery of Priscilla. The basilica of S. Clement, between the Cælian and the Esquiline, was filled up in the twelfth century for the construction of the present church, and has only been excavated in our day. The Madonna which was buried there has consequently suffered no retouching, and, with its nimbus of gold and its rich drapery overloaded with precious jewels, offers us an authentic specimen of the Byzantine style. (Roller, *op. cit.*, ii. pl. C. and p. 354.)

to the tomb, the Church will make a sacrament of marriage, without being able to deprive it of its fundamental character of a civil contract.¹

The Virgin, who occupies so great a place in the Catholicism of modern times, had very little in the early ages. Mention is made of her with respect, but no worship is rendered to her. With the lapse of time the historic person will become a sacred type. This will not be the case, however, until the second œumenical council, that of 381, which will place her name in the creed to which the Fathers of Nicea had not admitted it.

The dogma of the communion and intercession of saints will also not be formulated until the fourth century. "At the altar," S. Augustine says, "we do not make mention of the martyrs in the same manner as we do of the faithful who rest in peace. We do not only pray for them, we entreat them to pray for us."² But a trace of it exists in the third,³ and this was also a necessary consequence.

Thus was formed the grand epic of the Christian religion, as some old klepht's song had become the *Iliad* of Homer, and it was destined to be for a long succession of centuries the consolation and the delight of souls. But the new poet who developed the primitive gift was the Church, or rather those ardent communities, those nocturnal assemblies, whose religious wants increased with the contagion of faith. The ignorant led on the doctors, and they, drawing with full hands from the triple treasure of Biblical poetry, Grecian philosophy, and the Gospel, multiplied the dogmas, enriched the worship, and changed all, thinking to change nothing.

¹ Jesus had said (*Matt.*, xxii. 30): "In the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage," and S. Paul accepted mixed unions (1 *Cor.*, vii. 12-26): a doctrine which a council again consecrated in 314. S. Paul (*Ephes.*, v. 32) calls marriage *μυστήριον*, a word which has been too freely translated "sacrament." Among the Romans marriage was a civil contract, indispensable for the constitution of the family, the reciprocal rights of the parties and of their children, and the conditions of which the Church could not of itself change; but she joined to it her prayers and her benediction. The Council of Trent (sess. xxiv.) recognized that in marriage the sacrament had the effect to sanctify the pre-existing contract: *gratiam que naturalem illum amorem perficeret . . . conjugesque sanctificaret*.

² *Commemoramus . . . ut etiam pro eis oremus, sed magis ut et ipsi pro nobis* (*Tract.* 84 in *Evang. S. Joann.*).

³ S. Cyprian, *Ep.* 57, *ad finem*. The doctrine of purgatory, which the Evangelists were ignorant of (*S. Luke*, xxvi. 26), was also propounded by S. Augustine.

The ceremonies became more varied, the liturgy, or the regulations of the worship, had not the unity which it has found only in our day; but each church prepared its own.¹ S. Clement, in the century preceding, had spoken of it in his *Epistle to the Corinthians*. This bishop of the city which was the mistress of the world, this *Romanus*, as he is called, had also previously invoked discipline by comparing the Church to the legions of Cæsar in which the chief commands.² His successors will end by inserting the same rules of absolute obedience, and the fruitful liberty of the religious life of the early ages, without which nothing would be founded, will disappear, but to the gain of discipline, without which nothing endures.

At the end of the second century the dogmatic work of the Church was so far advanced that Clement of Alexandria, who wrote under the reign of Severus, sought to co-ordinate its parts into a scientific system constructed with the ordinary processes of human thought. "Faith," said he, "is the science of the divine things of revelation; but science should furnish the demonstration of the things of faith." And he composed the *Stromata*, which without being written with the rigorous method of S. Thomas, are nevertheless a first essay of Christian philosophy. Now it is a sign of force and often of impending victory for ideas, when philosophy takes them up and supplies the general formula for them.

V.—THE HIERARCHY AND DISCIPLINE.

While the Church was establishing order in its internal life, it had been led by the very nature of its propaganda to adopt for its external life an organization to which the strongest political conceptions have never approached.

The Christian communities of the earliest days did not possess any more disciplinary institutions than they had sacraments; each

¹ See in the third volume of the *Analecta Ante-Nicæana* of Bunsen, the fragments of the most ancient liturgies. The first which it cites (p. 21) was used at Alexandria in the time of Origen; and Bunsen does not think that it can be referred back further than the middle of the second century.

² Κατανοήσωμεν τοὺς στρατευομένους τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν εὐτάκτως πῶς εἰκοντας (S. Clement, *ad Corinth.*, 37).

one organized itself after its own will. In the time of S. Paul numbers of brethren were allowed to assume an office or a title in order to retain a greater number by the gratification of a very human sentiment, the wish to be classed apart. We know how fond the fraternities, the cities, and the whole Roman society were of this hierarchal order.¹ "God," says S. Paul, "hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues."² This strange confusion could not last. The Greek cities had ἐπίσκοποι or overseers, a kind of ædiles, whose duties the *Digest*³ defines as "those who have charge of the bread and food." The first Christian communities seem to have borrowed



The Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul.⁴

this municipal function and its name.⁵ At their head, to preside over their meetings, they placed the one most venerable by age or sanctity, the elder, the πρεσβύτερος. Gradually the overseer, who had the principal active duties, rose above the elder, who possessed only the dignity, or rather, the two functions became confounded, in some places from the very first and elsewhere later. S. Paul had overseers or elders and deacons elected in all the churches which he instituted; at the end of the first century S. Clement,⁶

¹ Vol. v. chap. lxxxiii. "The City."

² 1 Cor., xii. 28.

³ l. 4, 18, § 7.

⁴ After a gilded glass of the catacombs (fourth century). (Roller, pl. lxxix. No. 5.)

⁵ This is the opinion of several theologians, and it is probably correct. Cf. Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, p. 474. We even find ἐπίσκοποι in the Greek fraternities (see Wescher, *Revue archéol.*, April, 1866). The episcopal cross is similar to the *lituus* of the Roman augur. Has it been borrowed from it, or does it come from the shepherd's crook? From both doubtless, but rather from the latter.

⁶ Acts, xx. 17, 28; Titus, i. 5, 7; 1 Tim., iii. 2, 8; S. Clement, *ad Cor.*, 42; Polycarp, *ad Philipp.*, 5; S. Jerome, *Comment. in Titum*: idem est presbyter qui et episcopus.

in the middle of the second, S. Polycarp¹ and S. Justin,² as yet knew only these two orders; but the number of the believers increasing, that of the ministers of the religion augmented, and differences became noted. Besides, it was necessary to oppose to the heresies which were multiplying, a discipline, that is to say, a concentration of authority. In the time of Severus the important Christian fraternities had a bishop representing the unity of spiritual government, priests for the religious offices, deacons for the service of the temple; all united to form the clergy or "the side of the Lord."

These offices were elective. The elders chose the *episcopus*, whom they presented to the brethren, and whom the latter confirmed in their office by acclamation. They also confirmed, by the raising of hands, the designation of priests and deacons made by the bishop. By this it is evident that, though the consent of the community was necessary, the real election depended on the chief persons. In this way, order, indispensable to regular life, replaced the disorder of the early times. The same necessities which had educed from the multitude of evangelical writings the canon of the Scriptures, the rule of faith, had insensibly led to the establishment in the midst of each Christian community of the hierarchy or administration, as it will afterwards lead to the constitution of the general government of the Church. It was in the logic of facts, and we cannot see how it could have been otherwise. Without this discipline, there would have been no catholicity.

As tradition plays an important part in the Church, the old bishops were supposed to transmit it to the new; hence the consecration of the bishop-elect by a bishop of the vicinity, and the gradual formation of ecclesiastical provinces. "The bishop," says the fourth canon of the Council of Nicaea, "should be ordained by three bishops."

One of the oldest rights of Rome, and we may say one most dear to the Roman population, the liberty of forming fraternities and societies, favoured the first organization of the

¹ *Ad Cor.*, 42.

² *Ep. ad Philipp.*, 5, 6. In the *Pastor* of Hermas there is also no trace of an episcopate. Mention is indeed found, in the letters of S. Ignatius, of bishops, priests, and deacons; but the different texts of these documents give rise to too many discussions to admit of producing them as unobjectionable testimony.

churches.¹ By taking the form of burial associations, the Christians were enabled to organize under the protection of the law, into communities having the character of a civil person, that is, with the right to receive legacies or donations or the monthly contributions of their members. The Mosaic law had assured to the Levites the tenth of all the products of the earth; the Roman usage gave a new force to the Hebrew custom, and, as the synagogues of the whole Empire formerly sent their gifts each year to the temple of Jerusalem, the believers made their offering to the church every month. Many, S. Cyprian, for instance, sold their property and remitted the price of it to the bishop. That of Rome received from a single person 200,000 sesterces, and that of Carthage was able to employ half that sum for the ransom of Christian captives carried away by the Moors.²



A Bishop. (Martigny, *Dict. des Ant. chrét.*)

Each church then had a revenue which enabled it to aid the poor and the afflicted, to meet the expenses of worship and of the repasts in common, the *agapæ*, at which the priests, like the officers of the pagan societies, received for their maintenance a double portion;³ even to acquire funds to establish a common cemetery and to hold meetings there at night.⁴

¹ The right of association was, according to the testimony of Gaius (*Digest*, xlviii. 22, 4) formally recognized by the Twelve Tables: *Collegiis*, it said, *potestatem facit lex* (xii. Tab.) *pactionem quam velint sibi ferre dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant*. See vol. v. pp. 388 et seq. Roman society had so great a liking for these associations that it formed them even in the camps, in spite of an express inhibition by Severus.

² Tertullian, *de Præscr.*, 30; S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 60. His letter, No. 65, and that of Pope Cornelius, *ad Fab.*, show that the *arca* of the churches began to have considerable resources. Even at this time some of the bishops misused them. Cf. S. Cyprian, *de Lapsis*.

³ On the *duplicares*, see vol. v. p. 402. S. Paul had recommended this custom (1 *Tim.*, v. 17-18), and Tertullian (*de Jejun.*, 17) recalls it: *duplex honor binis partibus presidentibus deputabatur*. The confessors were often honoured with a sacerdotal gift. (S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 34.) The *agapæ* and the Supper, at first united, *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* (1 *Cor.*, xi. 20), were separated at an early date. At the end of the fourth century S. Monica still brought to the church bread and wine, after the African custom. S. Ambrose forbade her doing it.

⁴ Tertullian, *Apol.*, 39-40. Certain slaves even claimed that with these funds they might

The cemetery of Callistus, in which so many popes were interred, was already in existence at Rome along the Appian Way, and Alexander Severus adjudged to the Christians an estate which the pagans had contested with them. The ecclesiastical property commenced then to be constituted, as had been that of the pagan



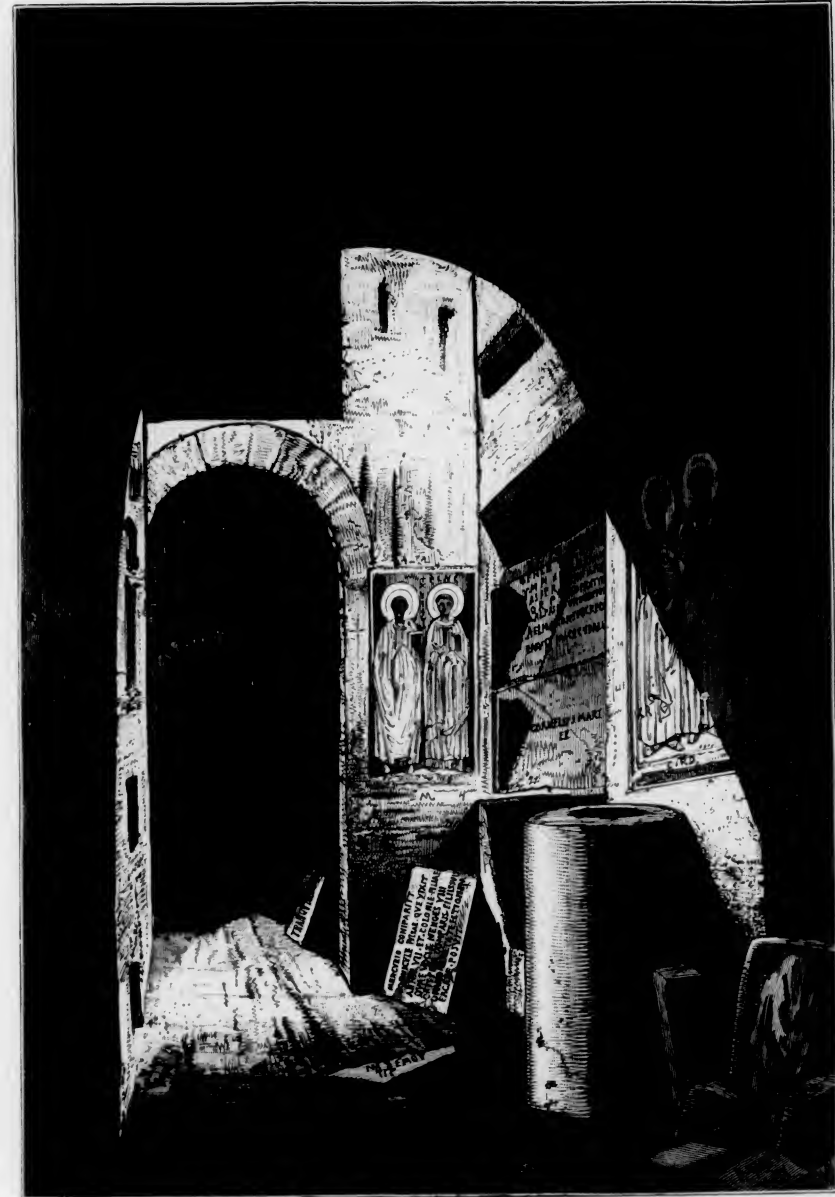
The Agape.¹

temples, by donations. At this moment it was very small, but it was one day to become very large.

Later on, the Church will again make use of the convenient mould of the imperial administration, and will be able to fill it. The *civitas* with its vast territory will form the diocese, and the civil metropolis will become the religious: the archbishop will succeed to the flamen who brought to the altar of Rome and Augustus the prayers and votive offerings of the entire province; finally, the basilica will serve as a church, and we yet preserve

purchase their freedom. *Μὴ ἐράνωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι* (S. Ignatius, *ad Polyc.*, 2). On the Christian cemeteries of Rome, see the fine work of M. de Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*.

¹ After a painting of the close of the third century or commencement of the fourth, in the cemetery of Peter and Marcellinus on the *Via Labicana*. (Th. Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. liii. fig. 1.)



Crypt of Pope S. Cornelius, in the Cemetery of Callistus (Second Century).
(Roller, *ibid.*, pl. xxx. 1.)

in thousands of places the Roman usage of keeping the women separate from the men.¹

The societies which were so numerous in the provinces had preserved the Græco-Roman notion of popular power, which the



Basilica of S. Laurence without the Walls, at Rome.

Empire had abandoned in fact if not in law—everything was done in them by voting. The Church followed this usage, which was in the apostolic tradition,² and this popular election was termed the voice of God, *vox Dei*.³ Alexander Severus was so struck by

¹ In the upper galleries of the basilicas the men were on one side, the women on the other. (Pliny, *Epist.*, vi. 33.)

² When the apostles founded the first ecclesiastical office, the diaconate, S. Peter said to those present (*Acts*, vi. 3): "Look ye out therefore, brethren, from among you seven men . . ." See in vol. viii. of the *Histoire ecclésiastique* of Fleury, the *Discours sur l'histoire des six premiers siècles de l'Église*, §§ v. and vi.

³ Συνεδροκράσις ἐκκλησίας πάσης (S. Clement, *ad Cor.*, 44). Ψήφου τοῦ λαοῦ παντός (S. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.*, 24). See the election of Fabian at Rome, under Gordian (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 29), and that of Cyprian at Carthage. Yet at the end of the second century the election was modified and the powers of the bishop were extended. When the priest Novatus appointed a deacon, S. Cyprian, his bishop, accused him of usurpation (*Ep.*, 52). As in the

the advantages of this system that he for a moment thought of establishing it for the imperial administration.¹ In the civil order the election ended all, at least unless the law recognized the right of the prince to approve or reject; in the Church another act intervened, the laying-on of hands, which transmitted to the elect spiritual powers.² This rite, indispensable in order that the election should have its religious effect, must have from the time of its inception reduced the vote of the believers to a simple adherence given by them to the choice which the elders had prepared and which they recommended.

Another essential difference: the elections in the civil society were annual; those of the Church conferred by the episcopal consecration a permanent character. Thus this democratic society took upon itself an aristocracy which changed its members very slowly; the conservative element was placed above the varying element, and the Church had the chief advantage of hereditary governments, duration, without possessing its inconveniences: one great bishop might be replaced by another greater than he. But this aristocracy did not enjoy a power without control. As the duumvir was, in a certain measure, dependent on the curia, the bishop administered with the council of the priests,³ and these assisted him in deciding the questions which the members submitted to him.⁴

All associations which are formed outside of public duties and against them are compelled to constitute themselves judges of their own members. The membership of the Church, those who

pagan clergy, certain corporeal defects excluded from the priesthood. See, in Socrates (*Hist. eccl.*, iv. 23), the story of the monk Ammon who cuts off one ear to escape the episcopate.

¹ Lamp., *Alex. Sev.*, 49.

² Acts, xiv. 22: χειροτονήσαντες τε αὐτοὺς κατ' ἐκκλησίαν πρεσβυτέρους, and *ibid.*, vi. 6; viii. 17; ix. 17. The imposition of hands was an old Jewish usage.

³ . . . et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent . . . communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesia gubernabantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur ceteris, ad quem omnis ecclesia cura pertineret et schismatum semina tollerentur. (S. Jerome, *ad Tit.*, c. 1, p. 694, ed. of 1737, and *Ep.*, 85, or 101 in the edition of the Benedictines, vol. iv. p. 803.) He there describes the ancient state of the Church at Alexandria: . . . Alexandria, a Marco evangelista usque ad Heracleum et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant, quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat. These words are confirmed by the patriarch Eutychius, *Ann.*, vol. i. p. 330.

⁴ *Constitut. Apost.*, ii. 46.

designated the officers of the churches and received the confession of the penitent, also decided who should be saints, without all the formalities required in following centuries for canonization. The veneration with which it surrounded the tomb where reposed the remains of its heroes was afterwards sufficient to obtain admission to the register of martyrs.¹

Between the primitive churches there was an interchange of counsels, and sometimes "a mutual and salutary admonition."² If they had not gone further, we should have had a number of Christian communities, which would not have composed a Church, just as a multitude of republics do not make a State. But with the dogma of the revealed law and of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, transmitted "by the laying on of hands," it was consequently necessary that the apostles should be considered as having communicated to their successors "the certain grace of the truth." These were accordingly held to be the depositaries of the oral tradition which granted permission to interpret and extend written tradition, that is, to preserve in the bosom of the Church a principle of development, as do those constitutions in our day which declare themselves subject to revision, or those governments in which legislative action is continually modifying the ancient order in accordance with new requirements. What our politicians call reason the Church calls the Holy Spirit; it is the same thing, with this difference, the one counsels and the other commands.

All the bishops had at that time an equal right,³ and they were very numerous, because every community desired to have its own. This power would only have been a cause of division, had not the necessity of concerted action and mutual understanding

¹ The absence of this canonization is one of the arguments employed by Pope Benedict XIV. (*Euvres*, vi. pp. 119-125) in refusing to Clement of Alexandria the title of saint.

² These are the words of S. Clement (*ad Cor.*, 56): Ἡ νοθέτης ἦν ποιούμεθα εἰς ἀλλήλους καλῇ ἰστίᾳ. These letters touch upon all kinds of subjects, and were often written in the name of the entire community, without the intervention of an elder or a bishop; as, for instance, the beautiful letter of the Christians of Lyons to their brethren in Asia Minor. (See vol. v. p. 226.)

³ S. Cyprian, writing to Pope Stephen on the subject of the bishops of Gallia Narbonensis, says: *coepiscopi nostri* (*Ep.*, 67); and in his letter No. 72 we read: . . . non legem damus, quando habeat in Ecclesie administratione voluntatis sue arbitrium liberum unusquisque prepositus rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. See also the words used by S. Cyprian when inviting the Fathers of the third Council of Carthage to vote with absolute freedom, for no one of them thinks of being an *episcopus episcoporum*, and is not inclined to impose his will on his colleagues, words which certainly were an allusion to the pretensions of Stephen.

compelled them to borrow still another institution from the Roman society. As the representatives of the cities assembled in the capital of the province, the representatives of the Christian communities came together at the most important seat of the religion; and these provincial assemblies, of which the Empire had not known how to take advantage,¹ made the fortune of the Church. When any difficulty arose, the bishops assembled, and after discussion, decided by a majority of the votes what should be believed and what should be done. Was it not written in the Gospel: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them"? This meant that the decisions of the councils were inspired by the Holy Spirit.² The priests and deacons, admitted along with the bishops,³ gave to these assemblies a democratic character, which is a great power for those who deliberate upon the interests of a newly-formed society.

This institution, destined to play a very important part, appeared toward the close of the second century. The record has been preserved of only two assemblies of this sort before the time of Severus, and of two others during his reign, unless we include those of the year 196, which were held at Rome, in Palestine, in Pontus, at Corinth, in Mesopotamia, etc.,⁴ to fix the date of Easter, which determined the epoch of many Christian festivals and certain religious obligations. In the following generation S. Cyprian convoked sixty African bishops to decree measures to be taken against the *lapsi*, and eighty-seven to decide the question of the baptism of heretics.⁵ This new and superior jurisdiction diminished the liberty of special churches, but was the only means

¹ See vol. iv. pp. 43 *et seq.*, and vol. v. p. 473.

² See p. 165. S. Cyprian writes to Pope Cornelius (*Ep.*, 54) on the subject of the council of 252: . . . *placuit nobis, sancto Spiritu suggerente*. Constantine will call the decisions of the synod of Arles: *cæleste judicium*, and will add: *sacerdotum judicium ita debet haberi ac si ipse Dominus residens judicet* (Hardouin, *Collect. concil.*, vol. i. p. 268). Gregory the Great declared the authority of the first four œcumenical councils equal to that of the four Gospels.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 30.

⁴ See *l'Art de vérifier les dates*, and Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vol. i. pp. 69 *et seq.* It is doubtless to these synods that Tertullian alludes (*de Jejunis*, 13). I do not of course mention what is called the Council of Jerusalem, between the years 50 and 52. The council of the province of Asia, which included a great number of bishops, differed on this point from the opinion of Rome, and this division lasted for centuries. (Fleury, *Hist. eccl.*, vol. i. p. 518.)

⁵ These eighty-seven bishops belonged to proconsular Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania. This council appears to be of the year 256.

of making a general church. In the fourth century the Church will progress further in this road, which led to unity of faith and discipline; it will institute the Œcumenical Councils, which will suppress differences between the provincial councils, as they had suppressed differences between special Christian fraternities.¹

Thus the Church had naturally, by the conditions of its historical development, reached the point where it took upon itself a constitution superior to that of pagan society, and it had found the chief elements of this in the remnant of the liberties which the Empire had left in the midst of the towns and provinces. It was a representative democracy, having a great deal of vitality on account of the participation of the people in affairs of common interest, and through its councils great power of cohesion. The authority of the episcopate, which increased in spite of local resistance,² will soon augment this union.

Certain sees, those of Alexandria, of Antioch, and of Rome, enjoyed a special consideration, due to the importance of the cities where they were established, and to the belief that, having been founded by the apostles, tradition had in those localities been preserved in a purer form. Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, gives to them in the fourth century a special dignity which the Council of Nicæa confirmed. Although as yet there had not gone forth from the Roman Church either an illustrious theologian or any of those great words which provoke or terminate fiery disputes,³ they must naturally have been led to recognize a primacy of honour in the bishop of the capital of the world, in the see, the only one in all the West, which was regarded as of apostolic origin, which was said to have been consecrated by the blood of Peter and of Paul, and in which their tombs were pointed out. S. Ignatius of Antioch, under Trajan, in his letter to the Christians of Rome, makes no allusion to the special power of their bishop, and if, from the depths of their prison, the confessors of Lyons

¹ The term Œcumenical Council signifies an assemblage of the bishops of the whole habitable earth, but for a long while the limits of the organized Church were the frontiers of the Empire.

² This resistance to the absorption of the Church by the bishop was doubtless the foundation of the struggles of Felicissimus against Cyprian and of Hippolytus against Callistus.

³ The *Epistle to the Corinthians*, and the *Pastor*, said to be by Hermas, contain nothing dogmatic.

write to him recommending the union of the churches, they address the same recommendation to their brethren of Asia: words of peace, which on the eve of suffering the martyrs often sent to other Christian assemblies. Towards the end of the second century the inevitable evolution began. The transalpine churches were the first to take their places in upholding the apostolic see. S. Irenæus recognized in it a certain moral superiority,¹ while at the same time combating the opinion of the bishop of Rome in the quarrel which he maintained with the churches of the East. However, the ecclesiastical history of the first half of the third century, notably the letters of Firmilianus to S. Cyprian against Pope Stephen,² of the bishop of Carthage to the prelates of Numidia, and those of the bishops who vigorously blamed Pope Victor in the affair concerning Easter,³ proves that no doctrinal pre-eminence was as yet accorded to it. Between the great sees there are gradations, but no subordination. The need of union for defence will at a later period establish a disciplinary hierarchy: the primacy of honour will change into primacy of jurisdiction, and the *Pope*⁴ will have an empire more vast than that of the emperors. The centre of catholicity cannot be elsewhere than at the tomb of Christ or in the capital of the world. The destruction of

¹ . . . *propter potiore principalem* (*Adv. hæc.*, iii. 3). S. Cyprian (*Epist.*, 55) also calls the see of Rome, *Ecclesia principalis*. Despite the famous passage: *ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πύρρῃ οἰκοδομήσῃ μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, S. Peter did not enjoy any special privilege among the apostles. (*Matt.*, xvi. 18; *John*, xxi. 15-17.)

² Cyprian, *Epist.*, 27, 55, 71. Firmilianus was bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; his vehement letter against Stephen touching the nullity of baptism administered by heretics or those who have relapsed into error is found *ap. Cypr. Epist.*, No. 75. He was an important personage in the Eastern Church: Origen sought refuge with him when Bishop Demetrius compelled him to leave Alexandria.

³ *πληκτικώτερον καθαπτόμενων τοῦ Βικροπος* (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 24, 11). If, in the affair of the Novatians, the Pope deposes two Italians, it is as metropolitan, and after they had been condemned by a synod (*ibid.*, vi. 43).

⁴ The bishops, even the clergy, bore this title. The name of pope, which is synonymous with father, was not attributed exclusively to the bishop of Rome until in the following centuries. As regards universal jurisdiction, or, as ecclesiastical writers now say, primacy of vigilance and inspection, the history of the Church in the third century does not warrant the recognition of it in the bishop of Rome, and a long time will yet pass before it is found. The emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, having desired to fix by the constitution of 380 (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi. 1, 2) the religion of their people: *cunctos populos . . . in tali volumus religione versari*, give them as a rule of faith that of the bishops of Rome and of Alexandria, who are thus placed in the same rank. The constitution of 421 (*ibid.*, xvi. 2, 45) records that if, in *Illyricum*, any doubt shall arise concerning the ancient canons, it shall be referred to the bishop of the city of Constantinople, *quæ veteris Romæ prærogativa letatur*.



The Apostles. (Vase of the Fourth Century, in the Kircher Museum.) (Roller, pl. lxxiii. 3.)

Jerusalem by Titus and Hadrian made the pontifical fortune of Rome.

While awaiting this supreme achievement of the hierarchy, unity was established, thanks to the constant connection of the Christian fraternities among themselves. They exchanged the letters of the bishops, the canons of councils, and the churches who accepted them were by that act alone recognized as "in communion" with those who had sent them. Union appearing to be a necessity for salvation, concessions were made on points of secondary importance, so as to avoid divisions which would have rendered them exposed to perils greater than persecution; hence the changes which, imposed by circumstances, were carried into effect, were, in addition, the logical development of the primitive doctrine and discipline. Thus the Catholic Church was formed of itself, little by little, through the union of particular churches. About the middle of the third century a man of authority and of government, S. Cyprian, will present the formulary of this union in a treatise on the *Unity of the Church*, in which he will assert that the Christian societies ought to remain in communion among themselves and with the apostolic see, which is the centre of catholicity.

"The primacy," he says, "was given to Peter to show that there is but one Church, but the apostles were what Peter was. The episcopate is one, and all the bishops are pastors; they have but one flock. The Church likewise is one, and it is diffused by its fruitfulness into several persons." The chair of Rome then is in his eyes the sign and not the rule of the unity, which was to him the result of the common concurrence of all the members. The needs, and the ideas to which these needs gave rise, did not at that time require a greater concentration of spiritual authority.

Of all these new things, the most important in its historical consequences was the formation of a class of men not before in existence, except perhaps in the interior of the Hindostanee peninsula. By the celibacy which came to be imposed upon him, the Christian priest will become a new being in creation, as, by spiritual consecration, which neither civil authority nor popular election could give, he becomes a man apart in society. But the renunciation of the conditions of human nature will acquire for him a special force, which was added to the religious power

that assured to him the right to remit sins and to bring down God upon the earth in the sacrifice of the altar. These priests will most frequently be good men, of an angelic purity, and with a devotion equal to any sacrifice; but sometimes also they will be men of pride such as to set their feet on the necks of kings. Hence they will become formidable to civil society, because, being placed outside of it, they will constitute a great sacerdotal body, which will desire, and, by virtue of its doctrines, will be compelled to seek by every means to prevail over society.

There was then about to be introduced into the Western world a condition that was the opposite of what Rome had known and practised for ten centuries: the separation of the clergy and the laity, of the Church and the State. In the Græco-Roman world the union of the believer with the divinity was directly realized: the father of the family was the priest of its gods. The Christian will need an intermediate to enter into communion with his. This produces a diminution of the individual dignity of the believer, while the authority of the body exclusively devoted to religious service is singularly increased by it. Bound to the priestly office for their entire existence, by their faith and by their interests, since they live by the altar,¹ these men consecrated their activity, their genius, their holiness, and sometimes their blood, to the aggrandisement of the Church. And as it is in the nature of every corporate body to work unremittingly to extend its influence and its privileges, the establishment of the clergy, such as it has been now described, assured to the Church a formidable army, which at the outset prevented it from perishing and afterwards rendered it victorious. Never did prætorian guard, in the best sense of the word, render to his prince so great service as the Church has received from the sacerdotal corps. The repository of religious doctrine and of moral truth, it has defended the one according to the times, with the spirit of gentleness, of sacrifice, or of unpitying hardness; but it has preserved the other in the darkest days of history, and still teaches it.

Thus the Church developed harmoniously its two-fold life,

¹ A Christian community of Rome, which, in the time of Pope Zephyrinus and the emperor Severus, wished to have its especial bishop, assured him 150 denarii per month. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 29.)

doctrinal and disciplinary. One thing alone diminished in it: the virtue of the miracle. In proportion as it had been extended to a greater number, it had lost that power which, to be admitted, has need of remoteness in time and space. The faith of the simple had filled with marvellous deeds the history of the early days. S. Irenæus still believed "that the genuine disciples of Christ could deliver those possessed, foretell the future, heal the



Resurrection of the Daughter of Jairus.¹

sick and raise the dead."² The doctors of the present age no longer beheld these wonders, while still believing that they might see them, and Origen bears witness to the impairing of the divine gift when he only dares to speak of "the vestiges of them which exist among the Christians." Let a half century pass, and we shall hear the bishop of Cæsarea acknowledge sadly that these very vestiges have disappeared.³

¹ From a mutilated sarcophagus. Four different scenes follow in succession on this bas-relief. 1st, on the left, Moses striking the rock; 2nd, adoration of Christ by four persons, among whom two are weeping and veiling their faces; 3rd, the resurrection of the daughter of the chief of the synagogue of Capernaum; 4th, Christ standing with his right hand raised. This latter part is incomplete. (E. Le Blant, *Étude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles*, pl. xvii. and p. 28.)

² Tertullian (*de Spect.*, 20) recognized also in Christians the power to drive out demons, to perform miraculous cures, and to receive divine revelations. But when the interlocutor of S. Theophilus of Antioch demands for his conversion that the bishop should show him a dead person raised to life, Theophilus replies to him (*ad Autolyicum*, i. 8): "Do as the labourer who sows before he harvests, as the voyager and the sick who believe, the one in the pilot before arriving in port, the other in the physician before recovering his health;" and he is indeed right: belief in miracles requires a special disposition of mind; a man believes in them, not because he sees them, but because he thinks he sees them. This is the very expression of the bishop: "It is necessary to believe in order to see."

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 2; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 7.

In contrast with the strong organization of the Church should be placed the weakness of the imperial clergy. The bishops, chiefs of Christian communities, are judges for heaven, judges also for earth, for the brethren acquire the habit of submitting to them the differences which arise between them. The pagan priests, mere masters of ceremonies in the religious solemnities, had neither vast domains and appropriate revenues, as the Church will possess when it, in its turn, will have to combat innovators, nor jurisdiction which might give them subjects, nor public teaching which would assure them believers; and paternal authority, by closing to them the interior of the family, kept the women and children out of their influence. The old clergy was therefore incapable of contending with the new. The attack was admirably, the defence very poorly, conducted. Shouts of the populace and sentences to death, that is, acts of violence, are not sufficient to hinder the expansion of a religion which, born of the spirit, could have been arrested or restrained only by the spirit.

V.—THE HERESIES.

Armed with its canonical books and its ardent faith, sustained by its hierarchy, and fortified by its discipline, the Church marched on slowly but surely to the conquest of the world. To the anarchy of doctrines it opposed the simplicity of its dogma; to the freedom of philosophy, the unity of its spirit; and it cast out of its fold those who, in the common *Credo*, sought "to make their selection."¹

The narratives of the Gospels and the doctrinal exhortations of the Epistles had sufficed for the simple men whom the Church recruited in the first century. But when, in the second, the faith reached cultivated minds, these desired to co-ordinate their beliefs and solve by the processes of the schools the questions which they involved. Then was produced, in the solutions of religious problems, the same diversity that we have elsewhere seen in philosophical solutions. Many said, like the Clement of the Christian romance of the *Recognitions*: "I am sick in soul," and

¹ Heretic signifies in Greek, the one who chooses.

sought by the most diverse ways a remedy for these sufferings of the spirit, which are the most agonizing.

The Christian sects indeed drew their inspiration from the same book, but this book admitted of a thousand different interpretations, and the prophecy of Simeon was fulfilled: "Behold, this child is set . . . for a sign which is spoken against."¹ Even after the Council of Nicæa S. John Chrysostom will say: "The mysteries of Scripture are like the pearls which fishermen go and search for in the depths of the sea. It is difficult to penetrate its meaning, still more difficult for all to comprehend it in the same manner."² Infinite was, accordingly, the number of solutions proposed, and each found ready to accept it some of those men whom S. James describes carried about with every wind of doctrine. There were few great Christian communities whose bishop was not obliged to refuse the kiss of peace to men who presumed to discuss their faith.

The author of the *Philosophumena* enumerates thirty-two heresies.³ "Under the fire of persecution they swarmed," says Tertullian, "like scorpions on the banks of the Nile under the burning rays of the summer sun." We must leave to writers of religious history the study of these subtle discussions and of these bold and rash writers who have expended in behalf of humanity so much intelligence and time in vainly sounding the unfathomable. It will be sufficient for us to say that two principal categories of these undisciplined believers have been made, in which one passes by insensible shades from almost complete orthodoxy to absolute contradiction of a fundamental dogma: the heretics of *interpretation*, who changed the meaning or the text of the Scriptures, and the heretics of *inspiration*, who preached another law. Even in the time of the apostles, Cerinthus had regarded Jesus as a man; a little later, Ebion—or at least the Ebionites—had held him to have been born of Joseph and Mary, granting that he had by his virtue merited the descending of the Holy Spirit upon him. Those tenacious doctrines, found in the second century in the singular

¹ S. Luke, ii. 34: *Ecce positus est . . . in signum cui contradicetur.*

² *Hom.* xiv., on the second chapter of Genesis.

³ In the fourth century S. Epiphanius will reckon sixty, and Themistius say that the Greeks have three hundred different opinions on the divinity. (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 32.)

book of the *Recognitions* and in the *Pastor* of Hermas, had just been renewed by Artemon and Theodotus of Byzantium. A bishop of Antioch, Paul of Samosata, will soon take them up again, and they will culminate in the great heresy of Arius. Now, to deny the divinity of Christ, or, like the Docetæ, to reject his humanity, was to undermine the foundation of the new religious edifice. Again, it was shaken, if, with Praxeas and Sabellius, the Son was confounded with the Father; but to assume, as Montanus did, the character of prophet, was to change its ordinances and expose it to all the tempests raised by the zealous mystics. With one party, no more religion, since the great mystery of God made man disappeared; with the other, no more organization, that is, no more force constantly acting in the same direction, since the spirit "bloweth where it listeth," consequently, no more doctrinal unity, no more Church universal.

This latter variety of heresy was especially formidable, because among the Christians it was constantly held that the gift of prophecy, while it had become enfeebled, had not ceased in the Church.

It had been said to the apostles: "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter. . . . But the Comforter, even the Holy Spirit, . . . shall teach you all things." The newly-enlightened drew authority from these words, and many believed with Tertullian that Montanus received the inspiration promised by Jesus. But this belief in special revelations, which destroyed the gospel revelation by pretending to continue it, has given and still gives rise to the most dangerous sects. Marcion, by opposing both the Old and the New Testament, had already prepared the foundation for Manichæism.

In the midst of so many doctrines the Church had made its choice with the wonderful spirit of order and government which it seems to have acquired from those who persecuted it. Although it had as yet determined only the grand outline of the temple which it was to rear, it had already, in the third century, its immovable Capitoline rock, *Capitolii immobile saxum*, against which the unceasing waves of heresy beat in vain. Irenæus had just been writing against the Gnostics; Tertullian was engaged with the Valentinians and the Marcionites, with Hermogenes, who

maintained the eternity of matter, with Praxeas, who was subverting the dogma of the Trinity. The bishop of Antioch had condemned Montanus; that of Rome, Theodotus of Byzantium, and Minucius were arguing against the pagans.¹ The Church then knew what it wanted, and its sons by listening to her believed they "rose from the profound night of error into the full light of wisdom and truth,"² while the others, the philosophers, or "those who selected their part," acted at random. Finally, it already possessed what paganism never had, a mighty force of discipline. By all these things its victory is explained.

Along with this grandeur the Church has also its low side: in some of its doctors, a spirit of pride and lack of discipline which led to lamentable falls;³ among the members, vices which are too strongly planted in our nature to be always stifled by faith,⁴ or the hypocritical profession of sanctity in order to profit by the alms of the brethren; in the days of trial which are to come, numerous apostasies,⁵ explained by the enlisting which was carried on among the lower classes especially,⁶ in which were found so

¹ Minucius Felix was a lawyer of Rome. In his *Octavius* he essays to imitate Cicero and Plato; but, with the exception of a pleasing preamble, his pretended dialogue is but a combination of two speeches: in the one he makes accusations against the Christians, in the other he refutes them, and nowhere does he set forth the dogma. It is a plea, sometimes violent, always superficial, but written with a certain elegance of style and composed for men of letters.

² . . . *discussa caligine, de tenebrarum profundo in lucem sapientie et veritatis emergere* (Minucius, *Oct.*, 1).

³ Those of Tertullian, Origen, Tatian, etc. S. Justin and S. Irenæus had adopted the doctrine of the Millenarians, and Clement of Alexandria sometimes borders on heresy.

⁴ Origen even goes so far as to say, "Certain churches are changed into dens of thieves." (In *Matth.*, xvi. 8, 22; xi. 9, 15.) S. Cyprian accused the priest Novatus of having suffered his father to die of hunger, caused his wife to miscarry by his brutalities, and committed, after his elevation to the priesthood, numerous acts of fraud and rapine (*Ep.*, 49), accusations which may have been false, but which show that the Church of Carthage was as much disturbed as that of Rome. Cf. Tertullian, *ad Nat.*, i. 5. In the *de Jejun.*, 17, he also admits that there were many sources of danger in the agapæ, the abuses of which S. Paul had already noticed (1 *Cor.*, xi. 21-2), and which are recalled by S. John Chrysostom (*Hom.* 27 in 1 *Cor.*, xi.) and S. Augustine (*Ep.*, 64). See, in the 35th canon of the Council of Elvira (about A.D. 300) the measures taken against the disorders of the Christian meetings at night.

⁵ On the apostasies, see Le Blant, *Mémoire sur la préparation au martyre*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxviii. pp. 54-5, the *de Lapsis* of S. Cyprian, and his letter No. 30.

⁶ . . . *de ultima face collectis imperitioribus*. It is the pagan of the *Octavius* who speaks thus (§ 8), and Celsus (i. 27 and iii. 44) had already said: "They know how to win only the silly, vile, and dull souls, slaves, women, and children." Further on, at § 12, Cæcilius repeats: *Ecce pars vestrum et major et melior, ut dicitis, egetis, algetis, ope, re, fame laboratis*, and, in his reply (§ 31), Octavius contents himself with saying: "We are not the dregs of the people, because we refuse your honours and your purple." Then he adds, § 36: *quod plerique pauperes*

many men "lions in peace, timid deer in time of conflict;"¹ and finally, in the very bosom of the clergy, rivalries and quarrels which led to schism or heresy.² Born the same day, faith and heresy were two sisters, hostile and inseparable: the one followed the other, and will follow it to eternity.

There was a third and impure one, theurgy, which insinuated itself among Christians of all sects, as among pagans of every cultus, and even among the philosophers. Miracles were everywhere demanded, and there was no lack of persons who pretended to perform them. In the condition of minds at that time nervous diseases must have been frequent, those "possessed" numerous, and healers easy to be found: convicted charlatans or deceivers, whose incantations always made dupes, and who bandied about from one sect to another the charge of working by the aid of miracles. We have seen in the preceding volume the miracles of the pagans; the *Philosophumena* show that they appeared to

dicimur, non est infamia nostra, sed gloria. The Church indeed gloried, and very justly, in seeking out the little ones: among the martyrs whom it most honoured were Blandina and two women, Felicitas and Potamienna, who suffered punishment under Severus, all three of whom were slaves. The first martyr of Africa, Namphonius, or more properly, Namphamo (see L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, pp. 277 et seq.), and Evelpistus, who suffered martyrdom with S. Justin, were of the same condition. Pope Callistus (218-222) had been the slave of a freedman (*Philosoph.*, ix. 12); and thus it must have been for a long period, for in the higher classes the entirely pagan education was hostile to Christianity, and the profession of Christian faith rendered it necessary to break with society and its honours. Finally, it was not merely necessary to strip "the old man" of his beliefs; it was also required to take from him his pleasures, his riches, and many, like the rich man of the Gospel, went away sorrowful, when they were reminded of the precept of Jesus on giving up their goods to the poor. But we have seen that, from the middle of the second century, the Church also attracted to itself some great minds: Aristides, Justin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, etc., and the comparative peace which it enjoyed during the first half of the third century gained for it several conversions in great families. (Cyprian, *Epist.*, 80.)

¹ Tertullian, *de Cor.*, i.

² See the Epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians, on the "impious and detestable" sedition which had broken out amongst them: the letters of S. Cyprian in respect to Novatus and Felicissima; what the angels in the vision of Satur say to bishop Optatus (*Acts of Saint Perpetua*), and the circumstances which brought about most of the schisms and heresies. Thus S. Jerome (*de Vir. illustr.*, 53) affirms that it was the jealousy and ill-conduct, *invidia et contumelia*, of the clergy of Rome which caused the fall of Tertullian. He shows "Rome convoking its senate against Origen because the furious dogs who were barking at him could not endure the brilliancy of his speech and his knowledge." (Rufinus, *Apol. adr. Hieron.*, ii. 20. Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 8.) By these "furious dogs" S. Jerome meant the bishops of Egypt who had cut off the great doctor from their communion. Origen himself applied to them the severe words of Jeremiah (iv. 2) concerning the guides of the people who were so skilled in doing evil. (Fragment of a letter quoted by S. Jerome, *adr. Ruf.*) This evil dated far back. S. Paul had to reprimand the Christians of Corinth and of Crete; S. James, those who exaggerated the Pauline doctrine; S. John, the Nicolaitans.

continue, but that those of the Gnostics were in competition with them; at the close of the relation of the practices of these thaumaturgists the author adds: "That is the way to deceive the simple-minded."¹ By this account the whole world, pagans and Christians, might have merited the harsh epithet, for faith in the supernatural existed everywhere, and in the Church more than anywhere else. So, without seeking it, without wishing it, it nourished in its bosom "doers of marvellous works,"² and among these inspired persons the women were not the least numerous.

Christianity has always had a special tenderness for women:



Bas-relief of a Christian Sarcophagus representing Miracles: Daniel and the Lions; Jesus changing the Water into Wine and raising Lazarus. In the centre, a Christian in the attitude of prayer. (Marble of the Cemetery of Callistus. Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. xlvii. fig. 2.)

this is just, for they have been and still are its most potent auxiliaries. Their lively imagination, their delicate nature, so virginal still in the wife and mother, were captivated by that belief which enjoined charity and love; which even, by the legend of Mary Magdalene, the repentant sinner, went so far as favour and pardon for those who had loved much.

It was to them that these men addressed themselves who gained admission into houses, "silent before the husband, inexhaustible in talk with the matron."³ Celsus and the pagan of the *Octavius* indicate what part they afterwards bore in the propagation of Christianity. The mother having been won over led in the

¹ *Philos.*, iv. 4, 15: *πειθε τοις ἀπροσιν*.

² The signification of the word thaumaturgist (*θαύματα* and *ἱερεῖα*, from the root *ἱερεῖα*).

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii. 55.

child, then the father and the entire household. The story of S. Monica converting her husband and her son is very old and ever new. Hence the Church assured them an honoured place. The *Epistles* speak of holy women filling an office in the communities, a testimony which Pliny confirms;¹ and Lucian shows them carrying into prisons food for Christian captives. If the teaching and fulfilling of the rites was forbidden them, Jesus had given to them the good part. When Martha is indignant at being excluded from the priesthood, Mary replies to her with a smile: "Did he not tell us that our weakness would be saved by his might?"² This divine power which raises them so high is love.

But love is a matter of sentiment much more than of reason. When it enters into a heart under control it provokes a reasonable devotion to good works, otherwise it is disorder. By their nervous constitution, women are predisposed to excitement; some gave way to it, and these had visions or prophesied.

In the ecstasy into which they lapsed after long fastings and macerations, they saw heaven opened and conversed with angels. Tertullian has preserved to us one of these cases of psychological pathology: "One of our sisters," says he, "in the ecstasy which the Spirit bestows upon her in the very midst of our assemblies, has the grace of revelations; she sees and hears holy things, reads what is in the heart and points out remedies for the sick. Let the Scriptures, a psalm, a homily be read, and immediately she has a vision. One day when I had discoursed upon the soul, she said to us, among other things: 'I have seen a corporeal soul, having a certain form and a consistency such that it might have been grasped; it was shining, of an aerial colour, with a human countenance.'"³ Tertullian must have been extremely delighted with a vision which confirmed his doctrine of the material nature of the soul. He had just been stating it, and the echo of the priest's words, instead of being another word, became a vision:

¹ In the *Pastor* of Hermas there is also mention of deaconesses charged with the relations of the Christian community to the widows and orphans. For Pliny, see vol. iv. p. 815.

² ὅτι τὸ ἀσθενεῖς διὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ σωθήσεται (Const., i. 21, ap. Bunsen, *op. cit.*, vol. vi.). Cf. De Pressensé, *La Vie des chrétiens*, p. 77.

³ *De Anima*, 9.

the visionary *saw* what she had just *heard*, and there is not a day in which this miracle is not produced in certain of our hospitals.¹

The more intense the religious life became, the more sects multiplied. From time to time the confusion penetrated into the bosom even of the greatest churches, because the effort to enhance the importance of discipline to the profit of the episcopal authority clashed with souls at the same time religious and independent. We know by the letters of S. Cyprian what disorders existed in the Christian band at Carthage. All those in revolt are naturally represented as wretches, it is the lot of the vanquished. But if we knew something more than the accusations "against the conspiring priests," if those to whom the bishop imputes so many shameful deeds had told us the motives of their conduct, perhaps we should see in the excommunicated, instead of disturbers and guilty persons, men defending the liberty of their church.

This struggle between two principles, one of which was soon to stifle the other, existed at Rome, unknown even to those who maintained it. A book recently discovered, the *Philosophumena*,² written by a bishop, shows irritating discussions in this church.

The slave Callistus had been ordered by his master to found a bank; he was unfortunate—the author says dishonest—and was sent to the mill, that is, to the hardest labour. The brethren interfered; he recovered his liberty and, one day, outraged the Jews in open synagogue, which caused him to be condemned by the prefect of Rome to be beaten with rods and sent to the mines of Sardinia as a disturber of public order. When Marcia, the concubine of Commodus, obtained from the bishop of Rome the names of the Christians banished to the island, in order to their release, Bishop Victor did not place Callistus on the list; but the shrewd man won over the messenger of the empress, who took it upon himself to bring him away with the others. At

¹ It is not merely the philosophers who ought to-day to study the sciences concerned with life; the historians have far more need of it, for physiology has played an important part in the world before there were physiologists, and it explains many facts inexplicable without it. It is sad to say it, but a hospital for the insane is also itself a book of history.

² This manuscript, discovered in 1840 and published for the first time in 1851 by M. Miller, has been attributed to Origen, to Caius, a Roman priest, to Tertullian, finally to Hippolytus, bishop of Portus Romanus at the mouth of the Tiber. This latter opinion tends to prevail. The author is an adversary of Pope Callistus, which renders it necessary, without rejecting his narrative, to make allowance for the passion which he displays in it.

Rome Callistus succeeded in getting into the good graces of Pope Zephyrinus, "a simple-minded man," says the author, "very avaricious and somewhat venal," who set him in command of the guard of the common cemetery of the Christians,¹ then in charge of the distribution of alms and of the administration of the church. In these duties, which brought him into daily contact with all the faithful, he won their confidence. The community was very much divided; he persuaded each faction that he was at heart with them, and, at the death of Zephyrinus, he was elected in his



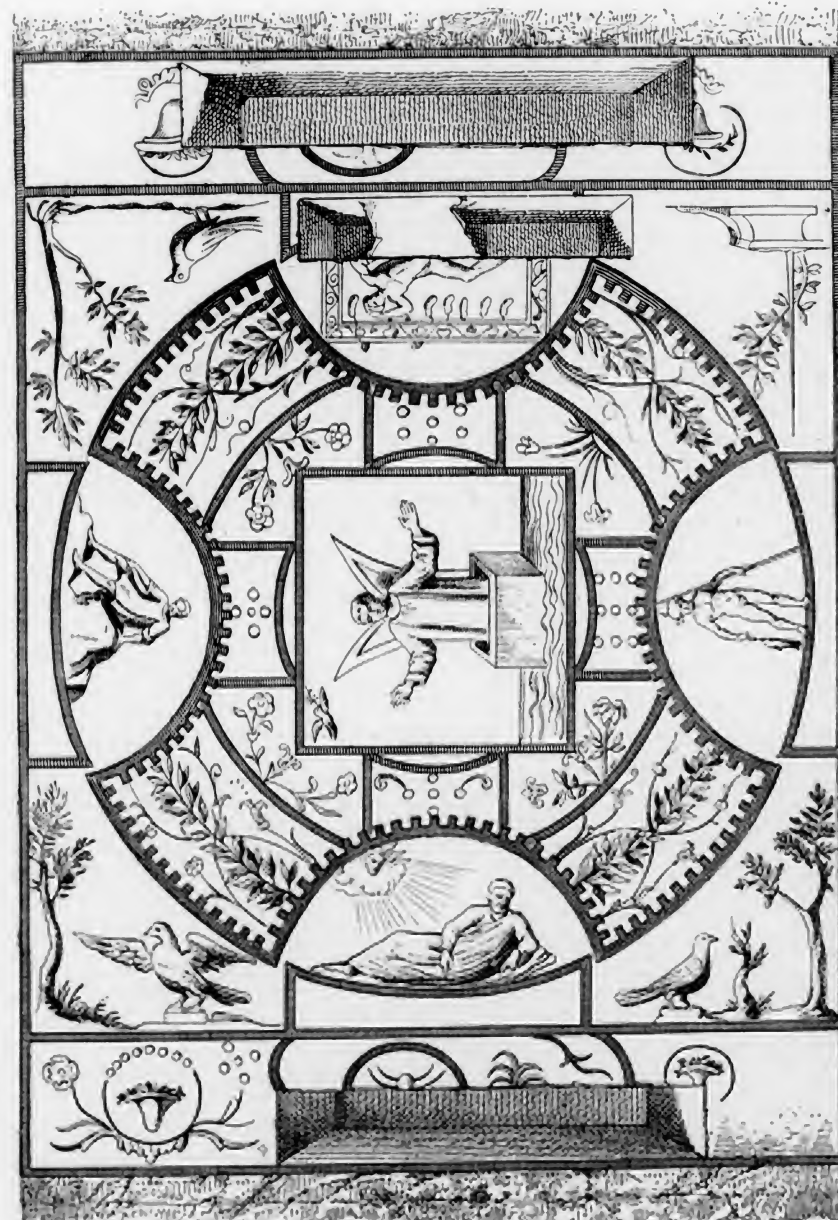
Pope Callistus (after a Gilt Glass).²

place, in spite of his unfavourable antecedents (A.D. 218 or 219). Immediately the disorders in discipline and the confusion in belief increased. Callistus accused several orthodox bishops of heresy, while he himself taught that the Father and the Son were one and the same person. To multiply the number of his adherents, he admitted married men to the priesthood; to the church, sinners unreconciled; to communion, men of easy morals, women living in concubinage, mothers who had exposed their infants. "Let the tares grow with the wheat," said he, "the Church has for its symbol the Ark of Noah, which contained clean and unclean animals."³ What truth is there in these accusations?

¹ *Cimiterium Callisti*, discovered by M. Rossi, and so well-studied by him,

² Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxviii. No. 2.

³ *Philosoph.*, ix. 12. The reproaches of the author are evidently exaggerated; but on the question of the troubles at Rome his testimony is confirmed by the *Pastor of Hermas*: *vos infirmati a secularibus negotiis tradidistis vos in discordiam* (*Visio*, iii. 2), and by what S. Jerome says of the conduct of the Roman clergy with regard to Tertullian. *Ann.* Marcellinus relates (xxvii. 3), at an epoch when discipline was far better established, that when two bishops were disputing for the see of Rome, a terrible riot broke out, after which one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies were found in the Sicilian basilica.



Noah's Ark. Centre of a Fresco; the Ceiling of the Cemetery of Domitilla (middle of the Third Century). (Roller, *pl. xxxv* and *Basile*, p. 243.)

We do not know. The author of the *Philosophumena* evidently leans toward the Montanists and an indulgent bishop is displeasing to his austere character. But if the picture be overdrawn, even if, as has been pretended in order to get rid of a vexatious revelation, the Callistus of the *Philosophumena* is not that of the Church, it no less remains that Rome had at this epoch its revolts against the ecclesiastical chief; soon they will make an antipope, Novatian. Pope Stephen and the great bishop of Carthage will exchange angry letters,¹ and the bishop of Caesarea will say of that of Rome: "His soul is fickle, uncertain, and cowardly."² At Alexandria, Demetrius, jealous of Origen, will force him to leave that city, and, later, its communion; later still, Paul of Samosata will be forced to leave the episcopal throne at Antioch under accusation of avarice, bad morals, and heresy. The Christian fraternities then were not always the seraphic church of tradition; they were communities composed of men, some of whom had great virtues, others our passions, our vices, and all the transports of feeling to which the religious spirit very easily accommodates itself in certain natures.

From the time of Marcus Aurelius, Celsus had been able to pretend that the divisions were already such among Christians that they no longer had anything in common except the name; and Ammianus Marcellinus, a pagan void of religious passion, who renders homage to the purity of the Christian faith, says in the following century: "Wild beasts are not more cruel to man than is the rage of the greater part of the Christians against the others."³ Pious souls, on the contrary, have drawn from these persistent disorders proof that the new religion was of divine instituting, because a human work could not have survived such ruptures. We can only say that they were inevitable. Man is found again, with his passions, in the theologian as well as in the philosopher,⁴ for it is not the beliefs nor the ideas which make

¹ Cyprian, *Epist.*, 75, 25, and 26: . . . *non pudet Stephanum, Cyprianum pseudochristum et pseudoapostolum dicere*. The Novatians, a rigid sect which did not admit of reconciliation with the *lapsi*, were still numerous in the fifth century. (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 28.)

² *Id.*, *ibid.*, 78, 25: . . . *anima lubrica, mobilis et incerta*. The bishops of Tarsus and of Alexandria also sided with Cyprian against Stephen in this controversy.

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii. 10 and 12, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 5.

⁴ This is almost what S. Paul said to the Corinthians (1 *Cor.*, i. 4), when he places in opposition in the Christian the *spiritual* man and the *carnal* man.

the violent or the peaceful, but the character, the habits which education has formed, and the institutions to which one has conformed his life.

¹ Roller, pl. xc. fig. 12. This lamp bears the cruciform monogram.



Christian Lamp of Bronze (end of Fourth Century).¹

CHAPTER XCI.

THE PERSECUTION UNDER SEVERUS.

I.—IDEA OF THE STATE AMONG THE ANCIENTS; OPPOSITION OF THE CHRISTIANS.

THE imperial government was well aware of the powerful organization of the Church,¹ these communities corresponding with one another from one end of the Empire to the other; these men who, without money, traversed lands and seas, who everywhere saw, at their approach, doors and hearts thrown open; who, in short, even with men of another language, at a sign made themselves known without needing to be understood.² The imperial government, so fearful of secret societies, found an immense one extended everywhere, and which was an evident peril, for it was in the bosom of the State another active State; but tolerance was a necessary consequence of the religious organization of the Romans, who never had a theocracy, because in their pontiffs the civil character outbalanced the sacerdotal. The priests of Jupiter and of Mars were judges, soldiers, administrators; and they had learned, in the government of men, that the law touches only acts and has no hold on the thoughts. In the midst of the profound peace which Severus guaranteed to the Roman world, when no apprehension of public danger excited men's minds, the sages who conducted the affairs of State did not think of proscribing the new religion, while yet leaving it under the menace of Trajan's rescript. This rescript it was impossible to repeal so long as the Cæsars

¹ Ulpian, one of the councillors of Severus, had collected in the seventh chapter of his treatise *de Off. proc.* all the edicts relating to the Christians. (Lactantius, *Inst. div.*, V. ii. 19.)

² All ecclesiastical history testifies to the activity of these communications. The churches consult one another, communicate the decisions which they have reached, their sufferings and their triumphs. Even the writings circulated rapidly. S. Irenæus, at Lyons, borrows several passages from Theophilus of Antioch; and the author of the *Philosophumena* at Rome, Tertullian at Carthage, copy the Lyonnese bishop.

retained the religion of their fathers; for, to them, the title of sovereign pontiff was equivalent to the oath taken by our kings, the day of consecration, to preserve the orthodox religion and not to tolerate heretics within their States.¹

This partial tolerance assured to the Church only an uncertain peace, for the best of the pagans resembled the historian Dion Cassius, a timorous spirit, the foe of all violence, who yet wanted the Christians to be punished, because, he said, innovators in religion were of necessity innovators in politics, who urged on citizens to revolt.² From time to time a popular outbreak made a few victims, or an over-zealous governor applied the old laws of the Empire. Severus at first manifested toward the Christians only great indifference, for he saw among them merely "carders, fullers, and shoemakers,"³ and it did not seem to him that an emperor had anything to fear from this God of the lower classes. It is not certain that he sent any one, before the year 202, into exile or to the quarries whence Marcia, under Commodus, had withdrawn them,⁴ and the Christians were without doubt included in the favour which he accorded "to the sectaries of the Jewish superstition," that of being eligible to municipal honours, with release from obligations contrary to their beliefs.⁵ Some of these were to be seen among his attendants. Before attaining his grandeur, one of them had healed him of some malady; when he had become emperor, he caused search to be everywhere made for

¹ Oath of Louis XIII. at his consecration: . . . *Outre je tascheroy à mon pouvoir, en bonne foy, de chasser de ma juridiction et terres de ma sujétion tous hérétiques dénoncés par l'Eglise* (*Le Cérémonial français*, by Théod. Godefroy, 1649).

² Dion, lii. 36.

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii. 55.

⁴ After having enumerated those whom the Christian communities assisted, the poor, the orphans, the old servants, and the shipwrecked, Tertullian, who however has a habit of extreme exaggeration, adds; *et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis vel in custodiis, ex causa Dei sectæ* (*Ap.*, 39). We have seen above, p. 25, that Marcia had obtained the release of those who were in the mines of Sardinia, and there is no reason to think that the measure may not have been general.

⁵ *Digest*, L. 2, 3, § 3. This interpretation may be allowable of the treatise *de Idololatria*, in which Tertullian recites what "the Christian magistrate" ought not to permit. We see also, by the *Acta martyrum*, that judges sought to substitute a political accusation for a religious one, demanding of the Christians brought before them not: "Are you Christians?" but, "Have you attended unlawful assemblies?" As for the Jews, their teaching was public. . . . *Judæi palam lectitant, vectigalis libertas vulgo aditur sabbatis omnibus* (Tertullian, *Apol.*, 18), and the government saw to it that no one should disturb their religious service. (*Philosoph.*, ix. 12.) They received this right from Augustus. (*Josephus, Ant. Jud.*, xvi. 6, 2.)

him, and established him at the palace.¹ Others dwelt there, if the celebrated *graffito* of the crucified with the head of an ass, found lately on the Palatine, is, as is likely, of this time. Besides, do we not know that Caracalla had a Christian nurse,² and that one day he was so enraged because one of his playmates had been



Graffito of Christ crucified with an Ass's Head (now in the Kircher Museum).³

whipped for being of the Jewish or Christian religion, that he for a long time refused to see those who had beaten him?⁴ When we read in the *Digest* that Severus ordered the persons accused of holding unlawful assemblies to be brought before the city prefect, we may conclude from this, since the guarantees of justice are

¹ Tertullian, *ad Scap.*, 4.

² *Lacte Christiano educatus* (Tertullian, *ibid.*).

³ Christ on the cross is looking at a person below him whose arm is raised in the attitude of adoration. Lower down, the Greek legend, badly engraved, signifies: "Alexamenos adores (his) God." Evidently a bit of irony intended for a comrade in service in the palace of the Caesars. Near this *graffito* these words have been found engraved: *Alexamenos fidelis*. Father Garucci, who published this caricature in 1857, believes it to be of the commencement of the third century, because at this epoch the pagans accused their opponents of adoring an ass's head. In 1882 a fresco was discovered at Pompeii, representing a parody of the judgment of Solomon, doubtless executed for some householder of that pleasure-loving city who wished to make sport of the Jews, his neighbours.

⁴ *Spart.*, *Caracalla*, 1.

increased in proportion to the higher rank of the judge, that the rescript must have been favourable to the Christians: the old and harsh law against associations was about to be tempered by political prudence. The same prince authorized poor people throughout the Empire to form societies with monthly assessments.¹ In fact, this rescript was favourable to the Christians, and we have no right to say that Severus did not think of them in writing it.²

But the emperor disliked uproar of any sort, and the religious disputes occasioned a great deal, especially when Tertullian joined in them, and he spent his life thus. This son of a centurion was a man of strife; he made attacks in his own defence and struck out all about him, hurling invectives at once at the pagans, their magistrates, their gods, "admitted to heaven by a decree of the senate," and at those of his brothers whom he treated as heretics,³ without thinking that the orthodox were reserving the same lot for himself. In a recently discovered fragment of Clemens Romanus is found this prayer to God: "It is thou, Almighty King, who hast given the kingdom to our sovereigns that we might be in subjection to them. Grant them, O Lord, health and peace, that they may without hindrance exercise the power which thou hast confided unto them over all existence. Direct, O Lord, their will according to right and in conformity with what is agreeable unto thee, so that, using authority with mildness, they may find thee favourable . . ."⁴ This is the attitude of the primitive Christians, that of the apostles Paul and Peter, that also of a bishop of Rome at the end of the first century, and of Theophilus of Antioch in the middle of the second. How different these holy men are from the fiery doctor of Carthage writing in his treatise *de*

¹ *permittitur tenuioribus stipem menstruum non tantum in Urbe, sed et in Italia et in provinciis divus Severus rescipit* (*Digest*, xlvii. 22, 1). He prohibited them in the armies (*ibid.*), where they were nevertheless formed. Cf. L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 70.

² Tertullian attests (*Apol.*, 39) that this custom of furnishing the *menstruum stipem* existed among the Christians; they had, then, taken advantage of the law of Severus. Yet he says that the pretext for the persecution was the unlawful assembling (*de Jejuniis*, 13). Severus, who merely proposed to check the propagation of the new religion, may only have struck a blow at the meetings which had not assumed the legal character of the burial societies.

³ He refuses to them the right of discussion and treats them as condemned without appeal. In the *de Præscr. adv. hæret.*, he opposes to them only the judicial form of the ordinance: "You have in your behalf," he said to them, "neither time nor possession," and this argument sufficed for him.

⁴ 1st Clementine, chap. xxxvii.

Idololatria a veritable declaration of war against pagan society. In another¹ we hear this repeated cry of revolt: "It is our business to contend against the institutions of the ancients, the laws of our masters;"² and this moral revolt was legitimate, since the imperial government, not comprehending the sacred rights of conscience, had treated godly men like criminals. As to the life of the Christians, Tertullian would have it sad and sombre, ever in sackcloth and ashes, in prayers and tears. "The woman who does not live like a repentant and mourning Eve is condemned and already dead. Her ornaments are the trappings of her burial."³ And this severity corresponded so well to the spirit of the Church that the authority of the priest of Carthage, despite his fall, was generally recognized in it and continued to be so. "Give me the master," said S. Cyprian, when he wanted one of the books of the celebrated doctor, *de magistrum*,⁴ and Bossuet, who has often copied him, often speaks like Cyprian.

Minucius Felix has neither his genius nor his rudeness, and is even more bitter. It is not enough for him to make a laughing stock of the gods of Rome; he tramples under foot the last homage that remains to her, the pride in her memories. S. Clement recognized Rome as his country; speaking of her he said: "Our legions, our generals."⁵ Minucius is a Roman no longer; for him, the fortune of this people is composed of iniquities, its history filled with crimes, and its city has never been other than a den of bandits.⁶ With less wrath and as much disdain, S. Augustine says of the glory of the Romans: *acceperunt mercedem suam, vani vanam*.

The sentiments of Minucius are those of the greater number of Christians. Sanctus, one of the martyrs of Lyons, is asked in the midst of tortures, his name, city, and country, whether he is free or a slave. But he has no name, he has no country. To

¹ *Adversus hæc nobis negotium est, adversus institutiones majorum, auctoritates receptorum, leges dominantium, argumentationes prudentium* (*ad Nation.*, 20).

² See also the violent outbursts of the *de Corona*, 11. This old spirit of the Church should be noted, as it reappeared as soon as the laity began to withdraw from it.

³ *De Cultu fem.*, i. 1.

⁴ S. Jerome, *de Vir. illustr.*

⁵ This is the famous *ἡμῶν* so long contested and which can be so no longer.

⁶ *Octavius*, 25.

everything he replies but one word: "I am a Christian!" It is very fine, but also very menacing. *Civis Romanus sum!* cried the Roman of ancient days, attesting his nobility and his right. The Stoic was still a citizen of the world. The Christians have only one city, heaven; they know no other country.

Greece and her glories, which are those of the human mind, find no favour with them. To them, Socrates is a buffoon,¹



Scene of Persecution: the Accusation.²

Aristotle a wretch,³ and they pronounce an anathema against all the great philosophers. What a difference between the apologists of the first age and those of the second, and, in the space of half a century, from Justin to Minucius Felix, from Athenagoras to Tertullian, how hatred has become envenomed! The Church, when it was mistress of the world, became a great school of respect and submission to law; it was not so then.

¹ *Octavius*, 38; *Scurra Atticus*.

² Fresco of the cemetery of Callistus, over the crypt of Pope Eusebius. Unique example of a judgment scene in primitive Christian iconography. (Roller, i. pl. xxvii. No. 1, and pp. 161-2.)

³ *Miserum Aristotelem* (Tertullian: *de Præscr.*, 7). Clement of Alexandria, on the contrary, rendered at the same period a solemn act of homage to Aristotle, copying him in his *Hypotyposes*.

To these maledictions against history and philosophy, that is, against civilization, were added menaces against the Empire and its sacrilegious Babylon. The sect of Montanists, which increased in numbers daily, and even, if we may believe the pagan orator of the *Octavius*, all Christians,¹ announced at Rome its impending destruction, and their gloomy prophecies gave occasion to the belief that they would willingly hasten that ill-fated hour. "If all others thought as you do," said Celsus to them, "the world would become the prey of the barbarians,"² and, in fact, it did become so, when every one thought as they did. There were at this time, indeed, in Alexandria, men such as Pantænus, Clement, and Origen, who, sincere admirers of the ancient philosophy, would have desired to "disengage the pearls hidden in a pernicious alloy;"³ or, as Origen said, "to carry off the gold of the Egyptians to make of it sacred vessels for the altar."⁴ But when they spoke of their contemporaries, it was with the bitterness of Tertullian. Cyprian, one of the most moderate of them, wrote in the midst of a pestilence and famine to the proconsul Demetrianus: "If I have not replied to your barking against God, it is that I may not expose our sacred truth to the outrages of dogs and swine. . . . These scourges are the divine vengeance which strikes the hardened sinner. What! you blaspheme against the true God, you persecute his servants, and you are astonished that the rain does not descend upon your arid plains, that the springs are dried up, that the hail destroys your crops and the poisoned air decimates your population? These misfortunes are the consequence of your iniquities!"⁵ The pagans were not silenced, and all the more cried out: "The Christians to the lions!" On both sides passion conceived gods in its own image, angry and violent, while impassive nature, pursuing the course of its immutable laws, bore fruitful clouds to one locality and deadly miasma to another.

¹ *Oct.*, 10. The *Octavius* must have been written about the year 180, and the treatise of Celsus is probably of the same time.

² *Contra Celsum*, viii. 68. In speaking thus I merely wish to state the fact, that the Christians, after having been an element of dissolution to the pagan empire, did not understand how to save the Christian empire when they had become masters of it.

³ *Strom.*, I. i. § 17.

⁴ *Epist. ad Gregor.*, 1, 30.

⁵ *Ad Demetrianum*, 8. In this very spirited letter against pagan society, Cyprian also announced the approaching destruction of the world.

The Romans, who had so keen a relish for tragic declamations, and the emperor who had himself made them, would not perhaps have paid much attention to the sombre pictures which many Christians unrolled before their gaze, if the new doctrine had not, in other directions, appeared dangerous to them.

S. Paul had said: "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God."¹ And some years later Clemens Romanus had drawn up for the churches a prayer in which he besought God to give to the emperors health, strength, and security.² But the spirit of submission was already that of only a part of the believers. Severus was a soldier. What was he to think of men who, when Celsus reproached them for abandoning the Empire when assailed by the barbarians, replied: "It is true that we do not bear arms, and that we would not, though the emperor wished to compel us; we have another camp where we combat for him by our prayers."³ Being a jurist, how could he regard a sect in which it was taught that when the law of the Church is in opposition to the law of the State, it is the former which must be obeyed,⁴ "because faith does not admit the allegation of necessity."⁵ A prince, in short, and the necessary conservator of an order of things which had always exacted devotion to social obligations, it was inevitable that he should seek to stay the progress of a religion whose sectaries lost their interest in public duties.

According to the ideas of the ancients, whether the State was represented by a man, a senate, or a popular assembly, in a famous city like Athens or Rome, or in the most obscure municipality, the citizen owed to it all his faculties, his valour in battles, his fortune in public necessities, his life in great perils. This dependence with regard to the State, much the opposite of our ideas of individual liberty, had given to patriotism an energy which ours has lost; and this is why we do not comprehend, or comprehend imperfectly, so

¹ *Romans*, xiii. 1.

² *II. Clem., ad Cor.*, 50-72. Ed. Hilgenfeld.

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, viii. 73-74. And the facts accord with the words. The recruiting officer presents to the proconsul of Africa a young man delivered over to be a soldier; but the young man replies that, being a Christian, he is not permitted to bear arms. For this refusal of the military oath he was executed. (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, p. 290, ad ann. 295 or 296.)

⁴ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, v. 37.

⁵ *Non admittit status fidei allegationem necessitatis* (Tertullian, *de Cor.*, ii.).

many things in ancient society. Thus, to make out, in the persecutions, the part of each, executioners and victims, we must take into account the horror which these men inspired, who set up in opposition to their common country, bequeathed to them by their ancestors, another which they had themselves invented. "Why," they were asked, "why do you shun municipal office where the law is protected?" "Because, in each one of your cities, we have another country which God has made for us, and it is to the government of this that those of us who have authority by word or moral character should be attached."¹ Several systems of philosophy, even that which then prevailed, also recommended separation from the world; but, in the schools, this spirit was inoffensive, because it remained a matter of mere psychological curiosity.

Many other things still further scandalized the pagans. Then, as to-day, large families were honoured, and the Roman law punished celibacy. Now the Gnostic Christians, almost as numerous as the orthodox, cursed the flesh as the principle of all evil and practised celibate asceticism. Others, regardless even of the conditions of human life, placed among their pious books treatises "on the inconveniences of marriage."² Some dared to think that Adam would have done far better to have remained in a state of virgin purity, and God to have found another means of placing upon the earth the adorers of his power.³ One of them went so far as to

¹ *Seimus, in singulis civitatibus, aliam esse patriam a verbo Dei constitutam, eos ut Ecclesiam regant hortatur qui potentes sermone et quorum mores sani sunt* (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, viii. 75). "To-day even, in every country, we would prosecute any association propagating certain ideas promulgated by Tertullian in chapter lxxxi. of the *de Corona*, 22" (De la Berge, *Trajan*, p. 213).

² This was one of the first works of Tertullian, and S. Jerome recommended the reading of it to Eustochia (*ad Jovinian.*, i. and *Epist.*, 18, *ad Eustoch.*). Tertullian, however, did not himself profit by it, for he married, and in the second of his letters to his wife (*ad Uxorem*, ii. 9) he draws a very beautiful picture of Christian marriage. But, in the first, he represents marriage to be unsuitable for believers, and makes a vow of continence. The Marcionites forbade conjugal union; Tatian condemned it; the Valentinians, Basilians, Encratites or *Continents* did the same; Origen rendered himself incapable of it, and his imitators were still numerous enough in the fourth century to require that the first canon of the Council of Nicæa should prohibit the mutilation. Other Gnostic sects destroyed marriage by community of wives. Clement of Alexandria, a contemporary of Tertullian, but a genius of milder character, combats, in book iii. of the *Stromata*, all these excesses, and exalts anew the sanctity of the married state. His doctrine has remained that of the Church; but the Montanist spirit, which is not dead, has covered the world with convents.

³ We find traces of these singular opinions in Justin, Gregory of Nyssa, and S. Augustine; Macarius Magnes maintained that Adam made no use of marriage until after his sin.

write: "When we have children, we desire that they may go before us into the presence of the Lord." Tertullian, it is true, who spoke thus, says of himself: "I do not dispute, I do not go to war, and my sole care is to exempt myself from all care."¹ One might, on the contrary, accept this thought of Montanus: "Man is a lyre which the Spirit of God strikes,"² if it did not expose us to another peril by the annihilation of our will and



A Woman at Prayer and the Good Shepherd. (Painting of the Cemetery of SS. Nereus and Achilleus. Roller, pl. xlix. fig. 1.)

absolute abandonment to Providence, that is, to the hazard of individual inspirations taken for revelations from on high.

The eloquent and sombre declamations of Tertullian were not the rule of faith of all the believers. There were certainly Christians in the army, in municipal offices, in civil functions,³ and all did not renounce their property through apprehension of the fate of Ananias, or give up commerce and industrial pursuits for fear of infringing upon the prescribed rules of the Church

¹ Tertullian, *de Pallio*, 5.

² S. Epiphanius, *Adv. hær.*, 48.

³ They were there, but in very small number. The famous words of Tertullian, "We fill the cities, the camps, the senate" (*Apol.*, 37), are contradicted by all the facts and testimonies. (See vol. v. p. 741.) The number of bishops found in certain countries should not mislead us in regard to the number of the faithful. "Wherever three Christians are united," says Tertullian (*Exhort. castit.*, 7), "there is a church," and the *Constitutions of the Church of Alexandria*, i. 13 (*ap. Bunsen, op. cit.*), require that when the members are few in number, *ὅταν ὀλιγανθρία ὑπάρχει καὶ μὴ πῶς πλῆθος τυγχάνει τῶν ἐκκλησιασθέντων ἐπὶ ἐπισκόπου . . .*, they should seek the attendance of three judicious men sent by the neighbouring churches.

with regard to lending money at interest.¹ Some were found, who, penetrated with the sweetness of the Gospels, forgot the God of inexorable vengeance, and saw only the Good Shepherd bringing back upon his shoulders the sheep which had gone astray. Those were the neophytes who remembered having been fed by the Church with milk and honey "at their entrance into the land of promise;" they took delight in life, in the sunlight and the flowers, in friendship and love, as in gifts of their Heavenly Father; and they were the most numerous, because they obeyed



The Good Shepherd and the Twelve Apostles.²

the true laws of our nature, against which no general revolt is possible. But they were not the most zealous. Those upon whom had been poured out the wine of wrath and the intoxication of death, cried out, with Minucius Felix: "It is no longer a time to adore crosses, but to bear them;"³ and they are the martyrs of the persecution which we are about to narrate.

II.—RESCRIPTS OF TRAJAN, MARCUS AURELIUS, AND SEVERUS.

Sophocles, in his *Antigone*, had already shown in magnificent terms the opposition which may be found between civil law and natural law, "between the decrees of men and those ever-living laws which no hand has written, but which the gods have engraved on the hearts of all." The pious young girl who braves "the lordly menaces of a tyrant, so as not to incur the wrath of the

¹ Lending at interest was considered usury and condemned under that title.

² Bas-relief found near the church of S. Lorenzo fuori Mura. (Bosio, p. 411, and Roller, pl. xliii. fig. 2.) The Good Shepherd is represented, in the centre and at the two extremities of the bas-relief, taking care of "his sheep."

³ Octavius, 12: *jam non adorandæ, sed subeundæ cruces.*

immortals," already speaks as the martyrs are going to speak; and we are with the poet when he nobly reclaims the rights of conscience. But if the inspired psalmists are sometimes prophets of the future, the prince is always the man of the present, and it is his duty to compel obedience to the law which his predecessors have bequeathed to him, and the execution of which is demanded of him by society.

Tertullian claims from Severus religious liberty: "It is human right," he says, "*jus humanum*, that each one may worship whom he pleases, and it is contrary to religion to constrain to religion."¹ Beautiful words, pronounced by the suffering Church, which the victorious Church will repudiate, and which certain sects of modern times still reject, saying to their opponents: "We claim liberty in the name of your principle; we refuse it to you by virtue of ours."

Origen also is indignant that the Church should be absorbed by the State, and he is right, for the spiritual tribunal ought to be shielded from all constraint; but some day, the Papacy, with as little wisdom as the Empire, will seek by an opposite excess to place the State within the Church.

Minucius Felix in his *Octavius*, the priest of Carthage in his *Apology*, and with them all the defenders of the new faith, plead the innocence of the Christians; they are thoroughly right. But none of them understand that fatality of history which wills, in religion as in political affairs, that what exists should seek to defend itself, and that an old society should repel those who pretend to change its morals, its ideas, and its institutions. To the Romans, conservators of the ancient social order, the Christians were dangerous revolutionists; in their acts of piety they beheld sacrilege; in their faith, the ruin of the official worship and of the political organization of which this worship was an essential element.² Hence the argument of Tertullian demanding that the ordinary rules of justice should be applied to the Christians falls through, in spite of the eloquence which supports it. "All crimes," says he, "are imputed to them, but they are interrogated

¹ *Ad Scapul.*, 2: *Non religionis est cogere religionem.*

² . . . *Sacrilegii et majestatis rei convenimur* (Tertullian, *Apol.*, 10). He recognizes further on that the emperors could not be at the same time *et Christiani et Cæsares* (*ibid.*, 21).

only on this topic: 'Are you a Christian?' 'Yes.' That is the whole examination."¹ And while torture is employed to compel ordinary culprits to confess their crime, with the Christian it is made use of to obtain of him his permission, by abjuring his faith, that the judge may declare him innocent. Does he persist? a more complete investigation is not necessary. The usual accusations: adoration of an ass's head, murders of children, the flesh of whom was eaten, incestuous orgies in the shades of night, all that is good for the populace; the judge does not consider it. In Christianity he sees only mystic reveries and socialistic doctrines; in the Christian only a public enemy, with whom it is enough to establish his identity before throwing him to the beasts. The Catholic inquisition will not require any more to send one of the Albigenses or Protestants to the stake.²

These persecutions, which excite our horror, appeared to people of that time merely questions of public order. Against the Christians Rome did what modern governments do against those who attack their essential principle, but it did so with the processes of a time when penal legislation was lavish of death.³ This is why extenuating circumstances should be admitted in favour of those who ordered them, while reserving a vigorous condemnation against the ideas and institutions which rendered these iniquities possible. There is another duty to fulfil, and this is, to distinguish among the persecutors those who yielded with regret and in a slight measure to the passions of the times, and those who, sharing them, mingled cruelty instead of indulgence with the execution of detestable laws. Severus should be placed among the first, for

¹ *Confessio nominis non examinatio criminis* (*ibid.*, *Apol.*, 2).

² By the declaration of July 1st, 1686, Louis XIV. pronounced the penalty of death against those who should be found performing religious services other than Catholic. (Isambert, *Coll. des anc. lois franç.*, vol. xx. p. 5.) Down to Louis XVI. Protestants were deprived of civil status, and in our century there have been cases of *auto-da-fé* in Spain. As to sorcerers, unhappy fools whom the Church considered as imps of Satan, they were burned by thousands. In a corner of Franche-Comté there were, from 1606 to 1636, one hundred executions and sixty banishments for deeds of sorcery. (*Hist. de Jussey*, by l'Abbé Coudriet, p. 379.) Under Louis XV. witches were also burnt (Maury, *Magie et astrol.*, p. 222); and only a few years since some peasants threw into a furnace an old woman whom they believed to be a witch. [On this question, see the interesting chapter in Lecky's *Hist. of Rationalism*.—Ed.]

³ This harshness of penal laws lasted very long. In the eighteenth century they contented themselves with burning the books, but in the Middle Ages they burned those who wrote them. Richelieu, even, had a poor poet hung who had committed the crime of some bad verses against the government.

though he was less wise than Hadrian he was more so than Diocletian.

Trajan had made a State crime of the *public manifestation* of Christian faith;¹ but he had interdicted the seeking for this; under Marcus Aurelius we find a decree stating: "He who by superstitious practices shall affright the inconstant soul of men shall be banished to an island."² This rescript did not designate the Christians by name, but they were certainly included among those whom it was to affect. It was one step further towards persecution. In 202 Severus took a third. On the banks of the Nile he had placed under lock and key the books of Egyptian theology, and while crossing Palestine he had promulgated an edict which prohibited Christian and Jewish propagandism.

In all antiquity religion and the State had been so closely united that a Roman could not comprehend the one without the other. It had been the same at Jerusalem; hence Rome had officially permitted the religion of the Jews, by recognizing, in the treaties made with them, their nationality. It was easy then to apply to them the rescript of Severus and to hold them confined to their race, the more so as they but seldom sought to escape from it. But the Christians formed a sect and not a nation; they were recruited from all parts, even among the barbarians. To enter into communication with the enemies of the Empire was already a very grave matter; but to induce citizens to abandon the national religion seemed treason, and the government would have desired to stop the desertion of these fugitives from the Roman fatherland.

The edict, however, did not go so far as to proscribe the existing Christian communities; it only tended to prevent the extension

¹ See vol. iv. p. 816. Tertullian (*Apol.*, 2) marks very correctly the character of this rescript: . . . *inquirendos quidem non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportet*, and one fact, placed by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, v. 21) under the reign of Commodus, shows this jurisprudence in action. "Apollonius, who was of the number of the faithful, was accused by a minister of Satan at a time when that was not permitted. Perennis commanded the informer to be executed; but he referred Apollonius, in his turn, to the senate, and the latter, having refused to renounce his faith, had his head cut off, because it was forbidden by the law to absolve Christians who had been accused, unless they changed their opinions." Thus the prefect of the prætorium punished with death an accuser of the Christians, which must have intimidated those who might have been tempted to follow his example. But Apollonius having, no doubt, on this occasion publicly manifested his faith, he applied to him the rescript of Trajan.

² *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 30.

of them. Now this prohibition was contrary to one of the most imperative commands of the evangelical law: "Go and teach all nations." It would have put a stop to conversions, and it gave authority to take action against those who sought to make them.

Meanwhile the search for Christians was not as yet commanded, since Tertullian wrote in peace his books which are so severe towards the pagans, and since the priests could teach, heretics discuss, believers come publicly, as did Origen,¹ to the aid of martyrs in prison, assist them at the tribunal, encourage them even in the amphitheatre, and finally, since, despite the very large number of bishops,² not one of them perishes, and men left to the Christians their chiefs and their doctors, their assemblies and their elections, their schools of catechumens and their cemeteries,³ that is to say, their organization and their worship. There were

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 3.

² In the single province of Africa, Cyprian assembled in council eighty-seven bishops (*de Hæreticis baptizandis*, in *Cypr. oper.*, p. 328), and when he suffered martyrdom in 258, he was the first African bishop who sealed his faith with his blood. The fiery Tertullian lived undisturbed even to extreme old age, *usque ad decrepitam ætatem* (S. Jerome, *de Vir. illustr.*, 53). The policy of the persecution called that of Severus was not to attack any chief, though they were very easy to be found. However, two bishops are mentioned who must have perished at that time, Zoticus, bishop of Comana in Cappadocia, and Irenæus, bishop of Lyons. Of the first, Tillemont makes no mention, and the Bollandists say of him (July 21st): *ubi et quo tempore martyrium fecerit fateor mihi hactenus incertum esse*. As for the second, S. Cyprian and Clement of Alexandria do not refer to him, though he was the most prominent of their contemporaries; and Tertullian, who often copies him, does not give him the title of martyr. In one of his books written after the persecution of Severus, *quum furor Severi restinctus fuerat*, and at a later date than the year 208 (cf. Nœsselet, *de Vera ætate script. Tertull.*, in the Tertullian of Cöhler, vol. iii. pp. 540 and 605), the priest of Carthage speaks in the same phrase of S. Justin, whom he styles martyr, and of Irenæus, of whom he merely says that he was *omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator* (*Adv. Valent.*, 5). If the bishop of Lyons had suffered martyrdom Tertullian would have given to him the same title as to Justin. The Bollandists are reduced to saying (June 28th): *nihil invenimus de S. Irenæo quod esset antiquitate aliqua . . . spectabile*. The records of his martyrdom do not in fact exist, and Gregory of Tours is the first who relates it (*Gloria Mart.*, 50). S. Jerome, in the *de Vir. illustr.*, terminates the chapter which he devotes to Irenæus, the 35th, by these words, which necessarily call for mention of the martyrdom if it had taken place: *floruit maxime sub Commodio principe*. True, he says of him in his commentary in *Isaiam*, 64: *Diligentissime vir apostolicus scribit Irenæus episcopus Lugd. et martyr, multarum origines explicans hæresion*. But, on the one hand, this book of S. Jerome having been completed after 411, that is, two centuries after the death of Irenæus, there may be in this an echo of the improbable legend reported by Gregory of Tours, and which was at this epoch already formed. On the other hand, these simple words: *et martyr*, may be a gloss slipped into the text. We know what strange liberties were taken by the copyists of manuscript or by those under whom they laboured. The recent discovery of three letters of S. Ignatius would be a new proof, if we may believe Cureton, in his *Corpus Ignatianum* (Berlin, 1849).

³ The use of the cemeteries was not prohibited to the Christians until ordered by an edict of Valerian. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 11, and S. Cyprian, *Epist.*, 83.)

executions to frighten the Church and to put a stop by means of terror to its propagandism. But the strokes fell only on the insignificant and the slaves, for whom they gave themselves little concern. The victims then were those who had come out of the lower classes, and who in all revolutions are the most active, those who by their own acts designate themselves to the judge or to the mob by their ardour in seeking punishment, or who, denounced to the magistrate by personal enemies, defended themselves in such a way as to bring them under the penalty of the law. But the vocation of martyrdom is never the lot save of a small number, and informing in cases of this nature had its dangers, because the *delator* was not sure that the accused would not upset the accusation with the single word they demanded of him: "No, I am not a Christian!" Now the informer who did not prove his statement incurred grave responsibilities.¹

The edict of Severus did not prescribe any search, so each governor enforced it according to his own character. He of Cappadocia, irritated against the Christians who had converted his wife, forced several of them by violent tortures to sacrifice to the gods.² Lyons had the same ardour for idolatry which it displayed later in behalf of the new faith. If the tradition of the Church were sufficient to dispense with all historic testimony, S. Irenæus perished there; but his contemporaries, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and S. Cyprian, know nothing of his martyrdom. The two great African cities, Carthage and Alexandria, which were rivals

¹ An individual who accused Severus of magic before his elevation to empire was crucified. Macrinus caused to be put to death the *delatores, si non probarent* (Capit., *Maer.*, 12), and Gratian will renew this law: the *delator* who does not prove his accusation well-founded shall suffer the penalty which would have been inflicted on the guilty. (*Cod. Theod.*, ix. 1, 14.) If the charge was admitted the accuser received one fourth of the property of the condemned; it was therefore a business at once lucrative and dangerous. This legal responsibility explains why the judges should have refused to receive mere denunciations by letter, and required the presence of the *delator*. (See below, pp. 237 *et seq.*) The letter of Marcus Aurelius which circulated in the Christian schools of the time of Tertullian is absolutely false, but the punishment of the calumniator which it inflicts: *adjecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione et quidem tetriore* (*Apol.*, 5), is a characteristic feature of the morals of the age. The condemned Christians, being held as criminals against majesty, had their goods confiscated (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 2), and we have just seen that a part of them reverted to the *delator*. But their poverty rendered this profit insignificant. Hence the most usual accuser was the populace, who by their clamours and sometimes by their acts of violence provoked an execution.

² Alexander, bishop of this province, was imprisoned.

in magnificence,¹ were two ardent centres of religious life.² Directly the edict of Severus became known there, they gave loose reign to their pagan fury, and the magistrates, formally addressed to fulfil their legal duty, yielded to the popular pressure. Many victims are mentioned for Egypt,³ among whom was the father of Origen. Yet, at Alexandria, Bishop Demetrius, and the master of Clement and Origen, despite the ardour of his zeal, escaped; it was the same in all the great cities, at Carthage, Antioch, Smyrna, and Rome. The clergy of this latter city were already numerous, and there occurred, even at this moment, angry divisions among them; none of their members appear to have been disturbed: Pope Zephyrinus and Callistus, who was at that time



The City of Antioch personified.⁴

very prominent, certainly were not. In the province of Africa, one of the latest evangelized, it is almost all obscure Christians who perished.

The persecution began at Carthage in consequence of a riot; the populace wished to force the governor to close the cemeteries of the Christians.⁵ Before coming to that, there had certainly been

¹ Herod., vii. 6.

² See above (p. 31), the riots caused at Carthage by the priestesses of the goddess Cælestis. As for Alexandria, it was the great laboratory of ideas and beliefs.

³ It is doubtful, however, whether Christianity was then very widely spread in Egypt, outside the capital, and whether, consequently, the persecution made many martyrs there. Down to Demetrius, who then occupied the episcopal chair of Alexandria, all Egypt had had but a single bishop (cf. Eutychius, *Ann.*, i. p. 354, Pocock's trans.), while the province of Africa, evangelized at so late a period (Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, i. p. 754), reckoned a very great number of them. But in Alexandria the persecution was violent. (Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 1: *μάστιγα ἐπλήθυνεν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας*.)

⁴ Engraved stone (cornelian, $\frac{11}{16}$ by $\frac{11}{16}$ in.) of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,749 of the catalogue, and Collection de Luynes, No. 98. M. Chabouillet thinks he recognizes the emperor Alexander Severus in the warrior who is crowning the city. Bronze coins struck at Antioch during the reign of this prince bear the same types. See in vol. iv. p. 667, the Vatican statue also personifying the city of Antioch [or more strictly, the *fortune* of the city.—*Ed.*].

⁵ In remembrance of the ten plagues of Egypt, ecclesiastical writers have maintained that the Church has suffered ten persecutions. They reckon four anterior to Severus: under Nero (see vol. iv. pp. 506 *et seq.*), Domitian (*ibid.*, p. 726), Trajan (*ibid.*, pp. 816 *et seq.*), and Marcus

acts of violence in the streets, and the more the Christians gained assurance by their increasing number,¹ the more intrepidity and haughtiness they manifested in their language toward the pagans, the more hateful their adversaries would find these men who seemed to desire to set themselves above other citizens by manifesting contempt for their gods, their festivals, and their pleasures.² Thus, when Rome in 204 displayed all its magnificence to celebrate the Secular Games,³ Tertullian had just written, with his usual vehemence, a book against all spectacles.

The first martyrs of Carthage were the twelve Scillitans, in 180,⁴ among whom were several women. In the second *combat*,

Aurelius (vol. v. pp. 220 *et seq.*); that of Severus, which is known to no pagan writer, and of which Lactantius does not speak, is counted the fifth and represented as very violent. It is strange that Dion Cassius, so prolix a writer, has not once named the Christians, and that in all the *Augustan History*, several editors of which lived under Constantine, we find barely a few words about them. Evidently these persecutions, which for fifteen centuries have disturbed the human conscience, took place in the inferior strata of society, or at least did not agitate the surface, and, down to Decius, were only local police measures or popular excesses.

¹ We know the exaggerations of Justin (*Dial. cum Tryph.*), of S. Irenæus (*Adv. hæc.*, i. 3), and of Tertullian (*ad Scap.*, 2, and *Apol.*, 37): they are famous. The *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, written toward the close of the second century, exhibits the Christians as very few in number and very obscure. At the middle of the century following, Origen, comparing them to the mass of the pagans, yet said: *ὅς νῦν πάντες ὀλίγοι* (*Contra Cels.*, viii. 69). In the province most easily opened to Christianity, in Syria, "no Christian catacomb anterior to the fourth century, no well-authenticated Christian monument reared before the peace of the Church, has up to the present time been discovered." (De Vogüé, *Inscr. sémitiques*, p. 55.) Still, it is certain that the number of the Christians increased greatly during the long peace which they enjoyed between Severus and Decius.

² The terms of reproach applied to the Christians by the pagans are enumerated in the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, by Cæcilius, the advocate of paganism.

³ There were two kinds of *Ludi sæculares*: those which took place every hundred years at the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, and which had been celebrated under Claudius in the year of Rome 800, under Antoninus in the year 900, which they will still celebrate under Philipppus in the year 1001; and those which, connected with a great event of which we have no knowledge, took place every 110 years: thus, under Augustus in 737; under Domitian, who set them forward six years, in 841; under Septimius Severus, who re-established the regular order, in 957.

⁴ See vol. v. p. 226. I have placed their execution at this date, following M. L. Renier, who has with correct judgment recognized the consuls of A.D. 180, *Præsente II et Condiano coss.*, in the consuls mentioned in the *Acta* and whose names have been corrupted by the copyists. What is said by Tertullian, *de Corona (initio)*, concerning the long peace which the Christians enjoyed in Africa before A.D. 202, justifies our opinion. The Scillitan martyrs appear to have been the first in Africa (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, p. 34), as those of Lyons were the first in Gaul. Sulpicius Severus (ii. 46) says in reference to the tardy evangelization of Gaul: *Serius trans Alpes Dei religione suscepta*. On the order of proceedings followed in the trials of the Christians, see the learned paper by M. Le Blant in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxx. part second. The author makes a distinction between the *Acta* or transcriptions, more or less exact, of the judicial examinations, access to which the Christian sometimes obtained by payment of money, and the *Passiones*, in which the historical foundation is

which took place the tenth year of the reign of Severus (202).¹ the slave Felicitas and the matron Perpetua also perished, with others who made confession.

Their sacrifice is related at length in the *Martyrology*, in accounts filled with miraculous visions and heroic deaths. These soldiers of Christ were noble combatants, but of a sort as yet unknown. Before giving rise to monastic orders, to all the macerations of the flesh, and to heroic acts of devotion which are still exhibited,² they were the inspiration of martyrs. Read the Acts of S. Perpetua. It has been said that certain pages seem to have been written with a pen plucked from an angel's wing, so touching is the poetry found in them. I grant it; and if this death was not courted,³ if, dragged against her will before the judge, Perpetua refused to conceal her faith, it is the sentiment of duty and honour which animates her, and her courage is sublime. But, as a historian of human deeds, I must, in the saint, recognize also the woman who publicly braves the laws of her country, and must exhibit the mother abandoning her child, the daughter exposing her aged father to every insult. "Have pity on my white locks," said he to her, "have pity on thy father. Behold thy mother, thy brothers, thy son, who cannot live without thee. Suffer thy pride, *ánimos*, to bend; do not condemn us all to mortal woes!"⁴ And he kissed her hands, he threw himself at her feet. But she exclaimed: "Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity; I know you not." The procurator also cried out to her: "Spare then thy father, spare thy son!" As a last trial he caused her father to be beaten with rods in her presence. She persisted, and it is her glory, that also of the Church which knew how to inspire such sacrifices, and which gathered the fruit of them. But, it must be

burdened with marvellous legends. The *Acta proconsularia* of S. Cyprian (see in chap. xvi.) and the *passio* of S. Perpetua, give a good understanding of these two kinds of documents. On the sources of certain martyrologies, see another article of M. Le Blant, 1879.

¹ Eusebins, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 2.

² Missionaries and sisters of charity.

³ It must have been, since the law forbade searching for Christians, and only attacked those who offered themselves as martyrs.

⁴ *Ne universos nos exterminet* (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*). Her father goes away. "I thank God," she says, "that I have been several days without seeing my father: his absence permits me to enjoy a little rest." (*Ibid.*) S. Irenæus of Sirmium will speak in the same way. (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, i. 430 *et seq.*)

said, this young woman who went to her death crushing the hearts of all her family is a hero of a peculiar nature. She died for herself in order to live eternally: true heroes die for others; the sister of charity does so.

Modern theologians continue to say: "The question of salvation is a personal question, and it matters little that the family or the



Burial Vaults (*Cubicula*), with Fresco Paintings.¹

city be broken up by it;"² as if the city and the family were not of divine institution, since they are a necessity of our nature. Christianity loves death; it adorns it like a bride impatiently awaited; it calls it life: *Vivit*, it writes upon the tomb of its own, he lives for immortality. The more tears and broken hearts there were around these voluntary victims, the more meritorious appeared the sacrifice, and the higher the martyr seemed to mount into the

¹ Sepulchres adjoining the Jewish catacombs of the *Via Appia*. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. iv. No. 2.)

² Abbé Freppel, *Saint Cyprien*, p. 53.

glory of God, whence he would protect those whom he left behind him. Heaven and earth were henceforth but one city, having in the saints its patrons, and in its divine clientage the company of the faithful:¹ a beautiful and poetic belief which again found Jacob's ladder with "the angels of the Lord ascending and descending upon it." So each community was happy and proud of these immolations. Sometimes friends and neighbours, in their fierce piety, exalted the ardour of the martyrs. They repeated to them these words of S. Paul: "It is Jesus Christ who suffers in you;"² they showed them all the celestial army present at their triumph and ready to receive them into its glory. Origen urges his father to the execution;³ Numidius, "with a saintly joy," beholds his wife burning on the pile; the mother of S. Symphorian, her son going to death; another, her husband in the midst of tortures, cries to him: "Raise your eyes on high, and you shall see him for whom you fight." The love of God replaces in them all the affections which God has nevertheless imposed in bestowing them upon us. Heaven is opened to their gaze; of the earth they see, they feel nothing, not even the iron claws or teeth of the lions which rend their flesh.⁴ Dragged in the arena by a mad bull, Blandina and Perpetua "converse with the Lord," and, when taken up bleeding, ask when the *combat* will begin. A divine frenzy had seized upon them. Man must have an ideal; it is the honour of Christianity to have placed it so high, when no one around retained any. It was also perilous to place it so far from earth, not from the enjoyments which may be found here, but from the duties which we are here required to fulfil.

Mysticism, ecstasy, hallucination, are three successive rounds of the ladder by which the soul mounts to God and becomes lost in him, while yet remaining attached to the body. During this energetic concentration of the thought upon a single object, the physical sensibility is abolished by a sort of temporary paralysis of the nervous system, which causes the disappearance of even the

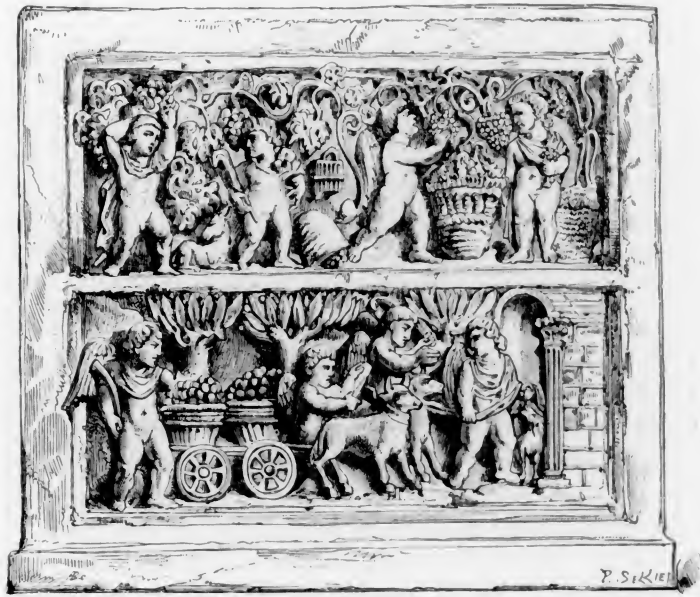
¹ The expression is S. Augustine's: . . . *tanquam patronis* (*de Cura pro mortuis*, 19). An inscription calls them . . . *apud Deum advocati* (De Rossi, *Roma sotter.*, ii. 383).

² 2 Cor., i. 5.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 2. In his treatise *ad Martyres*, 27, Origen shows all heaven contemplating the combat and the victory of those who confessed.

⁴ *Nihil crux sentit in nervo, cum animus in celo est* (Tertullian, *ad Mart.*, 2).

feeling of pain, as we suppress it naturally by anaesthetics. This condition, to-day well-known, is, in the language of the Church, *rapture*; in the language of the world, the enthusiasm which makes the strength of heroes: that of Mucius Scaevola burning his hand in the fire of the altar, and that of martyrs smiling at the most cruel punishments. "Look us well in the face," said a

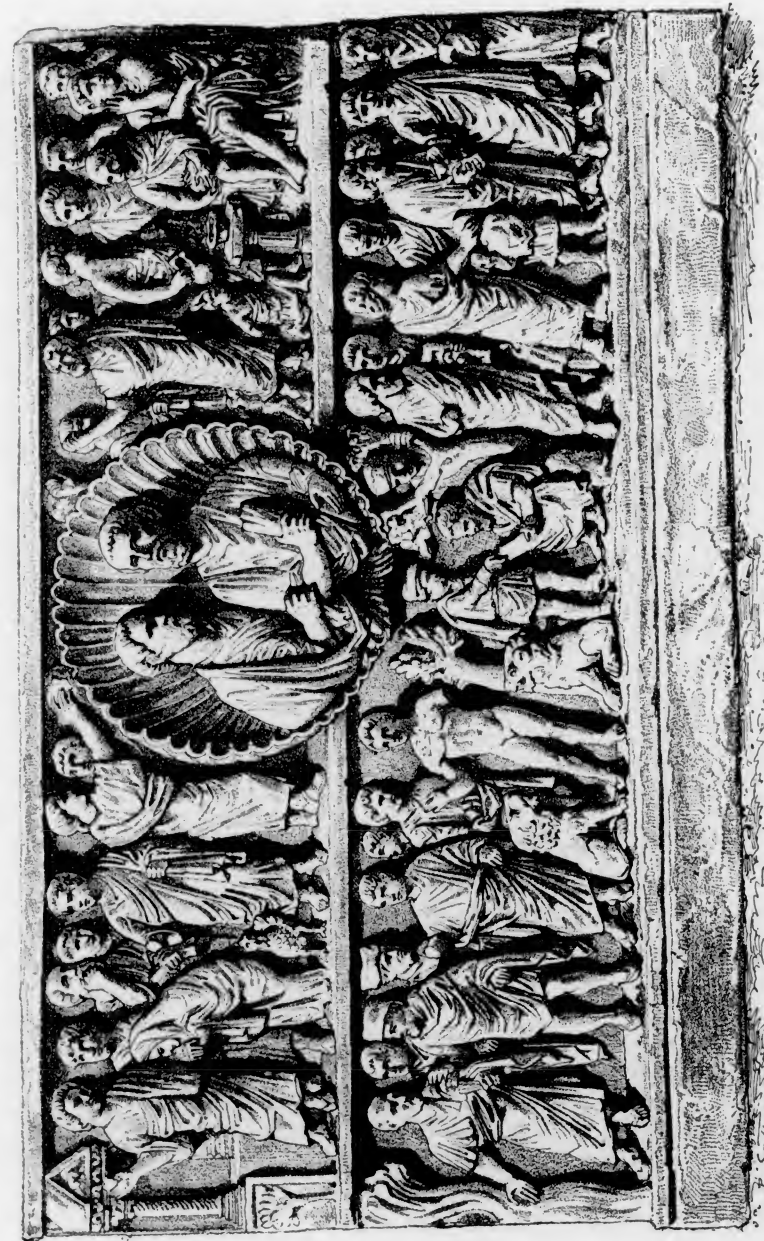


Vintage Scenes on a Sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum. (Roller, pl. xlv. fig. 3.)
Symbolical representation of the harvest made by the Church "in the vineyard" of the Lord.

martyr to a pagan present in the prison at his last repast, "look at me well, to recognize me at the last judgment."

This ardent faith, these tragic spectacles, were not good for paganism. Conscience revolted at witnessing such deaths, and men who had come to these scenes as to some pleasure, went away troubled in heart and asking themselves: "What is then this faith which gives so great courage and so much hope?" The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church,¹ "and the Church, like a

¹ Tertullian, *Apol.*, 50.



Sarcophagus in alto-relievo of the Museum of the Lateran, found at S. Paolo da fuori. (Roller, pl. lxxv. p. 281.) See p. 233, n. 1.

vine whose shoots are cut back, became the more fruitful for it."² Oftentimes even the magistrate would have wished to dismiss the *devoted*, who came and demanded death of him with the fervour of a Hindoo throwing himself under the car of the god of Jugger-naut.³ He required only one word, an appearance of submission to the law. "Since you believe in only one God, sacrifice to Jupiter simply," said one. "Swear by the only God," said another.⁴ They refuse, and the Church encourages them in their generous obstinacy. Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, even drew up manuals for the *preparation* for martyrdom.⁵ The *passiones*, read to the church, after the gospel, were another *preparation*. What contagious ardour was awakened in these assemblies, when they were there taught that the martyr became "the companion of Christ in his suffering,"⁶ or when the deacon read the letter of S. Ignatius to the Romans, who would have desired to save him from execution: "I write to you living, but enamoured of death.⁷ I am afraid of your affection! What is death for Christ? A beautiful sunset preceding the radiant dawn of a divine day. I am God's wheat;

¹ Explanation of the engraving on p. 231.—At the top, on the left, Jesus at the tomb of Lazarus; S. Peter and the cock announcing the denial; Moses receiving the Law; in the medallion, the persons buried within; at the right, the sacrifice of Abraham, and Pilate ready to wash his hands. At the bottom, Moses and the pillar of fire; Daniel and the lions; Jesus opening the eyes of a blind man; Jesus blessing the bread and fishes.

² S. Justin, *Dial. cum Tryph.*, p. 337 (1636).

³ Clement of Alexandria, blaming what he calls a brutal impatience for death, adds: "Their punishment is not a martyrdom, but a suicide; they are like the Indian gymnosophists who light their own funeral pile" (*Strom.*, iv. 4); and the sixtieth canon of the Council of Elvira sanctioned this doctrine. This intensity of the divine love, which tends to absolute separation from the world and union with God, is a psychological condition which is also found among the *sûfis* of Persia and elsewhere. See the translation of the *Fruit Garden* of Sa'adi, by Barbier de Meynard.

⁴ *Acta S. Tarachi* in 304; *S. Philæ* in 302.

⁵ Le Blant, *op. laud.*, p. 65. The fourth book of the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria is another. They even employed, to prepare the martyrs for the torture, prolonged fastings, which heightened the mystical exaltation, and they served to *martyribus incertis* a bountiful feast, ending with narcotic or intoxicating draughts, so as to prevent a failure, by delivering to the executioner only an inert body which was no longer sensible to pain *Conditio mero, tanquam antidoto præmedicatum ita enervatis ut paucis unguis titillatus (hoc enim ebrietas sentiebat) respondere non potuerit amplius, atque cum singultus et ructus solos haberet discessit* (Tertullian, *de Jejuniis*, 12). S. Augustine (*Tractatus* xxvii. on S. John, § 12) makes allusion to this usage *quia bene manducaverat et bene biberat, tanquam illa esca saginatus et illo calice ebrius, tormenta non sensit*.

⁶ *Quid gloriosius quam collegam passionis cum Christo factum fuisse?* (Letters of Confessors at Rome to S. Cyprian: Cypr., *Op.*, Ep. 31.)

⁷ Ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν (*Ep. ad Rom.*). On the Letters of S. Ignatius, see vol. iv. p. 819, n. 1.

the teeth of these beasts will crush me, and I shall become the purified bread of the Lord. Ah, let me enjoy my lions!"¹

With the account of the tortures they mingled that of the visions which the martyrs had had in the exaltation of faith and the fever of the last day, or of those which the sacred writers afforded them to exhibit the promised reward. "We suffered," said Satur, one of the companions of Perpetua, "and we forsook our bodies. Four angels bore us to the East, towards an intense light. Arriving at a garden where rose trees tall as cypresses were perpetually strewing the earth with their flowers, we approached a place the walls of which seemed made of light. At the gate four angels were standing; they clad us in robes of shining white, and when we had entered, we heard voices repeating: 'Holy, holy, holy!' In the midst we saw as it were a man seated; he had white hair and the countenance of a young man. The angels raised us up and he gave us the kiss of peace, and the four-and-twenty elders seated at his side said unto us: 'Go and enjoy yourselves.' And, indeed, we experienced more delight than we ever had in the flesh." Thus, "the joy of heaven rose out of the dismal prison, and the crown of flowers bloomed above the bloody thorns."² In this literature of martyrdom which no people had as yet known, we find as ever the same inability of the imagination to picture the abode of the blessed, but it was no less a new realm of poetry, and exalted souls asked nothing more.

The pagans said of the martyrs: "They are fools." Bossuet, taking up the word to glorify it, celebrates "the extravagance of Christianity," and we still glorify "the foolishness of the cross."

To the ostentatious display of piety and courage by the confessors, which provoked the pagans and impelled them to new acts of violence, Clement prefers the prudence, which, without cowardly concessions, avoids peril;³ S. Cyprian invites martyrdom, but does not wish to hasten to meet it;⁴ S. Peter of Alexandria

¹ Ὁναιμὸν τῶν θηρίων (*ibid.*). It cannot be doubted that, in the narrative of the theatrical suicide of Peregrinus, Lucian had in mind the martyrs who also "offered themselves voluntarily to death."

² See, in addition, the fine peroration of the *de Mortalitate* of S. Cyprian.

³ *Strom.*, iv. 4, 17. He himself retired from Alexandria at the moment of persecution.

⁴ See S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 83: *Letter to the Clergy and the People of Carthage*.

even consents that his life should be ransomed by payment of money,¹ and the letters of ransom were numerous.² Besides, Jesus himself had retired at the approach of his enemies, "because his hour was not yet come," and he had said to his disciples: "And when they persecute you in this city, flee into the next." These words have become the doctrine of the Church.

We admire the holy enthusiasm "of the soldiers of Christ," these sacrifices which are the highest honour of human nature, and we know that martyrs make causes to triumph. History must make great account of this singular condition of souls, because it explains the approaching revolutions; but it is its province also to note, as one of the important facts in human annals, the rise, in the western world, of a new spirit, whose influence still endures and which has impelled so many holy men to break with the duties of social life. When the persecutions shall have ceased, this exclusive love of heaven will continue to foment disgust with earth, and will call out from the age infinite multitudes of men, who, by remaining in it, would have aided in rendering its life more pure. Before

¹ *Paciscare cum delatore, vel milite, vel furunculo aliquo præsida* (Tertullian, *de Fuga*, 12). Communities obtained immunity from disturbance by payment of a sum of money; "in which," says Peter of Alexandria (*Can.*, 12), "they have displayed more attachment to Jesus Christ than to their money, carrying out the precept of Scripture: 'The ransom of a man's life is his riches.'" (*Prov.*, xiii. 8; cf. Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.*, vol. iii. p. 104.) He says in addition: *Is qui pecuniam dederunt . . . crimen intendi non potest* (*ibid.*, apud Labbe, *Concil.*, vol. i. p. 955; cf. Fleury, *Hist. eccles.*, vol. ii. p. 51, and Le Blant, *Polyeucte et le zèle téméraire*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxviii. 2nd part).

² "The bishops," says Fleury (*ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 86), "approved this conduct." Not all, but the usage was certainly common, for Tertullian with his customary vigour attacks (*de Fuga*, 12) "those who purchase by tribute the right to be a Christian," and S. Cyprian, in his letter to Antoninus, bishop of Numidia, enumerating the various *lapses*, finds that the least culpable is that of the Christian, who, having had occasion to procure for himself a letter of ransom, goes to the magistrate, or sends another in his place, and says to him: "Being a Christian, it is not permitted to me to sacrifice unto idols, but I give money not to do it." *Is cui libellus acceptus est dicit . . . cum occasio libelli fuisset oblata . . . ad magistratum veni . . . dare me hoc premium ne quod non licet faciam* (Cyprian, *Ep.*, 53, *ad Ant.*; edit. Baluze). He often speaks of the *libellatici* (see *ibid.*, index, at this word). By these letters, in which there seems to have been quite a traffic, the Christians acknowledged that they had sacrificed to the gods, although they had not done so, or the judge declared that those who had obtained them should no longer be disturbed (Lambert, *Rem. sur les œuvres de S. Cyprien*, p. 353), which reminds us of our cards of citizenship during the Reign of Terror. In both cases, tolerance was purchased by payment of money. This was not a tribute similar to the *didrachma* of the Jews under the Romans, and the *haratch* of the Greeks under the Mohammedans; the government had imposed no tax on the Christians: *nihil nobis Cæsar indixit in hunc modum stipendiariae sectæ* (Tertullian, *de Fuga*, 12). It was an extortion of the magistrates, at which the government willingly closed its eyes. This ransom, being in fact a penalty, appeared to satisfy the law and dispense with shedding the blood of inoffensive men.

Constantine, this spirit makes martyrs; after him, it will make monks, occupied at first with their salvation, afterwards with that of others, and who will then be organized in powerful communities in the bosom of civil society, to lead and dominate it. Without the monastic institution, which grows out of the idea which the martyrs followed, Catholicism would not have become a persecutor in its turn; at least it would not have been so with the results which the monks infused into persecution.

To the survivors of exile, of prison, of tortures, a sanctity was accorded which induced some to usurp episcopal functions, by giving letters of communion to *lapsi*, that is, to brethren who had denied their faith. There were, at Carthage and Rome, great debates on this subject, to which the letters of S. Cyprian bear testimony. It was the commencement of a poetical and dangerous doctrine, that of indulgences, founded on the merits of saints.

As to the confessors whom the magistrates had not spared, their death being for the faithful a matter for edification and just pride, the sacred writers of after ages have strangely multiplied their number. The murder, for instance, of the 9,000 Lyonesse slaughtered with their bishop, S. Irenæus, by the legions of Severus, and the rivers of blood which flow through the city,¹ are a legend which those even do not venture to accept who would be most disposed to swell the number of the martyrs. The wise Tillemont does not mention them; it seems to be no better assured that Pope Victor suffered martyrdom at Rome,² that Severus put to death S. Andæolus by ordering his head to be cleft into four parts by a wooden sword, and the manner in which he quotes the *Acts* of S. Felicitas and of her seven sons, indicates, under his prudent reserve, doubts which are justified by the strange details given by the sacred writer.³

The friendship which unites the interlocutors of the dialogue

¹ . . . et per plateas flumina currebant de sanguine (Grég. de Tours, i. 27).

² Fleury (*Hist. eccl.*, i. p. 522) makes him die a natural death, and this is the conclusion to be drawn from chap. xxiv. of S. Jerome, in his *de Vir. illustr.*, devoted to S. Victor.

³ Like Tillemont, M. De Rossi places the martyrdom of S. Felicitas and of her seven sons under Marcus Aurelius. M. Aubé (*Hist. des perséc.*, pp. 433 et seq.) combats this opinion; with the utmost rigour he would consent to date back the punishment of Felicitas to the reign of Severus. But the reasons which he gives do not allow him to accept the authenticity of these *Acts*. I reject then this legend from the reign of Severus, as M. Aubé has rejected it from the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

of Minucius shows that Christians and pagans could live in very good understanding, and many governors, seeing, like Seneca's brother and Festus, with the utmost indifference practices which did not endanger the public order, favoured the commerce of letters of ransom. Tertullian cites some who, gentle by nature and sceptics in religion, repudiated the obligation to put innocent beings to death, and determined to go back to Rome "without a spot of blood on their fasces."¹ Asper declared openly that he did not like that kind of trials. When he had to judge a Christian, he appeared to make him put the questions, and was satisfied with the slightest word and set him free without compelling him to offer sacrifice. Severus furnished them the reply which permitted the judge to discharge them. A Christian is brought before Pudens with a letter which denounced his faith; he tears up the letter, sets the captive at liberty, and declares that he will not receive an accusation except when the accuser shall present himself at his tribunal, in conformity with the law. Candidus treated them as embroiled in some quarrel, and sent them back to their towns, with these words: "Go and arrange your disagreements with your fellow-citizens." "Unhappy men," said another to them, "if you want to perish, have you not cords and precipices enough?" and he drives them from his tribunal. The governor of Syria opens to Peregrinus the doors of the prison, "knowing him to be foolish enough to go to death through vain-glory."² One day, in Africa, where Severus was proconsular legate, the populace demanded of him the death of several Christians, members of the senate of Carthage; he resisted the clamours of the infuriated mob,³ and, when emperor, recalled Antipater, a governor of Bithynia, who appeared to him too ready

¹ *Ad Scapul.*, 4. A Christian magistrate, Studius, possessing the *jus gladii*, asked S. Ambrose if it was contrary to the faith to execute the guilty; the saint answered: *Scio plerosque gentium gloriari solitos, quod incruentam de administratione provinciali securim revererint* (*Epist.*, xxv. § 3).

² Tertullian, *ad Scap.*, 5. Lucian, *Peregr.*, 14. This is the person who burned himself at Olympia. He had been a Christian, and at that time regarded as a confessor. The account of Lucian at once proves the fellowship of the Christians and the tolerance of the magistrates, who suffered the faithful to attend their imprisoned brethren day and night.

³ Tertullian, *ibid.*, 4, and Fleury, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 32. Tertullian relates (*de Cor. Mil.*, i.) that one day, as by order of the emperor, they were distributing largesses in camp to the soldiers, who, according to custom, came to receive them wearing a crown of laurel on their heads, one of them presented himself holding his crown in his hand. At first they point their fingers at him, then they rail at him, and finally grow indignant. The clamour reaches the tribune.

to make use of the sword,¹ very probably against the Christians. The recall of a governor was an extreme and rare measure; this was the more significant as this Antipater had been one of the ministers of the prince. Unfortunately, Severus could not see or hear everything, and the law, defied by Christians eager for martyrdom, or too scrupulously obeyed by heartless magistrates, sent to execution men whose only crime was praying to God in a different way from their persecutors.

Certain Jews have replied to the maledictions of Christians: "You hate us for having condemned Jesus? What would you be if we had not condemned him?" We might also repeat the words of Tertullian and say: "Would the Christian soil have possessed its fruitfulness if the blood of the martyrs had not irrigated it?" Two verities which do not efface the stain imprinted by the death of the just, or rather, which show the sad necessities imposed on man by evil institutions. In Judaea, public duties and religious power were in the same hands.² Pagan Rome also suffered from their union, the Middle Ages from their rivalry; in one case, cruel persecutions; in the other, bloody wars, everywhere and always death sown broadcast in the name of Him who made life. At no one of these epochs did they know the liberty of conscience, which separates the priesthood and the empire without arming the one against the other. Blessed be those who have given it unto us!

"Why do you not do as the others?" said he to the soldier. "I cannot," he answered, "I am a Christian." It was a breach of discipline and a refusal of obedience. The soldier was sent to prison. "He there awaits," says Tertullian, "the largess of Christ," *donativum Christi*. Had the persecution been violent, this heroic bravado would have been immediately punished by a military execution. Notice that the Christians of Carthage blamed the soldier, but that Tertullian gives his approval and proposes him as a model.

¹ . . . δόξας δὲ τρομώτερον χοῦσθαι τῷ ξίφει τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελθόν (Philost., *Vit. Soph.*, ii. 24.

² According to *Leviticus* (xxiv. 10), the blasphemer is stoned and all the people take part in his execution. This is harsher than the *crimen majestatis* of the Romans.

³ Roller, pl. xliii. No. 3.



The Good Shepherd between the sheep and the goats, that is, between the good and the wicked.³

CHAPTER XCII.

CARACALLA, MACRINUS, AND ELAGABALUS (211-222 A.D.).

I.—CARACALLA (FEBRUARY 2, 211—APRIL 8, 217); THE RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP ACCORDED TO ALL THE INHABITANTS OF THE EMPIRE.

SEVERUS has long occupied our study; he deserved it. We shall pass rapidly over his successors until we again find princes and events worthy to arrest our attention.

The father of Caracalla had done everything to maintain good feeling between his sons. He recommended it to them by wise counsels, by the example of the affectionate union which reigned in the paternal mansion, and he urged the senate and the people to remind the young princes repeatedly of the necessity of it. Each year there was celebrated throughout the Empire "the festival of brotherly love," *philadelphia*;¹ the senate, by solemn sacrifices, besought the gods to maintain it,² and Severus caused medals to be struck which represented his two sons about to clasp hands, with these words as legend: *Perpetua concordia*.⁴ It is said that during his last illness he sent to them the discourse which Sallust places in the mouth of Micipsa dying, in order to exhort



Philadelphia.¹



Concordia Augustorum.⁵

¹ Coin of Perinthus struck under Septimius Severus, with the legend, ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΑ ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ, around the urn of Games placed upon a table and bearing the word: ΠΥΘΙΑ, the Pythian games. Large bronze.

² Especially in the Hellenic East. Eckhel, vii. 231; Mionnet, iv. p. 128, No. 170. M. Dumont (*Éphébie attique*, vol. i. p. 299) thinks that the Φιλαδέλφεια were constituted for Marcus Aurelius and Verus, perhaps even earlier.

³ Dion, lxxvii. 1.

⁴ Eckhel, vii. 231. A bronze of Severus has also for a legend: *Concordia Augustorum*; another of Geta bears: *Concordia aeterna*; this was the official mark.

⁵ Caracalla and Geta sacrificing on a tripod. Bronze coin of Geta.

his children to union. He himself and every one else was aware of the mistake he had committed in styling them *Augustus*, when the one had not over the other the ascendancy of age and authority



Caracalla in Youth.¹

that Marcus Aurelius had had over Verus. These equal rights, granted² to young men hardly out of their childhood,³ promised

¹ Bust of the Campana Museum, found in the ruins of the Circus Maximus. (Henry d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 105.)

² Except that of sovereign pontiff, which was not divisible. As to the rest, from the first day Caracalla conducted himself as if he alone had the power (Dion, lxxvii. 1), and Geta barely enjoyed the imperial honours.

³ Caracalla, born April 4th, 188, had not yet completed his twenty-third year; Geta, born May 27th, 189, was only twenty-two. The name *Caracalla*, or *Caracallus* (Dion, lxxviii. 3), came to him from a Gallic garment, a sort of tunic with a hood, which he distributed among the common people of Rome and to his soldiers, the *caracalle*, which the cenobites of Thebais afterwards adopted as their costume. His real name was Bassianus. Severus substituted for it that of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which the coins and the inscriptions of monuments give

the Empire a tragedy; it occurred after a few months. Herodian shows them at Rome dividing between them the soldiers and the palace, of which they make two fortresses, where they fortified themselves, the one against the other, and ending by proposing to divide the Empire:

Asia to Geta, the rest to his brother, each with one half of the senate, the armies, and the fleets. "But will you also divide your mother," said Julia to them. Dion is not aware of any such scheme, the announcement of which would have produced in Rome, where our historian was at that time, a profound sensation. The idea of establishing two Roman Empires could not have occurred to the politicians of that time, but it is curious that it should have originated in the head of a rhetorician, who,



Geta clothed in the *paludamentum*.¹

not finding the history of the family of Severus sensational enough, utilized all the processes of the schools to render it more dramatic to his taste.

Caracalla made use of more simple means. One day, having enticed his brother into the chamber of Julia, under pretext of a reconciliation, he slew him in the arms of their mother, who was

him. He was appointed Cæsar in 196, pontiff in 197, Augustus in 198, consul at sixteen, in 202. In the inscriptions his name is usually written *Aurelius*. Cf. *C. I. L.*, iii. p. 1,114.

¹ Museum of the Louvre. Bust in corallite marble, found at Gabii in a perfect state of preservation. The busts of Geta are very rare, Caracalla having commanded that the statues of his brother should be destroyed. (*Monum. Gab.*, No. 4, and *Clarac*, No. 97.)

covered with blood and wounded, he then hastened to the camp of the prætorians to secure a place of safety by purchasing that venal band. He told them he had just escaped death through the protection of his gods, and a large *donative* paid them the price of blood. The legion of Albano, more faithful to the memory of Severus, for some time closed its gates to the murderer: gold finally opened them to him.

Since the victim now became the assassin, Geta was declared a public enemy, and his name was erased from all the monuments, even from the Arch of Septimius Severus, on which traces of it are yet to be seen. It was a crime to pronounce his name, even in the comedies, where it was customary that some slave should bear it always, and even in wills. If a legacy had been made to an old servant so named, the deceased indeed escaped the wrath of Caracalla, but not his fortune, which was confiscated. They would have



The Arch of Septimius Severus.

us believe what Dion relates of the terrible dreams in which Geta appeared to him, threatening, with sword in hand; in which he heard his father cry out to him: "I will kill thee as thou hast killed thy brother!" But, seeing that he consecrated in the temple of Serapis the sword which had served him for the accomplishment of the crime, we must think that he carried this remembrance very lightly. (February, 212.)

To the senate, Caracalla justified himself by citing the example of Romulus, and no one was inclined to contradict the old legend which he then revived. At the end of his speech he declared that he recalled all those in exile. It was a promise of clemency; on the morrow the friends of Geta perished in great numbers.¹ The soldiers were let loose; in slaying they found pleasure and profit,

¹ The apotheosis of Geta, which he is said to have had pronounced, has been imagined to furnish occasion to make the play upon words: *sit divus non sit vixus* (Spart., *Geta*, 2). No document taken from inscriptions or coins justifies the assertion of Spartian. Cf. Eckhel, vii. 234. As to the interpretation given by Mommsen, of inscription No. 1,464 of the *C. I. L.*, vol. iii., I do not think it well founded.

² Dion (lxxvii. 4) goes so far as to speak of 20,000 *Cæsarians* and soldiers, partisans of Geta, who are reported to have been slaughtered in the palace.

for they pillaged the houses of those condemned and even of those who were not. From the house of Cilo, formerly prefect of Rome, whom Caracalla styled his father and whom he saved from their hands, they carried off gold, silver-plate, clothing, and furniture. Taking advantage of the terror which they inspired, they took ransoms, and exacted payment for blows which they were not to strike. They killed in behalf of the emperor and also on their own account. Caracalla must have abandoned to them the prefects of the prætorium. One of them was Papinian, whom an ancient writer calls "the asylum of law and the treasury of juristic science,"² and whom our Cujas regarded as "the greatest of the jurisconsults who have been or who will ever be."³ It is said that he had enraged the prince by refusing to dishonour himself, as Seneca had done under Nero, by an apology for the fratricide. If the story is true, and there are reasons for admitting it, it was well to end thus; the great jurisconsult was himself a martyr to duty.⁴ His son and Pertinax's, a grandson of Marcus Aurelius, a daughter of that prince, who had dared to weep for Geta, a nephew of Severus, a Thrasea, etc., met the same fate. Dion had drawn up the list of the senatorial victims; it has been lost, but we know that it was long: the first crime necessarily involved many others.



Esculapius and Telesphorus, upon a Bronze of Caracalla. (P.M. TR. P. XVIII COS. IIII PP. SC.)

With the emperor, by nature base and wicked, "who," says a contemporary, "never loved any one,"⁵ the reign of Commodus recommenced: the same orgies at the palace, the same massacres of men and wild beasts at the circus, the same insults to the senate, the same exactions under myriad forms. We must believe that, like so many other emperors who came into power young, he had intermittent fits of insanity.

We know, in fact, that Caracalla was diseased in mind as well

² Spart., *Sev.*, 21.

³ *In proœmio ad Quest. Papian.*

⁴ Spartian (*Car.*, 8) and Aur. Victor (*de Cæs.*, xx.) reject this story, saying that it was not among the duties of the prefect of the prætorium to compose a discourse for the emperor. Doubtless, but Papinian was a relative of Geta, and, besides, enjoyed a high reputation; the apology which Caracalla demanded of him would certainly have produced a great effect in the interest of the murderer.

⁵ Dion, lxxvii. 11.

as in body: the great number of coins of his which are in existence, with the image of the "healing" gods, attests his efforts to rid himself of some secret malady.¹ He loved to cause fear, and studied to give himself a fierce air, which his busts have preserved: they flattered him by trembling before him. A consular



Caracalla. (Bust of the Museum of Naples.) [Evidently a different person from the bust on p. 240.—*Ed.*]

having said to him that he resembled at all times a man in a rage, he took that for an eulogium and sent him 1,000,000 sesterces.² Before the senators he never ceased to glorify Sulla, so harsh towards the Conscript Fathers of the Republic, or extolled his compatriot Hannibal, so terrible to Rome.³ And he did indeed make them really tremble, for he organized a vast system of espionage by means of soldiers charged with police duties. Through fear

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 15; Eckhel, vii. 212 *et seq.*

² Dion, lxxvii. 11.

³ Herod., iv. 14.

lest a subaltern, by some inopportune severity, might discourage their zeal, he reserved to himself the cognizance of complaints preferred against them, and the judgment of the disciplinary penalties which they might incur. He intended to protect the men whom he had made his eyes to see and ears to hear, even when there was nothing either to see or to hear.¹ Hence every one found himself at the mercy of these agents of low degree, who were assured of impunity, from whom a denunciation cost fortune or life.

When he did not take the life or property by sentence of death or of confiscation, he ruined by capricious exactions. "He placed us under contribution," relates Dion, "for the provisions which he distributed to the soldiers or sold to them, like a tavern keeper. When he set out from Rome we had to prepare for him, at our expense, sumptuous lodgings along the route, even for the shortest journeys, and sometimes in places where he was not to pass. In the cities where it was supposed he would remain some time, it was circuses and amphitheatres that we were obliged to construct. In all that, he had but one purpose, to ruin us; he often repeated: 'No one but myself ought to have money, so that I may give it to my soldiers.' He was accustomed to notify us that he would at daybreak administer justice or attend to public affairs, and he kept us standing until after mid-day, sometimes even until night, without even receiving us under his vestibule." And while the "very illustrious" awaited a look, a word from the master, he was conducting chariots, fighting with gladiators, getting intoxicated, or mixing wine in *craters* to send to the soldiers of his guard in full cups, which the senators, parched with thirst and the heat of the sun, could not even detain on their passage.² Sometimes, adds Dion, he administered justice, and Philostratus reproduces one of these audiences, which assuredly lacks gravity, but at which the prince, this time, at least, did not lack good sense.³



The Grand Circus, on a Large Bronze of Caracalla. (SPQR. OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC.)

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 17.

² *Id.*, *ibid.*

³ *Vita Soph.*, ii. 30. The Sophist Philiscus claimed, by virtue of being a professor in the

The debauchee wished, like Domitian, to assume the character of an austere reformer. He punished adultery with death, although the law did not exact this severity, and caused four vestal virgins to be buried alive, whom he pretended had violated their vow. One of them, whom he had attempted to seduce, cried out on her way to punishment: "Cæsar well knows that I am still a virgin."¹

Tyranny this time was not of profit to the provinces; they had to suffer all the exactions: crown money frequently required, gratuitous gifts, new imposts, old ones augmented, perhaps the fabrication of base money to pay his debts.² He doubled the fees for manumissions, legacies, and donations, abolished inheritances *ab intestato* and the immunities granted in these cases to near relatives of the deceased; and finally he declared all the inhabitants of the Empire citizens.³ Some have seen in this rescript a grand measure of equity, or, at any rate, the completion of the revolution commenced by Cæsar: it was a fiscal expedient. The *peregrini* continued to pay their former contributions, and they were henceforth subject to the tributes which had been for the *cives* the release from the land-tax and the capitation.⁴ This reform, which extended

university of Athens, *vacationem a publicis muneribus*. Caracalla terminated the discussion by saying, as was just: *Nolim ob breves atque miseras oratiunculas civitates privare munera præstituris, τῶν λιουπηρόντων*. But another day he did the contrary, granting the *vacatio munerum* to Philostratus of Lemnos for a declamation. (*Ibid.*)

¹ Dion, who reports these words, yet supposes her guilty. (lxxvii. 16.)

² There certainly were great monetary changes under Caracalla. We know that he reduced the *aureus* from $\frac{1}{12}$ to $\frac{1}{30}$, or an intrinsic value of 25.08 to 22.56, and that he first fabricated, in enormous quantities, the *argenteus Antoninianus*, debased coin, that is, of copper with a mixture of silver. The *Antoninianus*, which, from its normal weight of silver, should have been worth more than the denarius, about 10d., soon came to be only silvered copper. This falsification doubtless commenced under Caracalla, for Dion (*ibid.*, 14) formally accuses this prince of having issued coins of silvered lead and gilded copper; several medals, which give to Alexander Severus the title of *restitutor monetæ*, indicate a reform which justifies the statement of Dion. There is, besides, in the Collection of Vienna, a plated *aureus* of Caracalla. (Eckhel, i. p. 115.) The obligation to pay the impost in gold also dates probably from this time; at least, it appears established under Elagabalus. (Hist. Aug., *Alex.*, 38.) One-half upon discharges had moreover always been paid in this manner, *aurum vicesimarium* (Livy, xxvii. 10).

³ *In orbe Romano qui sunt, ex const. imp. Antonin. cives romani effecti sunt* (Ulpian, in the *Digest*, i. 5, 17; *Novell. Justin.*, lxxviii. 5).

⁴ That is to say, one-twentieth of the manumissions, legacies, and donations. Dion, lxxix. 9, and this work, vol. iii. p. 743; vol. iv. p. 14. Nor were the provincials subjected to the requirements of the laws in respect to their inheritances; he took away the *caduca* from the public treasury, *ævarium*, to assign them to the *fiscus*, or treasury of the prince: *Omnia caduca fisco vindicantur, servato jure antiquo liberis et parentibus* (Ulpian, *Reg.*, xvii. 2).

to all the provinces the benefit of the Roman laws, and consequently the right of appeal to the emperor, did not modify the ancient categories of cities: free cities, federated, Latin colonies and those of Italic right, etc., which subsisted long after. Caracalla himself made new ones: he granted the *jus Italicum* to the inhabitants of Antioch and Emesa.¹ One of these persistent distinctions was however effaced: he admitted Alexandrians into the senate of Rome, which had up to that time been closed against them.

Nor was the status of persons modified by this measure. The condition of the slave, the colonist, the freedman, the foreigner established in the Empire or enrolled in its auxiliary troops, remained the same:² there were merely additional imposts and a new class of aliens. But a numerous class of citizens gained a great deal by the decree of Caracalla. The custom of gratuitous distributions was extended to all the cities possessing the right of Roman citizenship. They had held it in honour to imitate the charitable institution of their metropolis, and we have found, even in Palmyra, which became an Italic colony, tesserae for the distribution of grain.³ When there were none but citizens in the Empire, the poor of the provincial cities participated in the benefit of the public aid. S. Augustine sees only this result of the edict, and it seems to him a very happy one. "This was," says he, "an excellent and very humane measure, for it enabled the common people, destitute of land, to obtain supplies furnished by the common fund."⁴ When Maximin took possession of the municipal funds, it is noticed that he seized even the money that served to pay for the distributions of grain.⁵

Some of these juriconsults who wrote: "Food must be given to the poor," doubtless foresaw that the decree would have this

¹ *Digest*, l. 15.

² Diocletian gave later, in 298, the right of citizenship to sons of veterans born of foreign mothers, *peregrini juris feminas*, *C. I. L.*, iii. p. 900. The capitulated, the Junian Latins, those whom a condemnation deprived of the right of citizenship, foreigners established, willingly or by force, in the Empire or serving in its troops, perhaps the inhabitants of countries united to the Empire after Caracalla, these formed a new class of aliens, placed between the *cives* and the *barbari*. Cf. Accarias, *Précis de droit romain*, i. p. 94, and Madvig, *l'État romain*, p. 36.

³ See above, p. 84, the proof of the extension of this custom.

⁴ . . . *gratissime atque humanissime factum est, ut . . . plebs illa, quæ suos agros non haberet, de publico viveret* (*de Civit. Dei*, v. 17).

⁵ Herod., vii. 3.

merit; but not so Caracalla, though, like his father, he was very liberal in the distribution of provisions. The determining motive for him was the fiscal reason, for his need of money was extreme. The immense treasure left by Severus had been quickly dissipated. "Nothing more remains to us," said the prudent Julia one day to him, as she vainly attempted to instil a little order into these prodigalities and into this deranged brain; "just or unjust, all our revenues are exhausted."

"Have good courage, mother; so long as we have this, money shall not be lacking;" as he spoke he patted his sword.

His own was not to be greatly feared, but he had that of his soldiers. Severus had held them in restraint: his son gave them loose rein. He put in practice the maxim attributed to his father: "Make the soldiers content and laugh at the rest." His innumerable victims had left behind them relatives and friends who might avenge them. All, therefore, were hostile to him, except those to whom he said: "It is for you that I reign; my treasures are yours." And they might well believe it, seeing themselves daily gorged with gold. Their yearly pay was increased seventy millions of drachmas,² which the ordinary revenues of the State were no longer sufficient to pay. He adopted another measure, disastrous to discipline. The legions dwelt in camp the whole year under tents; he allowed them to take up their winter quarters in the neighbouring cities,³ which they treated as conquered



Caracalla crowned with Laurel and wearing the Ægis.¹

¹ Cameo No. 251 of the *Cabinet de France*. Sardonyx of three layers, $1\frac{5}{16}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$. Portrait bearing very slight resemblance—[except to that above, p. 240.—*Ed.*].

² Dion, lxxviii. 36; cf. lxxvii. 24, where the figures for the augmentation of the ἀθλα τῆς σπαρτιας are probably inverted.

³ lxxviii. 3.



Obv. of. Dossu pinxit

Imp. Frailery.

Damocroez chromolith.

TREASURE FROM TARSIS

THE COINS OF ALEXANDER, PHILIPP II AND HERCULES ENGRAVED DURING THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS

countries, ruining their hosts, and themselves losing, in a life of debauchery, what warlike qualities remained to them.

One thing which the mercenary soldier, without a country, as the Roman soldier had now become, loves as much as gold, is war, that intoxicating game of life and death, in which he always hopes to win; the licence of an army on an expedition and the glutting of brutal passions, disguised by a halo of glory. Caracalla had promised to lead them to this chase of men and booty: "I wish to end life in war," said he; "it is a fine death;"¹ and he had continually on his lips a name long held up by the Greeks in opposition to the most glorious names of Rome, that of Alexander. At the epoch of Polybius, his compatriots avenged themselves for their recent defeat by saying to the Romans: "It is to Fortune that you owe your successes; Alexander owed his to his genius." Later, they again repeated: "The Parthians, whom you have been unable to vanquish, were but the smallest of the peoples subjugated by him." Thus the remembrance of the hero of the Hellenic race took possession of the mind of Cæsar and of Trajan. These great captains would have been glad to repeat his conquests, to establish their legionaries in the cities



Alexander the Great; Talismanic Medal in Gold.



Talismanic Medal in Silver with the Name of Alexander. ΑΛΕΞ-ΑΝΔΡΟΥ.



Medal of Alexander on a Sword-belt and serving for a Talisman. (*Dic. des Antiq.*, fig. 314.)

built by his veterans on the banks of the Oxus, and they would have deemed the Roman Empire complete had they given it for its Eastern limit that of the Macedonian empire. But as the old spirit of Rome gave way before the advancing encroachments of Hellenism, Alexander ceased to be a rival and became a fellow-citizen, whose glory now formed part of the national glory. He was raised to a place of dignity: he came to be a god, and the terrible soldier was transformed into a beneficent genius who warded off disastrous influences, ἀλεξίκακος. Medals of gold and silver, stamped with his likeness, served as talismans. "They protect," says a writer of the *Augustan History*,² "in every act of their lives,

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 3.

² *Tyr. trig.*, 14.

those who wear them." Caracalla did more: he pretended that the soul of the hero had passed into his own,¹ and to prove it he trained war-elephants and organized a Macedonian phalanx.² The latter creation, however, was less a passion for imitation than the completion of a reform commenced long before. Instead of regular armies to be fought with scientific tactics, the Romans now had to repulse the impetuous attacks of unorganized barbarians and the fleet cavaliers of Parthia. Before the elephants and the phalanx of Pyrrhus³ they had abandoned their ancient order of battle in close order and dense columns. Their adversaries changing, they resumed it, so that the individual fury might break against an impenetrable mass. This reform had begun in the wars in Britain;⁴ later, Arrian⁵ had distinctly established the principle of the formation in phalanx of eight men deep without interval, with a ninth line of archers, the cavalry and military engines in the rear and on the wings. This will hereafter be the disposition of the legions.

Toward the end of the year 212 Caracalla went to Gaul. He caused the governor of Gallia Narbonensis to be put to death, and disturbed these provinces by violating we know not what rights of cities, perhaps the rights of those who refused the onerous gift of the *jus civitatis*. A serious malady, and doubtless also a desire to inspect the defences of the Rhine, detained him on this side of the Alps. In February, 213, he was back again in his capital,⁶ which he beheld for the last time.

He had promised his soldiers expeditions, and the Empire had need to strike some blow in the direction of the Danube and the Rhine, where were forming some powerful confederations, which we shall study later. One of these, that of the Alemanni, who make their appearance then for the first time, surprised the passage of the fortified line which covered the *agri Decumates*, and a large body of cavalry bore conflagration and death into this outpost of

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 7-8. He was called φιλαλεξανδρότατος.

² [Neither of which ever won a victory for Alexander.—Ed.]

³ This change was anterior to Pyrrhus; but the new organization was consolidated and improved in this war. See, in our first volume, the reforms of Camillus and the creation of the legion.

⁴ Under Paulinus and Agricola. (Tac., *Agric.*, 35; Dion, lxii. 8.)

⁵ In 136, *Acies*, 15.

⁶ We have in the *Code*, vii. 16, 2, a rescript dated from Rome, February 5th, 213. But there may be an error in this date. Cf. Eckhel, vii. pp. 210, 211.

Italy and Gaul. Before the end of 213¹ Caracalla led his troops against the invaders and vanquished them on the banks of the Main, where their women renewed the acts of heroic ferocity which Plutarch attributes to the women of the Cimbri, unless the account of Xiphilin be a classical reminiscence. There is some question about other successes in the direction of Rætia. The Osrhoenian archers, who formed part of the Roman army, had the honour of the campaign; which leads us to suppose that the enemy were neither very numerous nor very terrible.² Meanwhile the report of these successes resounded afar: peoples established at the mouths of the Elbe and on the North Sea sent deputations to the emperor to request his friendship and subsidies, which he granted.³ The Alemanni, rendered prudent by their defeat, kept quiet for twenty years. Dion accuses the emperor of having thus purchased peace from the Germans. We have several times explained that it was good policy to win over the barbarian chiefs by presents, to avoid sudden irruptions and the useless wars which they entailed. There is then no occasion to blame Caracalla for having pursued this course, at least if he did not purchase this peace too dearly.⁴ It enabled him to levy, amongst the Alemanni, auxiliary corps, one of which formed his body-guard. We should even be reduced to praising his conduct towards the army, if we did not see in it popularity-hunting and base flattery. He shared all the fatigues of his soldiers. Was it necessary to excavate a ditch, build a bridge, construct a roadway, do some laborious work: he



Caracalla Germanicus.⁴

¹ At least we possess coins of this year, on which he bears the name of Germanicus. (See above, and Eckhel, vii. 210, 222. Cf. Or.-Henzen, No. 5,507.)

² These archers, who were unknown to the ancient legions, assumed daily more importance in the army, where a certain number of soldiers of this kind were necessary, for General De Reffye has demonstrated that an arrow still has good effect at 130 and 140 yards. It was not a weapon with which a battle might be won, but it was a missile very useful at a certain moment of action.

³ Dion, lxxvii. 14.

⁴ ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM., around the head of Caracalla wreathed with laurel. On the reverse, Serapis standing, and the legend: P. M. TR. P. XXI COS. III PP. Coin of silver; Cohen, No. 143. For the name of Antoninus assumed by Caracalla, see above, p. 240, n. 3.

⁵ Macrinus, his murderer, it is true, accuses him of having dispensed as much in pensions to the barbarians as for the pay of the army; this is absurd. (Dion, lxxviii. 17.)

was the first to set the example. He had the commonest dishes served up for him, eating and drinking from wooden bowls; he shared the coarse bread of the troops; oftentimes he himself crushed his portion of wheat, kneaded the dough into a loaf and placed it in the oven. He dressed like the poorest soldiers: hence they called him their comrade, and he was extremely proud of it. He rarely went in a litter or on horseback; he carried his arms,



A Tempest (after the Virgil of the Vatican).

and sometimes even the ensigns laden with ornaments of gold, the weight of which caused the most robust centurions to sink under it.¹ Hadrian, marching with bared head in front of his legions, was a general always obeyed; Caracalla, kneading his bread, is grotesque and destroys discipline by losing the respect of his soldiers. They tell us still of barbarians massacred by treason, of a king of the Quadi whom he caused to be put to death, of a war which, according to the wish of Tacitus, he kindled between the Vandals and the Marcomanni, of successes against the Sarmatians in Dacia and against the Goths, whose name then appears for the first time.² This is much obscurity about all this, but it reveals an intention of rendering secure the northern frontier of the Empire. "After having reorganized the army of the Danube," says Herodian, "he passed into Thrace and there made numerous regulations for the cities," as he had already done in Gaul, and as he was about to do in Asia. What the regulations were we have no knowledge;

¹ Herod., iv. 7. Dion agrees with him.

² They were scouts preceding the body of the Gothic nation, which was then approaching from the Euxine, but had not yet arrived, unless it be necessary to transform these Goths of Caracalla into Getæ who inhabited both sides of the Danube. Dion (lxvii. 6) gives this name to the unsubdued Dacians.



Ruins of the Basilica (?) of Pergamus. (Texier, *Asie Mineure*, vol. ii. pl. 117.)

but the fact is to be noted, for, having doubtless been conceived in a spirit contrary to the local liberties, they must have hastened the hour when these liberties disappeared.

He crossed the Hellespont, nearly perishing in a tempest, and repaired to Pergamus, in order to get Æsculapius to heal him of his secret infirmity. He submitted to all the prescriptions then in use for wonderful cures. A miracle would this time have been of importance and of excellent profit, but it could not be effected by ordinary procedures: the emperor was too much in public. The god turned a deaf ear and Caracalla retained his disease.¹ At Troy he crowned with flowers the tomb of Achilles and desired that he also might have a Patroclus. His freedman Festus was chosen to play the dangerous part of friend to the hero. The new Patroclus in fact died some days afterwards, which gave the prince an opportunity to repeat the funeral scenes described by Homer: Festus had been poisoned for this performance.

He passed the winter of 214-215 at Nicomedia, where Dion, our principal guide for this history, was with him. The Parthians were then wasting in internal feuds the last remnant of their life: the occasion was propitious for attacking them. He arrogantly reclaimed from them two refugees whom they immediately gave up, and this docility took away for the moment all pretext for war. Meanwhile victories were necessary to him. The king of Osroene governed his country for the benefit of Rome. Edessa, its principal city, situated on the route of caravans, at the foot of a cliff which bore the acropolis and from which issued an abundant supply of water, was and still is an important strategic point, the centre of defence for Upper Mesopotamia. This king had entered into compromising relations with the Persians: what these were is not known. Along this remote frontier friendships were fluctuating. Caracalla resolved to



Coin of Pergamus, with the Effigies of Æsculapius, Hygieia, and Telesphorus.

¹ At this visit, Pergamus at least gained great privileges, which Macrinus revoked. Texier has found in all Asia Minor the ruins of only two amphitheatres, at Cyzicus and Pergamus, vol. ii. p. 227. The amphitheatre at Pergamus is very small, 184 by 121 feet. The waters of the stream which flows across it could be stopped for nautical games, crocodile combats, or nymphs playing on marine shells, as Martial indicates, *de Spectac.*, 26.

suppress this tributary state: he persuaded the king to come and meet him, cast him into prison, and made a Roman colony of his capital. The affair was insignificant, but the suppression of an oriental king always occasioned more clamour than in the West, and then Abgarus probably had a well-filled treasury.¹ Caracalla employed the same method of procedure with respect to the king of Armenia, then at variance with his son. He invited them to choose him as arbiter, and when they had come he treated them as he had the king of Osroene. But the Armenians did not allow themselves to be captured so easily as their prince: they destroyed a Roman army sent against them.

The senators, whom Caracalla reproached for their idleness, while he was exposing himself in their behalf to fatigues and dangers, naturally applauded these lofty exploits. The surname *Parthicus* was decreed to him, and they terminated all the acclamations in his honour by the wish that his reign might endure a hundred years. He did not feel himself to be less odious, and wrote to them from Antioch: "I know that my exploits are displeasing to you; but I have arms and soldiers. So I am not disturbed by what you think."

In Antioch, he had come in search of pleasures;² in Alexandria, where he arrived at the end of the autumn of 215,³ he sought for vengeance. The Alexandrians, a frivolous and jeering race, gave to Julia the surname of Jocasta, the incestuous spouse of her son, the mother of two hostile brothers; they called Caracalla the very great Getic, *maximus Geticus*, a cutting allusion to an exploit which had not been accomplished in the country of the Getæ, and they laughed at this ugly man, undersized and bald, old before his time, who pretended to act the great heroes, Achilles and Alexander. These doings were reported to the

¹ This suppression did not last long, for we afterwards find kings at Edessa. The suppressed dynasties sometimes were converted into Roman functionaries. A descendant of Herod was proconsul of Asia about 135, and a Julius Antiochus, of the royal race of Commagene, was consul and one of the Arval Brothers. (*Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, 1882, p. 291.) At the other extremity of the Empire, the country of the Gallaeci and the Asturians was separated, in 215, from Hispania Citerior. This was merely a dismemberment of a province. (*C. I. L.*, vol. ii. 2,661.)

² *Antiochenes colonos fecit salvis tributis* (*Digest.*, l. 15, 8, § 5). He granted to them, as also to the Byzantines, *jura vetusta*. (*Spart., Car.*, l.)

³ Eckhel, iii. 215.

emperor. When he approached the city the most prominent citizens went forth to meet him, bearing in their hands the sacred objects, as if their gods wished to do honour to the new god who was coming. Caracalla received them well, and, in derision of the old and sacred laws of hospitality, he made them sit at his table, and then, at the termination of the feast, ordered them to be put to death. During the execution the soldiers seized their arms and



Caracalla as a Warrior.¹



Caracalla as an Apple-seller.¹

rushed into the city. The squares, the principal streets, the chief edifices, were occupied; he himself took his station in the temple of Serapis and from there organized the massacre. The slaughter continued through many days, without distinction of age, condition, or sex. What was the number of the victims? Immense, for Alexandria was an ant-hill of men and an opulent city, where the soldier struck at random and pillaged in security. The temples even, those sacred banks in which private persons often deposited their riches, were not spared. The carnage ceased only when, from

¹ Grotesque statuettes of the Museum of Avignon. (Ch. Lenormant, *Nouveaux Mémoires*.) VOL. VI. 2

weariness and disgust, the sword dropped from the hand of the murderers, sated with blood and booty.

In announcing this exploit to the senate, "the Ausonian monster" said: "As to the quantity and quality of those who have perished, it matters little, for they all merited the same fate.¹ The public conscience was perhaps in secret indignant; but, officially, the senators commemorated this new species of victory by a coin representing the prince trampling Egypt under his feet.



Caracalla trampling Egypt under his feet.²



Coin commemorative of the Victory of Caracalla over the Parthians (*Victoria Parthica Maxima*). Aureus struck in the year 217.

Caracalla then resumed his ideas of conquest (216). He sent to demand of the king of the Parthians the hand of his daughter, and on his refusal, crossed the Tigris, captured Arbela, where he flung to the winds the ashes of the kings, and ravaged a part of Media. The enemy, astonished at this sudden aggression, had offered no resistance. After this easy success the emperor returned to Mesopotamia and went into winter-quarters in Edessa to consult there the oracle of the god Lunus; but while he was seeking the future he lost the present: on his way to Carrhae he was slain by one of those men whose appetites he had inordinately aroused—a soldier discontented at not having been appointed centurion. This occurred April 8, 217, when he was barely twenty-nine years old.³

The Romans had divinities whom they called "the Terrible," *Dire*, avenging powers which always exist for princes, for expiation always follows great crimes and ends by overtaking those who have committed them, or their posterity.

Julia Domna was then at Antioch. Up to the last hour of Caracalla she had possessed supreme power, but she had also endured supreme anguish: during a quarter of a century the Roman world

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 22, whom I follow always in preference to Herodian.

² P.M. TR. P. XVIII IMP. III COS. IIII PP. SC. Caracalla trampling under foot a crocodile, symbol of Egypt, and receiving two ears of corn from the hands of Africa. Large bronze. Cohen, No. 474.

³ Zosimus does not believe that Caracalla was killed by Macrinus: "The author of his death," he says, "was never known." Herodian (iv. 12) gives us to understand that there was a conspiracy among the chiefs of the army, and Spartian affirms it (*Carac.*, 6).

at her feet, then her husband dead, one of her sons slaughtered, and now the other also had fallen under the blows of an assassin, involving in his downfall the ruin of her house. Too proud to submit to the condition of a subject under some adventurer whom her family had raised from nothing, and to become, after so much grandeur, the object of public pity, she resolved to escape from her distress like a Stoic of ancient days. And, besides, she suffered from a malady perhaps incurable; death was approaching her: she went to meet it, and allowed herself to die of starvation.¹



The God Lunus.²

Caracalla had constructed at Rome a portico on which were



Caracalla offering to Mars a Victory.³

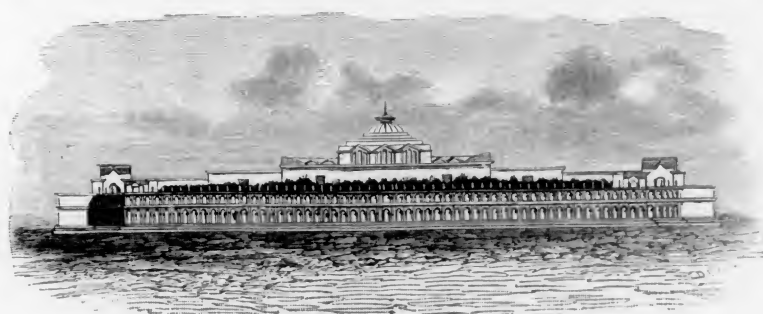
engraved the exploits of his father, and thermæ which are, after

¹ According to Herodian (iv. 13) she killed herself through despair or in obedience to a secret order.

² Gem of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,033.

³ Gem of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,103. (Agate, $\frac{3}{10}$ in. by $1\frac{5}{100}$ in.) Caracalla seated, half nude like Jupiter, holds in one hand a horn of plenty and with the other presents

the Coliseum, the grandest ruin in Rome and one of the largest in the world.¹ A colonnade, running round a perimeter of 4,750 feet, formed an inclosure behind which extended gardens planted with trees, lawns, and flowers, with a stadium reserved for gymnastic games, which Roman hygiene prescribed after the bath. The thermæ themselves, an edifice 750 feet long by 500 in width, inclosed a theatre, halls for declamation or study, courts with porticos for a promenade, museums, and libraries; finally, an immense reservoir surrounded with 1,600 seats of sculptured marble, and in which 3,000 persons could bathe at once. In the centre of



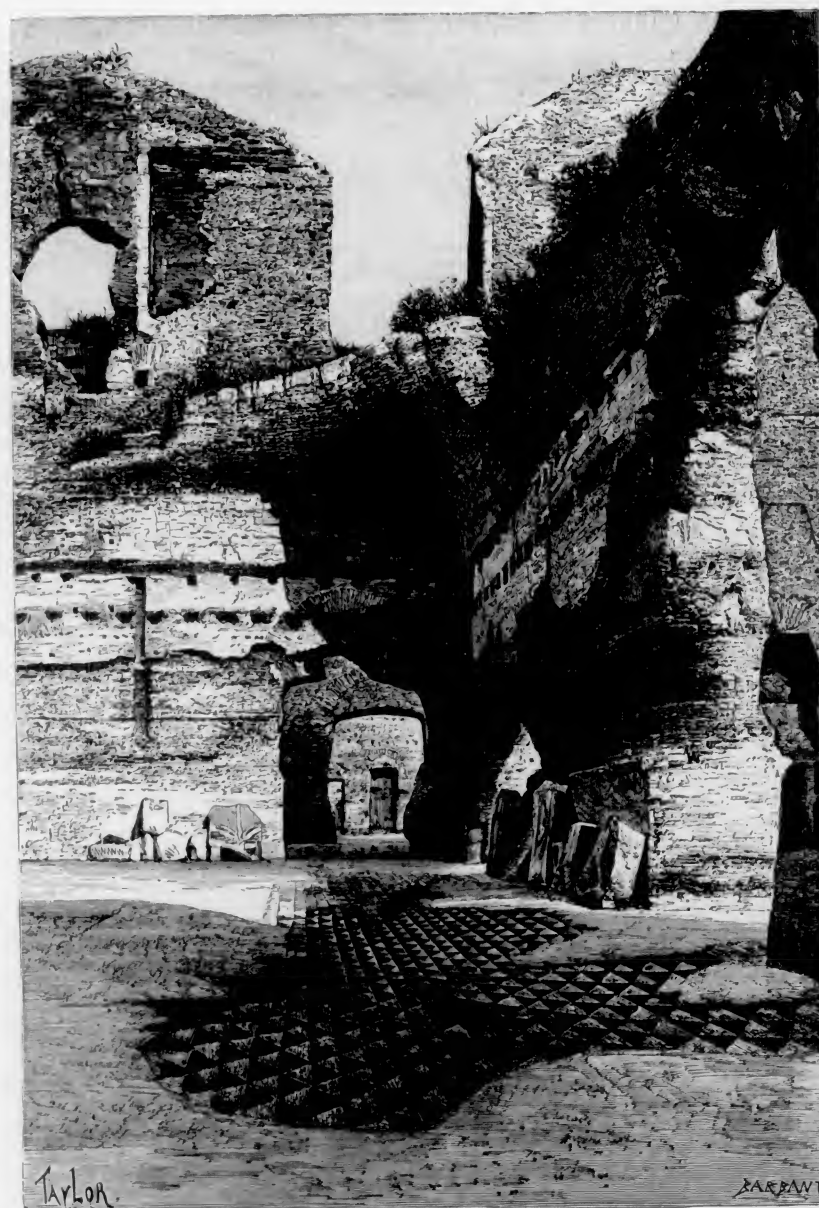
Thermæ of Caracalla. (Restoration by Blouet.—École des Beaux-Arts.)

this colossal construction rose the *cella Soliaris*, covered with a flat dome, which was the despair of the architects of the time and is still the astonishment of ours.² Everywhere the choicest marbles, the most beautiful mosaics, and the master-pieces of art. From it have been taken the Hercules of Glycon, the Flora, and the magnificent group of Dirce, known under the name of the Farnese Bull. A single column of these thermæ has appeared sufficient to decorate the square *della Santa Trinità* at Florence, and the Museum of Naples is filled with sculptures brought from these ruins, the last and supreme effort of Roman art. Spartian thinks that the

a Victory to a statue of Mars. On the exergue: MAR(ti) VIC(tori). (Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, p. 274.)

¹ He had not time to complete these thermæ: the external colonnade was constructed by Elagabalus and completed by Alexander Severus. (Lampridius, *Heliog.*, 17, and *Alex.*, 25.) On the thermæ of the Romans, see vol. iv. p. 220.

² [It has been shown by Mr. Middleton, in his *Ancient Rome* in 1835, that this roof was no arch, but a solid mass of concrete, cast in this shape, and laid on like a metal lid.—*Ed.*]



Interior of a Hall of the Thermæ of Caracalla. (Present condition.)

street which lead to the Thermæ of Caracalla, constructed by this prince, was the finest in Rome.

In Syria, he had continued the labours of his father; at



Fragment of Mosaic from the Thermæ of Caracalla. (Casing of the Upper Story.)

Baalbee, the great vestibule and the *temenos* of the temple of Jupiter were built by him.

These works of art will not save his memory. He had scarcely reigned six years, and this short time had been sufficient to do irreparable damage. Under Commodus, Pertinax, and Julianus, the

soldiery had been insolent; under Caracalla it actually took possession of the Empire. Accustomed to see this prince defer in everything to their caprices, they desire this *régime* which was so profitable



Flora, called the Flora Farnese. (Colossal Statue found at the Thermæ of Caracalla.)

to endure, and to succeed in this they determined to choose emperors who would not be in a condition to change it.

II.—MACRINUS (APRIL 12, 217—JUNE 8, 218); ELAGABALUS (JUNE 8, 218—MARCH 11, 222).

Macrinus (*Marcus Opellius Macrinus*) was an African, like Severus, and a native of *Cæsarea*, the Cherchell of the French colony in Algiers. He was of humble origin. It was said that he

had been a slave and a gladiator; we know that he was procurator of the property of Plautianus, and that he barely escaped perishing with him. Severus took into his service this confidential agent of his old friend and made him superintendent of the post-service of the Flaminian Way. Caracalla, forgetting who had been his first protector, appointed him advocate of the fiscus, and later, prefect of the prætorium. He was a mild and just man, without talent or ambition, who never would have dreamed of empire had not a letter denouncing him fallen into his hands.¹ To escape certain death he caused the prince to be slain, and his accomplice having been instantly massacred by the guards, the part which he had played in the murder was not at first known. He pretended to feel great sorrow, which won the soldiers; on the fourth day he was proclaimed emperor, being as yet only a mere knight.² We see how everything is becoming debased, even the imperial dignity. His son *Diadumenianus*, then in his ninth year, became Cæsar and Prince of Youth (April, 12, 217).



Diadumenianus Antoninus, Cæsar and Prince of Youth.³

The new emperor did not dare to have Caracalla declared a public enemy. His ashes were borne secretly to the tomb of the Antonines, and that his images might disappear quietly, a decree sent to the mint all the statues of silver and gold. But he received divine honours. A temple and pontiffs were consecrated to him. The soldiers did not agree that their favourite emperor should be deprived of an apotheosis.

¹ Capitolinus is very much opposed to him, but Dion, his contemporary, says too much in his favour out of hatred to Caracalla (lxxviii. 40). Herodian speaks also of his severity (v. 2).

² Herodian (v. 1) and Dion (lxxviii. 14). He had, however, received the consular ornaments (Dion, *ibid.*, 13), which had assured him the title of *clarissimus*. (Or.-Henzen, 5,512.) Cf. Lampridius, *Alex.*, 21.

³ M. OPEL. ANTONINVS DIADVMENIANVS CAES., around the head of the young prince. On the reverse, PRINC. IVVENTVTIS S.C., Diadumenianus standing, holding an ensign and a sceptre. At his left, two ensigns. Lampridius (*Diad.*, 2) has preserved these words of Macrinus, showing that to the ordinary *donativum* were added promotions, which redoubled the interest that the soldiers had in multiplying the vacancies of the throne and the imperial adoptions: *Habete, commilitones, pro imperio ternos, pro Antonini nomine aureos quinos et solitas promotiones, sed geminatas.*

As the conqueror of Niger had pretended to continue the house of the Antonines, Macrinus wished to attach himself to the African dynasty, without however claiming all the inheritance. He assumed the name of Severus, and gave to Diadumenianus that of Antoninus, which his victim had borne. It was a bit of flattery to those crowds who are always captivated by words and appearances: Horace has an expression like this.¹ For the rest, Macrinus



Apotheosis of Caracalla.²

applied himself to winning everybody: the senate by tokens of regard, the soldiers with money, the people by the suppression of recent imposts, the public feeling by the recall of the proscribed and the punishment of delators; but all this was done by degrees, and nowhere was felt the firm hand of a man capable of imposing his will.



Reverse of a Coin of Macrinus.³

The king of the Parthians had invaded Mesopotamia with a large army. Macrinus, obliged to lead against him troops lacking discipline and ardour for this war, experienced repulses which the enemy were not able however to turn into defeats. The Romans, masters of the cities and of numerous strong castles, in which they had had time to collect all the provisions, left the plain to the enemy's cavalry, who could not subsist there. The two princes soon wearied of a struggle in which neither of them was heartily engaged. Macrinus, besides, was in haste to return to Rome; he made humble proposals, released the prisoners, and gave 15,000,000 drachmas, with which Artabanus was satisfied.⁴ He again humiliated himself before the Armenians, restored to their king Tiridates his mother, whom Caracalla had retained in captivity, the lands which his father had possessed in Cappadocia, and probably a pension, in consideration of which the Armenian consented to receive the gold crown which Macrinus sent him as a

¹ . . . qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus (*Sat.*, l. vi. 17).

² CONSECRATIO. S.C. Caracalla in a four-horse chariot, on a funeral pile of three stories. (Large bronze struck after the death of Caracalla. Cohen, No. 396.)

³ PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. II COS. PP. S. C. Felicitas standing, holding a caduceus and a corn of plenty. (Large bronze. Cohen, No. 92.)

⁴ Dion, lxxviii. 27.

sign of sovereignty. In Dacia hostages were also restored to the barbarians. Under Caracalla, the Empire had maintained, at least in the face of the enemy, the proud bearing which Severus had given it.

The success of the Roman arms was not the less celebrated on



Diadumenianus.¹ (Bust of the Capitol.)

account of these events. The coins were like an official journal of the time, and quite as unreliable as certain bulletins of victories; one of them, which the senate ordered to be struck, bore the words: *Victoria Parthica*.²

¹ The cuirass and the cloak of this marble bust are of alabaster. (Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 57.)

² Eckhel, vii. 258.

Yet Macrinus undertook to draw closer the bonds of discipline, so lax under Caracalla, and while leaving to the veterans the



Macrinus.² (Statue of the Vatican.)

increase of pay, the rewards and exemptions from service which had been lavished upon them, he pretended to submit the recruits to the regulations of Severus,¹ and treated them all with extreme severity. A victor might have done this with success; a half-conquered prince, and one who had purchased a peace, was incapable of imposing this reform. The war had called many troops into Syria: he made the mistake of keeping them there. These inactive soldiers, their minds still full of the memories of the great expeditions of Severus, began to reckon up the profits that had accrued to them from the victories of the father and the donatives of the son, and to make between what was and what had been that comparison which the dis-

¹ Dion, lxxviii. 28. According to Capitolinus (*Macr.*, 12), he condemned adulterers to be burned, *junctis corporibus*; fugitive slaves to fight as gladiators; delators, if they failed to prove the accusation, forfeited their heads; if they proved it, they were branded with infamy after having received the sum which the law allowed them; he condemned soldiers to the cross or had other servile punishments inflicted upon them; he often "decimated" them. I doubt whether he could have been capable of so much energy. Yet Herodian (v. 2) confirms the words of Capitolinus.

² Statue of heroic size in Greek marble, which has preserved its antique head. (*Museo Pio Clem.*, vol. iii. pl. 12.)

³ In the letter which Macrinus wrote to the senate to announce the revolt of Elagabalus,

the senate the centre of the Empire, which the last prince had placed in the army. This should have been done and nothing said about it; especially he should have sent back to their respective



Macrinus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 55.)

garrisons the legions which were useless in the pacified East, and not have passed his life in Antioch gazing at dancers and listening to buffoons. Soon complaints were openly made in the camps, of the parsimony of the new prince, of this lawyer who kept the soldier in his tent, while not long before cities had been his

he complained of the insatiable greed of the soldiers and of the impossibility of his being able to provide, with the ordinary revenues of the State, for the payment of the soldiers' wages, at the rate to which Caracalla had raised them.

quarters. They spoke of the millions given up to the Parthians as of property taken from the legions, and they went so far as to believe that the murderer of the prince who was so dear to the army was Macrinus.

After the death of Julia Domna, Macrinus had relegated to Emesa the sister of that empress, Mæsa, with her two daughters, Soëmias, mother of Avitus Bassianus, so notorious under the name of Elagabalus, and Mammæa, whose son, born in an old Canaanite city where the Venus of Libanus was adored,¹ had taken



Julia Mæsa.
(Gold Coin.)

from a temple of that city consecrated to Alexander the name of the Macedonian hero. It seems that these Syrian women, who were very intelligent, had made profitable marriages by taking husbands who possessed fortunes as well as years; at least, they both were already widows and rich. They had also made skilful use of their imperial connections, and, in 217, what remained of the family of the priest Bassianus, three women and two children,² were now united near the temple of the Sun. This sanctuary, in great veneration throughout all Syria, possessed the right of asylum;³ it afforded shelter for their wealth and their persons. Macrinus, a timorous usurper, lacking the audacity which sometimes renders usurpation successful, left in the hands of his enemies all this gold—a sure means, in such a time, to bring about a revolution. Another imprudence was, that he sent a legion to camp in the vicinity of this treasure to which Mæsa and her daughters had the key, and near a city which, owing to Caracalla the title and privileges of an Italic colony, venerated his memory and his race.⁴

These three women, without counsellors, without support, undertook from the remoteness of their Syrian city to overthrow an emperor, and they overthrew him.

They had consecrated the elder of the children to the priesthood of the god of Emesa, hereditary in the family of Bassianus; they had him circumcised, in conformity with the custom of

¹ *Arca Cæsarea* or *Cæsarea Libanis*. Cf. Belley, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxxii. pp. 685 *et seq.*

² Soëmias had had a second son. (Orelli, No. 946, and Böckh, *C. I. G.*, No. 6,627.)

³ Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 2.

⁴ *Digest*, l. 15, 1, § 4.

the country, and forbade him to eat pork. They themselves strove to produce an effect on the minds of the people by an affected or sincere devotion. An inscription gives to Mæsa the title of "very holy;"¹ coins of Soëmias represent her under the features of the Venus Celestia,² and Mammæa, through religious curiosity and political precaution, had entered into correspondence with Origen.³ There were many Christians and Jews in this region, whom these advances might win, without alarming the pagans. Then, as to-day, these sensual and impressionable populations suffered themselves to be deceived by the outward appearance of sanctity. In the East, marabouts who make use of religion for political ends are of all times. The three women caused this part to be played by the child in whom were centred their affections and their hopes.



Elagabalus, on a Coin
of Tralles.⁶

Varius Avitus Bassianus, better known under the name of his god Elagabalus,⁴ was then in his fourteenth year;⁵ he had that plastic beauty which the Greeks regard as a gift from the gods; and when clad in a robe of purple embroidered with gold, his head encircled with a crown of precious stones whose iridescence sparkled like a luminous aureole about his brow, he ascended to the temple to fulfil the sacred rites, the crowd believed they beheld a child of destiny. The soldiers encamped in the suburbs of the city often came to this renowned sanctuary, and, yet more than the others, admired and loved the young pontiff, whom Severus had cradled upon his knees. Gradually the report spread that Elagabalus was more nearly connected with him who had been the real emperor of the soldiers. Servants of the palace

¹ *Sanctissima* (Henzen, No. 5,515).

² Eckhel, vii. 265. See above, p. 121, a statue, and p. 122, a coin of Soëmias, *Venus Celestia*.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 21. We must not in this fact see a leaning towards Christianity, for all the coins of Mammæa are pagan.

⁴ The name Elagabalus is never found on coins, any more than that of Caligula and Caracalla. These surnames have passed into history from the mouth of the people. His official name was *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*.

⁵ Herod., v. 3. Lampridius assigns him three years more (and the same to Alexander Severus), but Dion represents him as being yet a child, *παῖδιον* (lxxviii. 36 and 38), and makes him die at 18 (lxxix. 20).

⁶ Large bronze, the reverse of which we have given in vol. iv. p. 69.

of Emesa said he was the son of Caracalla,¹ and the money distributed, the promises made and hopes given, easily persuaded people who had an interest in being persuaded. For the success of this intrigue, Mæsa sacrificed her gold, Soæmias her honour; but neither of them cared for what they lost. The gold of Mæsa was placed at high interest, and Soæmias thought that the mantle of an empress would cover all.² As for the soldiers, they demanded nothing more to give to an effeminate Syrian the Empire of Augustus and Trajan.

One night Elagabalus repaired to the camp of Emesa, followed by wagons which bore the ransom of the Empire, and when day dawned he was proclaimed. They gave to him the names of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (May 16, 218): a last tribute to those Antonines whose renown even then was magnified by remoteness, and whom the poets of the time ranked above the gods.³

A prefect of the prætorium, Upius Julianus, happened to be in the vicinity, with a troop of Moorish cavaliers whom he believed to be devoted to Macrinus their compatriot. He hastened to the camp to force its gates; the attack, feebly conducted, was not successful, and a second attempt met the same fate. So much was not needed to make the fidelity of his soldiers waver. When they heard a *cubicularius* of the last prince proclaim in the name of the new, that the property and the rank of the dead man should belong to him who would bring to the camp of Emesa the head of a centurion or a tribune; when they saw their comrades display from the top of the wall him whom they called the son of Caracalla and the bags of Mæsa's gold, they slew their officers, and the ensigns of the two armies united.

On a first report of the prefect, Macrinus had seen in this revolt only an outbreak of women, whom he would easily satisfy. Soon a messenger from the camp of Emesa arrived: "I bring you the head of Elagabalus," said he, and flung down that of Julianus.

¹ He assumed this title, which is found in the inscriptions: *divi Severi nepos, divi Antonini filius*.

² Lampridius (*Heliog.*, 2) accuses Soæmias of having led the life of a courtesan, *meretricis more vixit*.

³ *Antoninos pluris fuisse quam deos* (Lamprid., *Diad.*, 7).



The God of Emesa.

The sight of this bloody trophy which the rebels had sent him, the audacity of this soldier; who profited by the confusion to make his escape, caused anxiety in the heart of the prince, and he had



Elagabalus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 57.)

recourse to what seemed the great measure of safety with soldiers. That he might have occasion to promise to each legionary 5,000 drachmas, of which 1,000 to be paid down, he conferred the title of Augustus on his son. The letter which announced to the senate

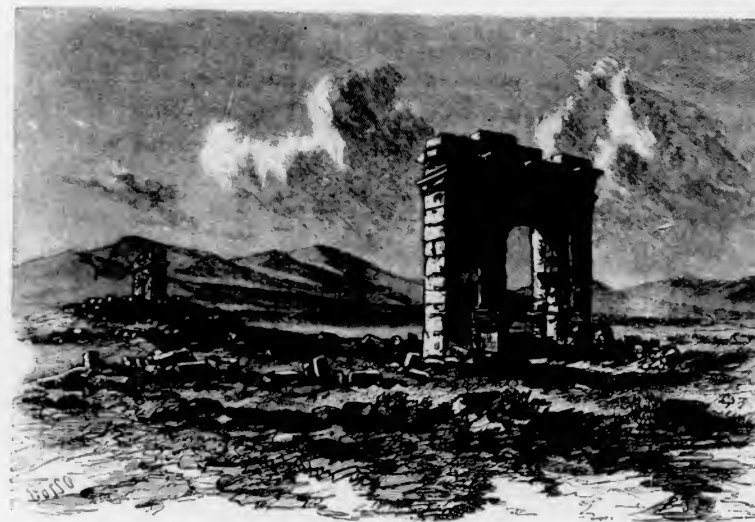
this elevation, promised to the Romans a congiary of 150 drachmas per head; from which we see that a soldier was then esteemed to be worth thirty-three times as much as one of the sovereign people. He also re-established all the military regulations of Caracalla.

The largesses inspired by fear came too late; every day deserters made their way from all points of Syria, singly or in bands, to the camp of Emesa; the legion of Albano, which was encamped at Apamea, deserted in a body, so that the army of Elagabalus became strong enough to go in pursuit of that of Macrinus. The encounter took place on the confines of Syria and Phœnicia; the eunuch or servant of Mammaea, Gammys, who led the soldiers of the young Cæsar, happened to be a skilful man of war. He took up a good position, and Mæsa, Soæmias, and even Elagabalus, cast themselves into the fray to inspire their troops. Macrinus, on the contrary, frightened by the tumult and by new defections, fled, leaving his prætorians to maintain valiantly the reputation of the corps; but when they became aware of the cowardice of their chief and the promise of Elagabalus, that they should preserve their rank and honours, they laid down their arms, and the high-priest of the Sun found himself master of the Roman world. This occurred June 8, 218.¹

Macrinus had sent in advance to Antioch an announcement of victory. When he arrived near this city he took a passport of the imperial post, cut off his hair and beard, and in disguise attempted in great haste to reach Byzantium and Europe. All went well at first, and he had crossed Asia Minor without opposition, when excess of fatigue and need of money obliged him to stop in a poor cottage in the outskirts of Chalcedon. A note written by him to an agent of the imperial finances to obtain funds led to his recognition; he was arrested and delivered up to the soldiers of Elagabalus, who had followed him from Antioch. He had charged trusty messengers to conduct his son to the Parthians, his recent allies. Horsemen overtook the child before he had passed the Euphrates and slew him. The news of his

¹ Is it in remembrance of this triumph that he founded in Palestine, on the site of Emmaüs, a city of victory, Nicopolis? (Eusebius, *Chron.*, ad ann. 224.) He made Emesa a colony possessing the *jus Italicum*. (*Digest*, l. 15, s. § 6.)

death reached his father while he himself was being brought to the conqueror. He threw himself from the top of his chariot and



Ruins of Zana, the Ancient *Diana* (*Revue archéol.*, ninth volume).

fractured his shoulder; the soldiers finished him. He was fifty-four years old and had not reigned fourteen months.

No monument of him is known, but an arch of triumph still standing in French Algeria, at Zana, the ancient *Diana*, was raised to him by his compatriots of Mauretania.¹

He had, we are assured, a plan of making a revision of the imperial rescripts, which were most frequently only decisions in special cases, with a view to preserving only those which were of a general character. It was a laudable intention, which required time for its execution, and this was not granted him.²

The god of Emesa was represented by a black stone, which



The God of Emesa.

¹ The inscription of the Arch of Zana (*Diana Veteranorum*), constructed directly after his accession, terms him *consul designatus*. Dion, in fact, informs us that Macrinus was not willing, as Plautianus had done (see p. 82), to reckon the consular ornaments which he had obtained from Caracalla as a first consulate. (L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, pp. 185 et seq.)

² *Aureüs* of Uranius Antonius bearing the black stone richly ornamented and surmounted by a crown with points.

³ He had also undertaken to continue the alimentary foundations established by Trajan and the Antonines. (Lamprid., *Diad.*, 2.)

no doubt had the same origin as the black stone of Mecca. The terrestrial influence of these two aerolites¹ was very different, for we may say that the one brought down from sidereal space a grand idea of religious purity, and the other the principle of all disorder. The Arabs relate that when creation was complete, God summoned the angels to contemplate the work emanating from his hands. At sight of it the choir of celestial spirits uttered a cry of adoration: "Allah!" This holy word, which proclaimed the unity and omnipotence of the Creator, God shut up in the



Elagabalus in a Chariot drawn by Two Women.²

heart of the black stone which Abraham deposited in the Kaaba. At the day of judgment it will open to disclose to view the divine formula in flaming characters, and to give testimony in behalf of those who have approached it with pure lips and a repentant heart.

This legend is beautiful; it transforms an act of vulgar superstition into a profession of moral and religious faith. The stone of Emesa had more worldly grandeur, but infinitely less of virtue. It was the image of the Sun, from which it appeared to have come; and, as in all religions, the sign becomes easily confounded with the thing signified, it was venerated like the Sun itself, the author of life, the principle of fecundity and generation, which they adored by acts analogous to those which it accomplishes in the bosom of nature.³

Elagabalus was the most complete representation of the unclean side of this naturalism. Hitherto the tyrants of Rome had at least

¹ "In the temple . . . one notices a great stone, rounded at the base and pointed at the top, of conical form and black in colour, which they say to have fallen from heaven." (Herod., v. 5.)

² Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 253 (white jasper, $1\frac{5}{100}$ in. by $\frac{82}{100}$ in.). This monument answers to the text of Lampridius: *junxit et quaternas mulieres pulcherrimas, et binas ad papillam, vel ternas et amplius, et sic vectatus est: sed plerumque nudus quum illum nude traherent.* The Greek inscription: *Long live Epixenus* (from *ἐπιξενος*, intruder), leads us to think that this cameo is a monument of a satirical nature.

³ Asia was full of these conical stones. Venus at Paphos, Gacion at Seleucia (see vol. iv. p. 313) and at Bosra, were thus represented. These cones, of sidereal origin, symbolized the generative power: the two mountains named Casius, near Antioch and on the frontier of Egypt, owed this name to their pyramidal form. (Cf. Mionnet, *Séleucide et Piérie*, Nos. 891 et seq., which give bronzes of Trajan representing a cone in a tetrastyle temple, with the legend, *Zeus Kasios*, and De Vogüé, *Inscr. sémitiques*, pp. 103-104.)

had something of the Roman character. In the son of Severus they had still found a soldier, the son of Soæmias was a pure Syrian, in whom united all that the East could produce of lascivious and shameful vices. His tastes turned to the most abominable life, his mind to the wildest aberrations. Hence he has ever remained in the memory of men as the symbol of enthroned infamy. Three things had produced this moral monstrosity: an impure religion, absolute power, and his youth.

After his victory Elagabalus assumed all the imperial titles, without awaiting the usual decree of the senate, and marched rapidly upon Antioch, which purchased exemption from pillage by the payment of 500 drachmas to each soldier. From there were despatched at once letters to the Conscript Fathers, in which he agreed to govern like Marcus Aurelius, and issued sentences of death against the governors who had been slow to divine his fortune, against senators who had shown too much zeal in favour of Macrinus, and even against the skilful man who had won for him the battle of Antioch.¹

Each of the shocks which dethroned an emperor was succeeded by disorder, in which the Empire was painfully convulsed until a firm hand restored its equilibrium. The legions of Macrinus, sent to their cantonments, pillaged the villages along their route, and a great number of persons had visions of the imperial purple. They had just seen a simple knight come to imperial power, and now a child was mounting to it. There was then no more right nor constitution, no more senate nor Roman people, no more puissant aristocracy giving to Rome its Cæsars. "At the death of Nero," says Tacitus, "a terrible secret had been revealed, which was that emperors might be made outside Rome." At the accession

¹ Dion, lxxix. 3-4. One of the victims of Elagabalus, Valerianus Pætus, was condemned "because he had had portraits of himself made of gold, for the adornment of his mistresses." I point out this fact to indicate a Roman usage: the first act of an emperor was to coin gold pieces with his likeness upon them. To encroach on this right was a crime of majesty. Pætus was well aware of this, and was without doubt not so innocent as Dion says: "He was a Galatian," adds the historian; "they accused him of wishing to incite a rebellion in the neighbouring province, Cappadocia, and of having had coins struck with this intent, which were the cause of his death." This is the way all the usurpers began their career. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxvi. 7) relates that the partisans of the usurper Procopius brought about the defection of Illyria by circulating there pieces with his effigy, as proof that he was indeed the legitimate emperor.

of Elagabalus, another was taught them, which is, that it was not necessary to be elected by a powerful army, but that a few cohorts and shouts of the populace were sufficient to determine a revolution. Hence many persons fancied that with a little audacity it would be easy to force the gates of the palace. Two legates of legions, even a son of a centurion, a worker in wool, and others besides¹ attempted in various places to draw away soldiers after them. An unknown person went so far as to undertake to stir up a mutiny among the crews of the fleet of Cyzicus, while Elagabalus was wintering near there in Nicomedia. "So many worthless persons," says the historian Cassius, "had victoriously trodden the path to power, that it had become smoothed for all the adventurers who dared enter upon it." The era of the thirty tyrants draws nigh.

In Mount Taurus, Elagabalus had consecrated to his god the temple reared by Marcus Aurelius in honour of Faustina, and which Caracalla had dedicated to his own divinity. At Nicomedia he had himself painted in his sacerdotal costume: the picture was placed in the senate at Rome, above the statue of Victory, and each senator was obliged, before taking his seat in the curia, to burn incense before this image.² He entered Rome wearing a robe of purple embroidered with gold, a necklace of pearls, his cheeks painted with vermilion, and the lustre of his eyes heightened, like those of an Arab woman, by rubbing on henna. Mæsa and her two daughters followed him there. United in devising the plot, these three women did not agree in obtaining the advantages of the results. Mæsa, whose political ideas had been formed in the school of Severus, would have desired decency in conduct, order in expenditure—inopportune prudence, to which the child, intoxicated with power, gave no heed. Sœmias, on the contrary, thought that Elagabalus, being master of things human and divine, had no need to restrain himself in anything. Between these two women a division of power was effected in accordance with the taste of each. Business matters were irksome to the prince: he abandoned them to his prudent grandmother, on condition that she should not annoy him in his pleasures, and he

¹ Καὶ ἄλλοι ἔτι πολλοὶ ἄλλοι (Dion, lxxix. 7).

² Herod., v. 1.

gave her a seat in the senate near the consuls. To his mother he gave the presidency of a senate of women,¹ which was charged with the duty of determining for the matrons their costumes and precedence, the quantity of gold and precious stones that each might wear according to her condition, the ornaments of litters and carriages, etc.: a singular pre-occupation with etiquette in a court of upstarts in which the prince made a display of all the vices, confounded all ranks, and set a charioteer of the circus above a consular. As to the mother of Alexander, she kept herself in retirement and took especial care to keep her son with her.

The emperor was going to dishonour himself; but it should be recognized that although public morality was odiously outraged, the State did not suffer excessively from this deplorable reign.³ The executions during the first days, and the fidelity of the legions decisively obtained for the new government, rendered the ambitious prudent; the agitation subsided, and since the Germans remained quiet and the Parthians



Statue of Victory.²

¹ Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 4.

² Museum of the Louvre, No. 435. Statue in Greek marble, apparently celebrating two triumphs by the two crowns which she holds, one placed upon her head, the other in her right hand. A trophy is under her feet.

³ . . . καὶ μὴδὲν μέγα κακὸν ἡμῖν φέροντα (Dion, lxxix. 8).

had enough to do to avert impending ruin, the cities of the frontier were at peace like those of the interior.

But at Rome, what exhibitions! Gluttony which might drive Vitellius to despair, lewdness such as to put Nero to the blush, scenes of infamy which can only be told in Latin! Elagabalus had entered into the city costumed like a priest of Phœnicia or a satrap of the Medes, bringing with him his shapeless god, the black stone of Emesa, which he honoured with barbarous songs, lascivious dances, and immolations of children.¹ He made of it the supreme divinity of the Empire. All Olympus was obliged to humiliate itself before this intruder, whom he solemnly united in marriage with the Astarte of Carthage, giving to these deities for a bridal escort those new subjects to whom for centuries the Romans had attributed their fortune, and who consequently had aided them in acquiring it. Jupiter Capitolinus was reduced to the position of courtier to the Syrian idol,² and the sovereign pontiff of Rome became the priest of the Sun-god.³



Elagabalus, Priest of the Sun-god (*Sacerd. dei Solis Elagab. S. C.*). Large Bronze.



The Conical Stone of Elagabalus on a Chariot drawn by Four Horses (*Sanct. deo Soli Elagabal.*). Imperial Coin of Emesa; Mionnet.

Every year, says Herodian, he conducted his god into a magnificent temple which he had built for him in one of the suburbs of Rome. The idol was placed on a chariot sparkling with gold and precious stones, drawn by six white horses. No one rode on it, so that the god might appear to direct it himself. In front, the prince, supported by two guards, drove backwards in order to keep his eyes ever fixed on the holy image! Behind were borne the statues of all the gods, the imperial ornaments, and the precious furnishings of the palace; the garrison of Rome and the entire populace formed the escort, bearing torches and strewing the way with flowers and wreaths.⁴

Dion relates an adventure which took place about the same

¹ Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 11.

² *Omnes deos sui dei ministros esse aiebat* (Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 7).

³ *Sacerdos dei solis* (Eckhel, vii. 250); in the inscriptions, he joined to his title of emperor that of priest of Elagabalus (Henzen, Nos. 5,514-5).

⁴ Herod., v. 5.

time near the place where he himself was in command: "On the banks of the Ister appeared, I know not how, a genius who resembled in countenance Alexander of Macedon. He traversed Mæsia and Thrace, after the manner of Bacchus, accompanied by 400 men armed with thyrsi and clad in goat skins. They did no harm, and everything was supplied to them, lodging and provisions, at the expense of the cities, for no one dared oppose him in word or action—neither chief, nor soldier, nor procurator, nor governor of provinces; and it was in open daylight, as he had announced, that he advanced in procession as far as Byzantium. From there, having reached the territory of Chalcedon, he performed at night certain sacrifices, hid in the ground a wooden horse, and then disappeared."¹

These populations, stultified by gross superstitions, taking for a god the fanatic or the adroit swindler who lived at their expense, aid us to comprehend that other grotesque madman, creating a religious revolution at Rome in favour of his black stone. In the preceding chapter we have seen the superior men of this age directing their thought into the depths of heaven, there to seek that God who ever keeps from view. The two facts which we have now reported show the imagination of the simple-minded, princes or people, haunted by the same phantoms. The genii, the demons, are everywhere; every religion furnishes them; and the multitude, not knowing which to listen to, confounds them in a common and fearful adoration. It is the popular jumbling together of beliefs, which is produced after its fashion on a lower plane than the syncretism of the philosophers.

"In the temple of his god, where we have already seen all the occupants of the Græco-Roman Pantheon, he placed also," says his biographer, "the image of the great goddess, the Vestal fire, the Palladium, the sacred bucklers; he desired that they might there fulfil the rites of the Jews and the Samaritans, even the ceremonies of Christianity, so that the priests of Elagabalus might possess the secret of all religions."²

This secret the Christians believed that they possessed; and, seeing them oppose to this religious anarchy the unity of their

¹ Dion, lxxix. 18.

² Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 4.

belief and the discipline of their churches, we have a presentiment that the hour of triumph is coming for them. The just loathing inspired by the high-priest of Emesa, must not, however, prevent our seeing that in the midst of these disgusting festivals an important fact lay concealed. The worship of the black stone did not accord with the Roman genius, which the Greeks had educated in respect to the plastic representation of the gods; but the monotheistic idea which this stone represented became a very Roman one. The worship of the Sun assumes more and more importance, for it was of all the pagan cults the most rational. We shall see that the Sun was the great god of Aurelian and that of the Constantine family. The



Julia Cornelia Paula. (Bust in Parian Marble. Museum of the Louvre.)

most miserable of the emperors accordingly plays, without suspecting it, a part in the religious decomposition of Roman society: this debauched fool had also in his way the intoxication of the divine. He is the representative of that confused medley of beliefs from which the faith in one only God is beginning to disengage itself. This confusion will be found in the mind of his successor, but with moral purity, while Elagabalus seeks and takes from it only that which may excite his passions.

For his idiotic luxuriosity and his infamous debauches we may refer to Lampridius. History notes these turpitudes or follies;



Julia Aquilia Severa Augusta (after a Large Bronze of the Cabinet de France).

it does not delay over them. We need only say that, after the example of Asiatic monarchs who seek their ministers in the lowest ranks of society, he assigned the most prominent offices of the State to dancers and barbers, when he did not sell them to rich



Annia Faustina.

debauchees; that he treated the senate as a troop of slaves in togas, which was unhappily the truth; that his palace was sanded with gold dust, and that his garments of silk loaded with jewels were never worn twice; that he filled his fish-ponds with rose-water,² and that he had naval engagements represented on lakes of wine;³ that he finally dressed as a woman, painted his face, wrought at work in wool, and had himself styled *domina* or

¹ Bust of pavonazetto. (Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 58.)

² Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 19. During the banquets, the ceiling opened to let fall upon the guests such a quantity of flowers that many were stifled by them.

³ *Ibid.*, 16, 22.

imperatrix, the emperor being at that time the son of a cook or some vigorous athlete. In less than four years he espoused four or five wives, whom he repudiated and took back again. The first, Julia Cornelia Paula, of eminent family, retained for one year only



Julia Maesa. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 59.)

her title and honours; he carried off the second, Julia Aquilia Severa, from the altar of Vesta, an act of sacrilege which made even the Romans of that time tremble; the third, Annia Faustina, was descended from Marcus Aurelius; the memory of the great emperor only protected her a few weeks against the caprices of the imperial debauchee.

Meanwhile, Mæsa saw how such a manner of reigning must end. By adroit flattery she induced Elagabalus to bestow the title of Cæsar upon his cousin Alexander, adopting him as

his son. "He should devote himself," she told him, "to the enjoyment of his feasts, to his sacred orgies, and to his divine duties; another would have the care of affairs." This other was twelve years old, and the adoptive father numbered sixteen years; but the new Cæsar had already revealed his sweet and happy disposition, so that the grandmother and his mother centred in him the hope of their house. His good graces, his discretion, the strict masters whom he had about him, the perils which it was known that he incurred, and the secret largesses of Mammæa to the prætorians, obtained for him a popularity at which Elagabalus became incensed. He sought various means to put him out of the

way quietly. But Mammæa did not permit her son to taste any beverage or any dish sent by the emperor; she surrounded him with trusty servants, and the thoughtlessness of Elagabalus, which allowed any one to penetrate his designs, enabled them also to prevent them. Finally, one day he decided on an overt attack. He sent an order to the senators and to the soldiers to take from his cousin the title of Cæsar, while at the same time murderers were seeking for the child in order to slay him. This order provoked a sedition in which the emperor narrowly escaped death. He was obliged to go with Alexander to the camp of the prætorians, who required of him the death or dismissal of his minions, commanded the prince to change his mode of life, and ordered their prefects to see to it, and especially to prevent Alexander from imitating his cousin. One might think them French Cabochiens of 1413 enjoining morality upon the Dauphin, driving from the Hotel Saint Pol musicians and dancers belated too far into the night, and even the councillors who were displeasing to them, and



Elagabalus. (Statue, heroic size. Collection Mattei. Clarac, *Musée*, etc., pl. 768, No. 2,487 A.)

whom they conducted to Parliament to be judged or slaughtered on the way there. There is, however, this difference: in 1413 Paris was in a revolution, and at Rome, in 221, the orders given by the soldiery to the prince had become the regular procedure.

On the first of January, 222, the two children were to go before the senate to take possession of the consular dignities. It required all the urging of Mæsa and the threat of a new sedition to induce Elagabalus to allow himself to be accompanied by his adopted son. But he absolutely refused to fulfil with

him, at the Capitol, the customary ceremonies. Another day he circulated a report of the death of Alexander, in order to judge, from what the soldiers might do, whether he might put him to death without incurring too much risk. Secretly informed that the young prince was alive, they demanded his presence among them with loud shouts, recalled the guard which they sent each morning to the palace, and withdrew to their camp. The trial resulted badly. Elagabalus hastened to appease them by showing to them the Cæsar. His mother and Mammæa followed him, each exciting the soldiery against the other. Mammæa at last carried the day. Violent clamours arose, then they came to blows; the friends, the ministers of Elagabalus, Soæmias herself, were slaughtered. The effeminate voluptuary, whom a crumpled rose-leaf disturbed, hid himself in the sinks of the camp. There he was put to death, and his corpse, dragged through the streets, not being able to pass through the outlet of a sewer, was flung into the Tiber, whither the god of Emesa was near following its pontiff. The senate consigned his memory to infamy, and history does the same. This was on March 11th, 222.

His cousin, aged thirteen and a half years,¹ was proclaimed Augustus and took the names of Marcus Aurelius Alexander, to which the soldiers added, in memory of him whom some gave him for a grandfather, the name of Severus.²

To mark distinctly that the oriental orgy was ended, and that the ancient deities dispossessed by the Syrian idol had resumed their sway, Alexander engraved on his coins the title of priest of Rome, *sacerdos Urbis*.³

¹ Herodian (v. 7) says that he was entering on his twelfth year when Elagabalus adopted him. He is generally assigned three years more.

² *Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander* (Eckhel, vii. 281). I have mentioned (vol. v. p. 522) the session of the senate at which Alexander declined the other names which the Fathers desired to confer upon him.

³ Eckhel, vii. 270.



Julia Soæmias Augusta.

CHAPTER XCIII.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS (MARCH 11, 222—MARCH 19, 235 A.D.)

I.—REACTION AGAINST THE PRECEDING REIGN; MAMMÆA AND ULPIAN; THE COUNCIL OF THE PRINCE.

ONCE more then, by the grace of the soldiers, the heritage of Augustus was in the hands of two women and a child. What vitality there was in this Empire, which, fallen under the rule of women, yet remained erect and imposing!

But these two women were of superior minds. We are acquainted with the skilful prudence of Mæsa and the elevated spirit of the mother of Alexander. The latter, by a well-ordered education, developed the happy disposition of this gentle and pious soul. She placed about her son the ablest masters, provided they were also the most honourable, and she taught him enough of literature and art to have a taste and respect for them; not enough to tempt him to bestow upon them the time demanded by public business. It will be remarked that Alexander expressed himself more easily in Greek than in Latin. This invasion of Greek into higher Roman society is a sign of the progress accomplished by another invasion, that of oriental hellenism and Alexandrian syncretism, of which this prince was also a representative.

"From the day of his accession," says Herodian,¹ "he was surrounded with all the pomp of sovereign power; but the care of the Empire was left to the two princesses, who made an effort to bring back good morals and the ancient dignified demeanour. They chose sixteen senators, the most eminent for experience and



Julia Mammæa Aug[usta], Mother of Alexander Severus. (Gold Coin.)

¹ vi. i. A coin of 222 bears the words, *Liberalitas Aug.* This was the resuming of the *congiarium* granted, *ut moris erat, suscepto imperio*, says Eckhel.

integrity of life, to form the ordinary council of the prince.¹ Nothing was carried into execution without their advice. The people, the army, the senate, were charmed with this new form of government, which replaced the most insolent tyranny by a sort of aristocracy."

I do not know whether the senate was as satisfied as Herodian says with the new importance given to this *consilium principis*. We shall refer elsewhere to this institution, which took from the ancient masters of Rome their last prerogatives.

The Conscript Fathers gave themselves at least the pleasure of devoting to the infernal gods the prince or the consul who, in the future, should give a woman a seat in the august assembly. No doubt this decree of the senate appeared to them as worthy of memory as that which had ordered the victorious Pyrrhus to depart from Italy.²

"They made haste," continues the historian, "to restore to their sanctuaries the statues of the gods which Elagabalus had taken away. They removed from their places and honours the functionaries who had obtained them unworthily, and intrusted duties to the most capable citizens. . . . In order to preserve the prince from the mistakes which might be caused by absolute authority, the ardour of youth, or by some of the vices natural to his family, Mammæa scrupulously guarded the entrance to the palace and allowed no man to gain admission whose morals were of bad repute."

This reaction against the last reign, these precautions to save the new from the same excesses, were legitimate. They could not do this better than by the government of aged men and women, by this paternal and gentle authority, the calm and somnolence of which were calculated to protect this prince's minority, and to enable him to reach full age, if the soldiers consented to grant him time to do so.

¹ Lampridius (*Alex.*, 15) makes the number twenty. The council was complemented, in certain circumstances, by adding other senators, so that the number of fifty Conscript Fathers, required for the validity of a decree, might be attained. This council also made nominations to the senate. (*Ibid.*, 18.) The last great juriconsults of Rome, Florentinus, Marcianus, Hermogenes, Saturninus, and Modestinus, numerous fragments of whose writings the *Pandects* have preserved to us, had seats in it, in company with Paulus and Ulpian.

² Lamprid., *Helio.*, 18. Dating from the time of Alexander Severus we find no more *senatus-consulta*.

Into the imperial council Mammæa had called her compatriot Ulpian, whom she appointed prefect of the prætorium,¹ which made him the second personage in the state.

In reality, considering the age of the emperor, Ulpian was the first,² for he was present at the audiences of the prince, reported matters to him with the solutions to be given, and had the conduct of the whole government. Under this great juriconsult,³ justice was impartial and the police service vigilant. Those who speculated on the misery of the people, the venality of a judge, or the compliance of a functionary had to render strict account; but no one lost his life



Julia Mammæa, Mother of Alexander Severus.
(Bust of Pentelican Marble. Museum of the Louvre.)

or property without a judgment given after discussion on both sides.⁴ Many honourable rescripts were promulgated. They did not introduce any modifications into the law, but we see in them the provident kindness which is characteristic of this

¹ He appears to have been so under Elagabalus. (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 26, and Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 26.)

² See, for the powers of the prefect of the prætorium, p. 102.

³ Of the numerous works of Ulpian, the most important were eighty-three books *ad Edictum*, fifty-one *ad Sabinum*. Numerous fragments remain to us of his *Liber regularum singularis*. The extracts from these various treatises form a third of the *Digest*.

⁴ This is the assertion of Lampridius. Yet the death of the father-in-law of Alexander, that of Turinus, whom he caused to be suffocated, the murder of several of his councillors (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 67), and some others, were not the result of judicial orders.

reign,¹ and which we have also previously found in the legislation of the Antonines and of Severus. Mention is even made in them of the liberty of the subject: conditioned, it is true, by their good will and obedience.²

The ability of these wise councillors is further marked by certain details of administration, some of which were of real importance. The prefecture of the prætorium came to be of senatorial rank: the extension of the judicial cognizance of the prefect, who sometimes had to sit in judgment on senators, rendered this change necessary, and his decisions had the force of law when they were not contrary to existing constitutions.³ With Ulpian this office attained the zenith of its power.

Fourteen curators, all of consular rank, were charged with the duty of deciding, with the prefect of Rome, all affairs concerning the fourteen districts of the city.⁴ This edict furnished a municipal council to the capital of the Empire, the police of which had hitherto been subject to the sole authority of the prefect; in addition to which he prescribed that the resolutions, to be valid, should be adopted in presence of all the members, or at least of a majority of them. This council, appointed and not elected, was none the less for Rome a guarantee of better administration.

The assessors of the presidents were entitled to fees, which gave them the character of public functionaries, but increased the expenditures of the treasury;⁵ and it was forbidden to the provincial governors, as well as to the persons employed about them, to engage in business or usury in the countries under their rule. We have seen⁶ what wise recommendations Ulpian made to them for the protection of the common people. It had long been the custom to make grants of lands to the veterans: he established the rule that officers and soldiers put in possession of domains on the frontiers might transmit them to their children, when the

¹ For instance: . . . *Cavetur ut si patronus libertum suum non aluerit, jus patroni perdat* (*Digest*, xxxvii. 14, 5, § 1).

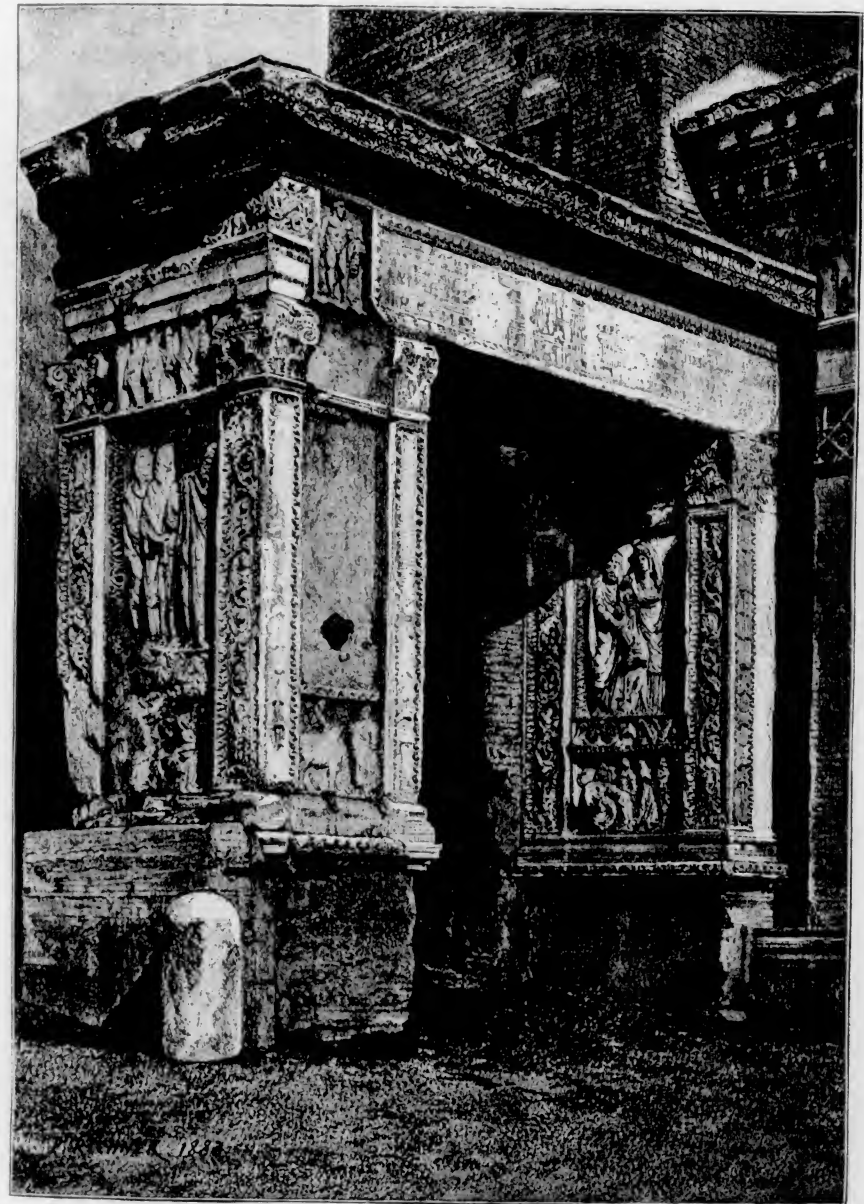
² *Digest*, xlix. 1, 25: . . . *tantum mihi curæ est eorum, qui reguntur, libertatis, quantum et bonæ voluntatis eorum et obedientiæ.*

³ *Code*, i. 26, 2, ann. 235.

⁴ *Lamprid.*, *Alex.*, 32.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 45. Pescennius Nîger had already wished to introduce this reform, *ne consiliarii eos gravarent quibus assidebant* (*Spart.*, *Nig.*, 7).

⁶ *Vol. v.* p. 472.



The Arch of the Goldsmiths at Rome (p. 293).

latter followed the profession of arms; otherwise the land reverted to the imperial treasury.¹ These were military benefices and the beginning of a new order of property.

The post of *dux*, that is, of chief of the army, without territorial command, which we have seen originating under Severus, appears to become a regular office.²

Finally, the government constituted what may be called deposit banks,³ and he organized into corporations the trades which had not as yet taken that form; he assigned to each one a *defensor*, as will be given later to the cities,⁴ and he established for them a special jurisdiction. Some were very rich, that of the goldsmiths, for example, who erected an arch to Septimius Severus. It was a new order of industry produced or developed.



*Moneta restituta.*⁵

II.—GENTLENESS, PIETY, AND WEAKNESS OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

What part had the prince in these measures? With an emperor of thirteen the councillors must have retained power for a long period. But it may be said that all which they did in the interests of the subjects responded, if not to the thought, at least to the heart of the prince.

The biographer of Alexander has sought to make of this reign what Xenophon had made of that of Cyrus, a beautiful *morality*, and, although this scribe of Constantine had not yet embraced the religion of his master, he has, to flatter him, represented the least pagan emperor as half Christian. From this has resulted that Alexander has been the spoiled child of history, as if, on coming out of the corrupt atmosphere in which they had just been living, and before entering the bloody gloom of the age following,

¹ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 57.

² Lamprid., *ibid.*, 51. Capitolinus, in the life of Gordian III., also speaks of *duces honorati*, that is, honorary dukes.

³ Lamprid., *ibid.*, 38. Medals, *Moneta restituta*, etc., attest also a monetary reform (Eckhel, vii. 279); but the explanations of Lampridius on this subject (39) throw no light on the question.

⁴ Lamprid., *ibid.*, 22 and 33. This *defensor* was no doubt a different person from the *patronus*.

⁵ MON. RESTITVTA. Moneta standing, holding a balance and a horn of plenty. (Medium bronze of Alexander Severus.)

they had dwelt with complacency upon this pleasing figure, which youth, virtue, and misfortune have consecrated. In certain respects this good fame of Alexander is legitimate. After the saturnalia of the previous reign he exhibits an emperor pure in morals, simple in tastes, and who made his life a public example more efficacious than all legal enactments. One feels an attachment for this amiable prince who wished the public crier to proclaim, while criminals were being chastised, these words graven on the front of his palace: "Do not to another what you would not have done to yourself;" who wrote in verse the lives of the good princes,¹ and each day went into his *lararium* to pass some moments before the images of those whom he called the benefactors of humanity, princes or philosophers, founders of empires or religions;² who, finally, constantly read over the *Republic* of Plato, the treatise *de Officiis* of Cicero, and the *Epistles* of Horace, to adopt from these noble books his rules of conduct. Every seventh day he ascended to the Capitol and visited the temples of the city, without, however, making rich offerings in them, thinking with Persius, that the worship loved by the gods is the practice of virtue, and that they have no need of gold:

. . . . *In sanctis quid facit aurum?*

But he was liberal to the poor, to his friends, and to those of his officers who had well fulfilled their duties.

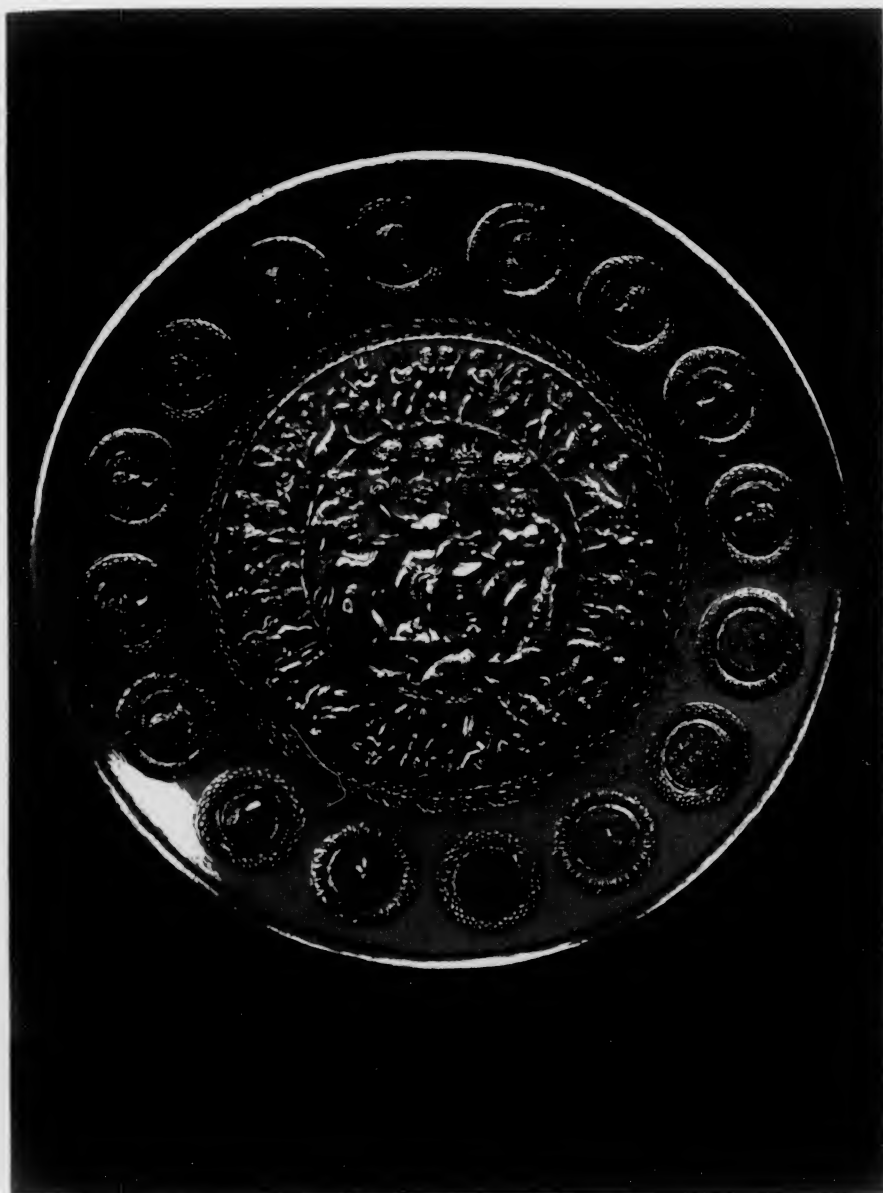
We remember the grand alimentary institution of Trajan; he continued and extended it,³ and founded another; he lent money to poor families that they might buy land, and required of them only an interest of three per cent., payable from the product of the funds.⁴ He often even made a gratuitous gift of land, slaves,

¹ *Vitas principum bonorum versibus scripsit* (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 27).

² Lampridius, who supplies this information (*Alex.*, 28), adds this bit of detail: "He did not enter into his oratory unless *si facultas esset, id est, si non cum uore cubuisset.*" This was a general rule of which Ovid had already spoken (*Fasti*, ii. 329, and iv. 657). The Church inherited this custom. "This kind of abstinence," says Abbé Greppo, "was practised in the primitive Church prior to participation in the holy mysteries, as still takes place in the churches of the East, whose ministers are not constrained to celibacy." (*Trois mém. d'hist. ecclés.*, p. 280.) The Russian peasant observes the same rule the day preceding the Sabbath.

³ *Puellas et pueros Mammæanas et Mammæanos instituit* (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 56). A coin of Plautilla, which represents a woman carrying a child, shows that Severus also took care of this institution. (Eckhel, vii. 226.)

⁴ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 21. As to imposts, it is impossible to admit with Lampridius that he



Le roi des Basques parait

Imp. Trullery

Dessiné par Chouaillat

GOLD PLATE CALLED THE PATERA OF RENNES

CABINET DE FRANCE

cattle, and implements of agriculture. If he augmented the tax on the industries of luxury, on the goldsmiths,¹ gilders, furriers, etc., he diminished the other imposts, and lamented that fiscal agents were a necessary evil. He granted remissions to a number of cities, on condition that the money which he allowed them should serve to rebuild their ruined edifices; he restored at his own expense many ancient bridges and constructed new ones. And finally, he founded schools, paid professors, pensioned pupils, and recompensed advocates who took nothing from their client:² these are our scholarships and our judiciary aid.

For himself, great frugality and much economy, to the extent of being reduced to borrowing silver ware and slaves, when he gave a state banquet; toward all, plebeians or senators, even towards his own domestics, an affability which in the emperor did not let the master be seen. At twenty he was a sage.

This wisdom, which was not the fruit of experience but a gift

reduced them to the twentieth of what Elagabalus exacted. On the payment of the impost in gold, see above, p. 246.

¹ A masterpiece of goldsmith's work of this epoch is a cup of massive gold, discovered in 1774, at Rennes, while demolishing a house of the metropolitan chapter, and called in the *Cabinet de France*, *Patena of Rennes*. It had been hidden six feet under ground in the time of Aurelian, for the imperial coins most recently found in the same locality were of Posthumus and Aurelian. It is composed of an *emblemata*, or central part, and a border adorned with sixteen aurei of emperors and empresses from Hadrian to Geta, which places its fabrication at the time of Severus. The *emblemata* represents a challenge between Bacchus and Hercules; in the frieze which surrounds the principal subject and complements its thought, Bacchus triumphs over Hercules. The decoration is completed by the sixteen gold coins encircled with wreaths of acanthus and of laurel. This cup, stolen from the *Cabinet de France* in 1831, was found intact some days afterwards under an arch of the Pont Marie. We give it in an extra plate. For further details see Chabouillet, *Catalogue général*, pp. 357 *et seq.*, No. 2,537.

² *Rhetoribus, grammaticis, medicis, aruspibus, mathematicis, mechanicis, architectis salaria instituit, et auditoria decrevit, et discipulos cum annonis pauperum filios modo ingenios dari jussit. Etiam in provinciis oratoribus forensibus multum detulit, plerisque etiam annonas dedit, quos constitisset gratis agere.* (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 44.)

³ The empress Sallustia Orbiana wearing a diadem; on the reverse, FECVNDITAS TEMPORVM. Orbiana seated; before her, Fecundity kneeling, holding a horn of plenty and carrying two children. (Bronze medallion.)



Sallustia Orbiana, Second Wife of Alexander Severus.³

of nature, this goodness which showed itself in everything, does honour to the man: of the prince other things are demanded. His filial tenderness was weakness when he did not dare to resist his mother, who, troubled by so many catastrophes, sought in heaping up treasure¹ a guarantee against evil days; as if, for her and her son, in case of defeat, there was any other refuge than death. This weakness even becomes odious if, as Herodian relates, it allowed Mammæa to drive from the palace his young bride, who claimed the honours of an *augusta*, and who deserved them;² if he suffered his father-in-law to be put to death for having complained to the administrators of justice of the time—the soldiers of the prætorium—of the outrages which he had received from the empress.³

His regret at not being able to abolish all the imposts is the expression of a woman, or of a courtier of the rabble, and his love for the *Republic* of Plato, the revelation of a mind which the good sense of Horace, his other favourite, did not preserve from fair illusions. The prohibiting senators from investing their money, capitalists from lending at more than three per cent., those whose consciences were disquieted from presenting themselves at the imperial receptions: these moralities, proclaimed by the herald or affixed to edicts, issued from a good disposition; but how was their execution to be assured? The regulations about costumes, to distinguish the orders of citizens, about garments for summer and winter, for fair weather and rain, were other puerilities, of which Ulpian and Paulus surely prescribed very little. Before appointing a functionary, he published his name, and invited the citizens, in case the candidate of the prince had committed some crime, to denounce him, adding, however, that the informer would be punished with death if he did not furnish proof of his accusation. This is a twofold absurdity: a serious government is bound to make

¹ See on this subject the sarcasms of Julian in the *Cæsars*.

² The name of this young woman is not known; but after having repudiated her, Alexander re-married, and though no author has spoken of his second wife, we have coins of hers and an inscription in which she is named with the title of *augusta*: *Gnæa Seia Herennia Sallustia Barbia Orbiana Augusta*. See Eckhel, vii. p. 284, and *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, ii. 3,734.

³ Others accuse the father-in-law of a conspiracy against his son-in-law, which is hardly probable. The catastrophe was doubtless brought about by a woman's quarrel. The young empress may have had the lot of Plautilla, without deserving it, for she loved her husband tenderly. (Herod., vi. 5; Lamprid., *Alex.*, 49.)

its own inquests, and no one was tempted to respond to an appeal which had so terrible a penalty. But Alexander Severus wished to transform the Empire into an ideal republic.

Praise is still lavished on the pious thought which led him to place, in his *lararium*, Apollonius of Tyana by the side of Jesus, Orpheus beside Abraham: a vague religion of humanity, the confused aspirations of which are, however, sufficient for some choice souls. S. Augustine also knew a matron who had constructed a miniature chapel in which she burned incense before the images of Jesus and Paul, of Homer and Pythagoras.¹ These acts of homage to sanctity and genius honour the man, but it was not with a belief so simple that one could direct people eager for the marvellous.

Like the prince whose name and virtues he possessed, the young emperor would have been in private life the foremost of men; in sovereign power he was, far more than Marcus Aurelius, inadequate. This is because the government of human things is a hard task. The great men in this are men of command, those who can comprehend and are of strong will. These qualities were especially necessary in a state such as the Roman Empire, and, it must be acknowledged, Alexander Severus did not possess them. His bust in the Louvre, with its weak and undecided features, suggests a mild-mannered person, incapable of acting, and who seems to stare without seeing. Julian, in the *Cæsars*, shows him sitting in sadness on the steps leading to the hall where the emperors and gods are going to banquet; Silenus mocks at him and his mother, the hoarder of treasure; Justice even consents indeed to chastise his murderers, but she turns away "from the poor fool, the great simpleton, who in a corner bewails his misfortune!"

For several years the soldiery, satiated, had left the Empire at peace. But to preserve discipline among these coarse, greedy, and violent men, who knew their strength and no longer knew the Empire, the magistrates, or the law, would have required a prince who might impress upon them a respectful fear at the same time with obedience, who would keep them in harness, glut them with

¹ *Liber de Hæresibus*, iii. 7.

booty and glory, that is to say, pride. With its mighty army of mercenaries the Empire was condemned to have no more great generals. Severus had been one: Alexander was not. So the civil order, which the former had protected against his soldiers, was ruined by the latter.

It is said that, before renouncing philosophy and the arts, he had consulted the Virgilian lots, and that the poet-prophet had responded by the famous lines:

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane memento.

Lampridius gives to his hero the qualities which these verses demand for the exercise of the sovereign power; he makes of him a fierce defender of the ancient discipline. "The soldiers," he says, "called him Severus on account of his excessive sternness;"¹ and as a proof he shows the population flocking together on the passage of the army, who "took the soldiers for senators,"² seeing the gravity of their mien and the wisdom of their conduct; or else he is citing certain classic reminiscences which the prince utilized. A senator known for his peculations comes and salutes him at the curia; Alexander renews against him the apostrophe of Cicero to Catiline: *O tempora, O mores! vivit, immo in senatum venit!* A legion mutinies; he hurls at it the words of Cæsar: "Retire, Quirites." Some officers, who had not been able to restrain their soldiers, were, it is true, put to death, but at the end of a month the culprit legion was reinstated. They also speak of troops decimated. The following facts do not permit us to give to this reign such a character for severity.

A quarrel arose in Rome between the civilians and the prætorians. Both sides maintained their quarrel;³ but, for the populace to dare to affront the troops, they must have been driven to extremities by many deeds of insolence, and we know that the soldiers were not sparing of them. There was fighting for three days, and many were slain. At last, the prætorians,

¹ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 25.

² *ut non milites sed senatores transire diceret* (*ibid.*, 49).

³ See what is said of the Roman *plebs*, in the appendix to Book lxxix. of Dion, by the anonymous author who has written this passage.

driven from the streets, set fire to the houses; the conflagration threatened to involve the whole city when the two parties consented to desist. It is not known what part the government had in this affair; but we have the right to say that such disorders occur only under a wavering authority, and we may ask ourselves



Alexander Severus. (Bust of the Vatican.)

what the legionaries of the provinces did, if the prætorians, so affectionate to the young prince, conducted themselves in this manner to his face.

Mammæa had at first placed at the head of the prætorians two tried captains, Flavianus and Chrestus; later she also gave them Ulpian for a colleague. These men of war did not relish

finding in the praetorium lawyers who, bringing there the regular habits of magistrates, had the orders executed. The new prefect was displeasing to the cohorts and to their chiefs, who formed a scheme for getting rid of him.¹ Ulpian anticipated them by killing the two prefects and their accomplices. This tragedy provoked another. The whole corps took up the cause of the victims, and Ulpian was several times in danger of death. In a final and formidable riot he took refuge in the palace; the soldiers forced its gates and slew him at the feet of Alexander, who covered him in vain with his imperial purple.² This was in 228. One might already imagine oneself on the shores of the Bosphorus hearing janissaries demand the head of a vizir.

A certain Epagathus, an old confidential agent of Caracalla and Macrinus, had played a part in this catastrophe by inciting the soldiers against Ulpian. He was only a freedman; but they did not dare to punish him for fear of exciting a new revolt. He was charged with a mission to Egypt, then recalled under a pretext into Crete, where the executioner awaited him.³ This seraglio justice would of itself prove the incurable weakness of this government.

The following account of Dion is another indication of this. Our historian was not a great warrior, he ought never to have adopted strong resolutions. Yet when he returned from his government of Pannonia the praetorians found that he had there shown himself too severe in discipline. "They demanded my punishment," he says, "fearing lest they should be submitted to a similar rule." Instead of paying attention to their complaints the emperor gave me the consulate. But the irritation of the praetorians made him fear that, *being me with the insignia of this dignity, they might kill me, and he ordered me to spend the remainder of my term of office at some place in Italy, outside Rome.*⁴ The prudent consul did better: finding that public life was becoming too difficult, he abandoned Rome, Italy, even his

¹ Zosimus, i. 11.

² . . . *quoniam saepe a militum ira obsequio perire non desistit* (Alexander). (Zosimus, Alex., 51.)

³ Dion, lxxx. 2, 4.

⁴ *Id.*, lxxx. 4 and 5.

great book of history, which he closed at this last narration, and with this line of Homer:

"But Jove beyond the encountering arms, the dust,
The carnage, and the bloodshed and the din
Bore Hector."¹

Dion had nothing in common with Hector, but it was from a bloody conflict that he likewise retired.

We here take leave of a colourless writer, a man, however, who, having studied the Republic in its grandeur and its decadence, the Empire under Augustus and Nero, Hadrian and Commodus, was able to follow the logical connection of this history unfolding across the centuries, under the double action of political wisdom and of necessities produced by circumstances. If we inquire what were his sentiments in the matter of government,² we shall see that, in spite of the acts of cruelty which he had related, in spite of those which he himself had witnessed and well-nigh been the victim, Dion was a great partisan of the imperial monarchy. When the emperor was a bad one, they longed for a change of prince, they did not desire a change in the form of government. No one at that time imagined any other, and, it must also be admitted, no other was possible. Dion only asks of the prince that he should be on good terms with the senate, his council. This had previously been the wish of Tacitus, and it had been the practice of the Antonines. Unfortunately, since Caracalla, and more so every day, the prince and the consuls, prefects of the praetorium and senators, were all at the mercy of the soldiers, and the characteristic of such rule is frequency of riotous disturbances.

Revolutions, indeed, broke out everywhere; some of them, says a contemporary, were quite formidable;³ and it was necessary to crush entire legions;⁴ those of Moesopotamia killed their chief, Florian Herulian, and made an emperor, who, to escape from them, threw himself into the Euphrates and was drowned. Another assumed the purple in Carthage. A third tried to assume it at

¹ *Iliad*, ii. 262. (Homer's translation.)

² *Ibid.*, iii. 14 et seq.

³ *Id.*, lxxx. 2. Cf. Zosimus, i. 12.

⁴ Cf. Zosimus, Alex., 51, 52, 53; Herod., vi. 8, 7; *Ann. Vales.*, de Alex., c. 1; Dion, lxxx. 5.

Rome even. In the case of this last, the emperor, informed of it, invites him to the palace, takes him to the senate, to the army, overwhelms him with matters of business and breaks him down with fatigue. After a few days the ambitious person asks leave to return to his house and his obscurity.

These seditions and attempts miscarry, but the Empire is agitated by them, and they afford encouragement to the enemy. In Mauretania Tingitana, on the frontier of *Illyricum* and that of Armenia, invaders have to be repelled; the Germans sack a part of Gaul, and the Persians claim back from the Empire the ancient provinces of Cyrus—Asia as far as the Cyclades.

III.—THE SASSANIDS.

Since the day when Arsan the Brave had revolted against the Seleucidae 470 years¹ had elapsed, a very long duration for an Oriental dynasty. The Parthian monarchy had extended from the Euphrates to the Indus, but the Arsacids, men of shrewdness or force according to the occasion, had nothing of the organizing genius of Rome. They neither established a permanent, and hence regular army, nor an administration binding together the diverse elements of the state so as to form a homogeneous whole. They suffered to exist about them a mighty feudalism,² the cause of constant trouble, and, in the provinces, populations which, having in common with the rest of the Empire nothing except the tribute paid to the great king, retained their customs, their national memories and chiefs; that is to say, the hope and the means of some day regaining their independence. The indignities which Trajan, Avidius Cassius, and Septimius Severus, Caracalla even, had inflicted upon the Parthian monarchy, had destroyed its prestige, which the treaty with Macrinus did not restore.

In the mountains of Persis lived a man of royal blood, Ardeshir or Artaxerxes, regarded as a descendant of Darius, and said to be son or grandson of Sassan, whence the name of his race, the

¹ Or 476 according to other reckonings. Cf. De Sainte-Croix, *Mém. sur le gouvernement des Parthes*, p. 30.

² Dion, xli. 15; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 10, and Herod., vi. 12.

Sassanids.¹ Admitted into the household of the governor of Persis, he attracted notice by his courage and address, gained the favour of the people at the same time as that of his master, and, the latter having been dethroned, he slew his successor, raised a revolt among the Persians, as Cyrus had formerly done, drew in the neighbouring nations, with whom he had by anticipation secured a good understanding, and vanquished the Parthians in three battles. In the last Artabanus was killed, and Ardeshir assumed the tiara (226-227). On the cliff of Nakschi-Roustan, in the environs of Persepolis, one yet sees two warriors engaged in strange combat. It is Ardeshir wresting the diadem from his rival. By consecrating this souvenir near the ancient sanctuary of the Achæmenids, he wished to testify before all eyes that his victory was the restoration of the ancient empire of Cyrus.



Artaxerxes I.²

Oriental monarchies are instituted as rapidly as they decay. In a few years the mountaineers of Persis had come back into the capitals of the first Achæmenids, "and all the kings had put on the sash of submission, suspended from their ears the ring of servitude, and taken upon their shoulders the harness of obedience."³ As successor to a state whose springs of action were worn out by long use, Rome now beheld, along its eastern frontier, an empire abounding in warlike zeal, as these new dominions always do.

The revolution just accomplished was religious as well as political. The Arsacids, subjected to the influence of the civilization which Alexander had carried into Eastern Asia, had become Hellenized. They delighted in the customs of Greece, spoke its

¹ According to Sainte-Croix (*ibid.*, p. 22) the Persians had retained their national chiefs, and Ardeshir, at the moment of revolt, governed the country by virtue of this position.

² Artaxerxes wears the round tiara adorned with the symbol in the form of a caduceus, called *mahrour*. The Pehlvi legend gives the name of the prince. (Cornelian, cut in cabochon, 1 $\frac{2}{100}$ in. high by $\frac{27}{100}$ broad. Gem of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,339.)

³ Mirkhond, *Hist. des Sassanides*, tr. Sylvestre de Sacy, p. 278.

language, adored some of its gods, had the dramas of the great poets of Athens represented at their court,¹ and in the legends on their coins, which were in Greek, they adopted among other titles



Coin of Artaxerxes, bearing on the Reverse a Lighted Pyre.²

that of Philhellenes.² This mental culture disposed them to tolerance, and Christianity had profited by it to penetrate into their provinces. But the tributary nations had preserved the old worship of Irân, Mazdeism: the



Ormuzd.⁵

consecrated fire was always burning on the pyres, and the magi were numerous. They served the cause of him who was announced as the avenger of Ormuzd and the restorer of the laws of Zoroaster. This monotheistic religion, one of those which do most honour to humanity, placed below the infinite being, Ahoura-Mazda, *izeds* or good genii, celestial spirits and ministers of the will of the Most High. Hence it did not require many expressions of flattery to induce the magi to transform a powerful and religious king into a visible *ized*; and Sapor could say, without wounding any one: "Do you not know that I am of the race of the gods?"⁴

In return for the assistance which these priests gave him, Ardeshir accorded them great influence. "He restored," says a Greek historian, "the magi to honour."⁶ This body of clergy, again restored to power, will make intolerance

¹ See vol. iii. p. 248.

² De Sacy, *Mém. sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, p. 44.

³ At the right, the head of Artaxerxes, with the tiara bearing the star, symbol of the sun, and the legend: "The Adorer of Ormuzd . . ." On the reverse, a pyre, from which dart flames. Legend: "The Divine Artaxerxes." Silver coin.

⁴ De Sacy, *Mémoire*, etc., p. 36-41. On the monotheistic character of Mazdeism, see the articles of M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, *Journal des Savants*, June and July, 1878.

⁵ The bust of Ormuzd, surrounded by flames and placed on a pyre. Pehlvi inscription. Annular seal. (Intaglio on veined agate, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter. *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,336.)

⁶ Εξ οὗ καὶ παρὶ Πέρσας οἱ Μάγοι ἐπιδόξοι (Nicéph., *Hist. eccl.*, i. p. 55, ed. of 1630);

the political law of the Sassanids and will let persecution loose against the Christians; but the religious and national zeal of these princes will also give to the new dynasty a vitality and renown which the preceding had not known.¹ As the danger to the Roman Empire is increasing in this quarter, it will be compelled to withdraw its forces from the line of the Rhine and the Danube, in order to fortify that of the Euphrates and the Tigris; and to watch this new enemy from a nearer point, it will end by displacing the centre of its power, by removing its capital from the west to the east.

The war of four centuries which is about to commence between the two empires, is therefore one of those many wars which religious zeal has kindled. It is characterized at first, with regard to both nations, by a return to memories of the expedition of Alexander: on one side admiration and confidence, on the other hatred and maledictions. We have seen Caracalla honouring the memory of the Macedonian hero, the second Severus taking his name, and the legions organizing in phalanx. It seemed as though the shade of the Greek conqueror was going to march before the Roman army to guide it on the road to Ctesiphon. On the other side of the Tigris, this Alexander whose generous soul we are wont to extol, had become to the magi, in their patriotic and religious lament, "the accursed" who slaughtered the nobles and priests, who "burned the books of revelation," and who "is burning in his turn in eternal flames." Even to this day the Parsees do not speak of "Iskender Roumi" except as an abominable tyrant. "After him," said they, "religion was brought low and the faithful into oppression, until king Ardeshir had re-established the true faith."² These conflicting sentiments announce the grandeur of the struggle.

Agathias (bk. ii. pp. 64-5) thinks the same. M. de Harlez (*Avesta*, p. xxxv.) says that Ardeshir was of the race of the magi and himself a magus.

¹ On their coins the Sassanids assume the title of "servant of Ormuzd," and on the reverse they have placed "the altar of fire," a representation and title which are found on the medals of the Arsacids. See De Sacy, *Mém. sur diverses antiq. de la Perse*, pp. 171 et seq.

² See the article of M. James Darmesteter, *la Légende d'Alexandre chez les Perses*, in vol. xxxv. of the *Bibliothèque des Hautes-Études*.

IV.—EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE PERSIANS AND THE GERMANS;
DEATH OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

Before engaging in close contest with the great empire of the West, the son of Sassan turned his weapons against the neighbouring populations of Roman Mesopotamia. He attacked the city of Atræ, the camp of refuge of the Seenite Arabs, against which he was not more fortunate than Trajan and Severus, and he attempted to overthrow the Arsacids of Armenia, who from the summits of their mountains and inaccessible fortresses defied invasion. These expeditions no doubt had but a secondary interest to him, at least this two-fold check did not lessen his hopes, and in 231 he invaded the Roman province.

At this news Alexander and his pacific councillors wrote to the Persian a beautiful letter, full of the most edifying advices. The ravages continued; Nisibis was besieged and the enemy's scouts penetrated as far as Cappadocia. "All these lands belong to me," said Ardeshir, and it seemed as if he was going to take them. There was no alternative at Rome but to resign themselves to war: great preparations were made, and from each province, from each army, went forth detachments who directed their course toward Syria. Alexander quitted his capital in tears, but firmly resolved to do his duty, if not as a soldier, at least as an emperor.¹ He took the route by way of Illyria and Thrace, collecting soldiers on his march, and entered Syria with a large army. He there found the troops given to every disorder and to mutiny; perhaps there had even been a revolt, if the proclamation of an emperor by the army of Mesopotamia may be referred to this time. On the arrival of the prince and reinforcements sent by the legions of Pannonia all became quiet. A phalanx of 30,000 men was organized in remembrance of successes obtained by the phalanx of the Macedonian hero; Alexander even wished his guard to have argyraspides, or shields of silver. Four hundred Persians magnificently dressed and armed came and summoned the emperor to evacuate Asia; he considered the demand insolent, and, refusing

¹ Herodian says (vii. 2) that he was accused of indolence and timidity in war.

to recognize them as ambassadors, he shut them up in Phrygia, where villages and lands were given them, and then entered on the campaign in 232.

At this point accounts differ. According to a contemporary, the emperor divided his forces into three corps: the first took the route by way of Armenia, a country in alliance with the Romans, to penetrate into the territory of the Medes; the second by the desert, to reach the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates and directly threaten Persia; the third marched right on through Upper Mesopotamia, but with extreme delay, for which they accuse Mammæa, who feared to expose her son. The army of the north amassed much booty, suffering however considerable losses and without obtaining any serious result, because this route could not conduct them to the vital parts of the new empire. The Persians opposed slight forces to this somewhat remote attack; they concentrated against the army of the south, which was crushed, then against that of the centre, which, composed in great part of soldiers accustomed, on the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, to cold and dampness, was prostrated by the dry and burning heat of the desert. Under this climate, which requires sobriety, "the Illyrians" drank and ate



Julia Mammæa as Venus Pudica.

¹ Museum of the Louvre. Statue in Pentelican marble, formerly assigned to Julia Soemias. The antique head is reproduced; the attributes of Ceres have been added by a modern artist. The empresses were often represented in the character of Venus. The Museum of Naples possesses a hall styled that of the Venuses, which are portraits rather than ideal figures.

as in Germany: this error in diet decimated them; the mortality brought on the plague, and it became necessary to fall back after a few successes of doubtful value. Alexander himself fell sick from fatigue and anxiety. As in the time of Antony, the retreat of the army of the north across the mountains of Armenia was disastrous, and the Roman corpses again strewed the ways of this country in the year 233. But they made no account of the dead. These soldiers, recruited among the barbarians¹ and the dregs of the Roman population, left behind them neither relatives nor friends



Dead Persian Warrior. (Marble of the Museum of Naples.)

deploring their death, and it was easy by means of largesses to persuade the survivors that they had just completed a skilful and victorious campaign.

In truth, neither side was vanquished. The Persians might congratulate themselves on a great success, but Mesopotamia, guarded by the fortresses of Severus, was not encroached upon, not a particle of Roman territory was conquered; and, if they had exterminated one imperial army, if they had stopped the advance of another, it was not without having suffered considerable losses. So, as soon as the danger of a Roman invasion had disappeared, their irregular troops dispersed, each carrying home his booty. Yet the Persians had not attained their purpose, and the Romans

¹ The army which Alexander subsequently led into Gaul was composed of barbarians: *Omnis apparatus . . . potentissimus quidem per Armenios et Osroënos et Parthos et omnis generis hominum* (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 61). Herodian (vi. 17) adds that many Moors were also found in it.

had fulfilled theirs. So far from being conquered, Roman Asia was delivered. The victory unquestionably remained with those who had obtained the result which they desired. But the two empires had come into collision once more without either of them crushing the other, and it continued so until a new element, the religious and aggressive fanaticism of the Arabs, changed the conditions of the struggle.

The second account is a song of triumph for the Romans.

Extract from the acts of the senate, the seventh day before the kalends of October; speech of the prince:

"Conscript Fathers, we have vanquished the Persians. A long discourse is unnecessary; it is only of importance that you should know what were their forces and their preparations. They had 700 elephants bearing towers filled with archers. We have captured 300 of them; 200 were killed on the spot; we have led hither eighteen. They had 1,000 chariots armed with scythes; we might have brought 200 of them, the horses of which have perished, but we did not think it necessary, because it would have been easy to present others to you. We have defeated 120,000 horsemen, and killed during the war 10,000 of their cataphracts.² We have captured a great number of Persians, whom we have sold. We have reconquered all the territory which is between the two rivers, Mesopotamia, which the licentious Elagabalus had allowed to be lost. We have put to rout this king Artaxerxes, whom his renown and his forces rendered so formidable; and the land of the Persians has witnessed his flight, abandoning his ensigns in the same localities where we had once lost ours. This, Conscript Fathers, is what we have done. The soldiers come back rich; victory makes them forget their fatigue; it is for you now to decree supplications in testimony of our gratitude to the gods." (September 25th, 233.)



Coin Commemorative of the Congiary given by Alexander Severus.¹

¹ LIBERALITAS AVGVSTI V SC. Alexander seated upon a stage; behind, the prefect of the prætorium and a soldier; before, Liberty; at the bottom, a citizen mounting the steps. (Large bronze. Cohen, No. 288.)

² Cavaliers covered with defensive armour from head to foot. See Amm. Marcellin., xvi. 10.

On the morrow, in memory of this grand success, a congiary was given to the people and they celebrated the Persian games. The eighteen elephants which were displayed there led them to believe in the 300 which they pretended to have captured.¹ There could then be no doubt of it: Rome had now renewed the glory of Severus and Trajan.²

Rome, at least, had an interest in this bulletin of victory being credited. Germany was uneasy. Seeing the dismantling of the camps which barred the route to Gaul and to Illyria, the barbarians had found the occasion propitious for renewing their acts of brigandage. For a long while the line of the Rhine had ceased to be threatened, so much so, that in place of the eight legions which the first emperor had kept in this quarter, they now retained only four. It had therefore been easy for the Germans to pass between the enfeebled garrisons and extend their ravages into Gaul. Hence, while waiting until the Illyrians should have returned from the East, it was well to have their return preceded by the report of a great victory. They were quite certain that the words pronounced in the senate would resound on the Rhine border.

Several months were employed in reorganizing the forces of the West, and in 234³ Alexander set out for Gaul. After reaching the environs of Mayence with his mother, he made another effort

¹ Perhaps there may have been none at all. Lampridius (57) speaks of a car of triumph drawn by four elephants; the medals only show a chariot and four horses. (Eckhel, vii. 276.) On his side, Ardeshir attested his victory to his subjects by causing gold coins to be struck. The emperors permitted neither the provinces nor their allies to emit gold coin, the aurei with the emperor's effigy were alone in circulation; the Roman merchants could accept no others, and all trade was conducted with these coins. Procopius relates that Justinian declared war against the Arabs because they had paid the tribute in pieces of gold not bearing the imperial likeness. (*De Bello Goth.*, iii. 33; Zonaras, xiv. 22.) In the interest of the commercial relations of their subjects the Arsacids had been obliged to submit to this necessity, and had not had gold money. The Sassanids fabricated it, but in small quantity. (Mommson, *Hist. de la monnaie romaine*, tr. Blacas, p. 16.)

² An inscription recently deciphered at Kef (Sicca Veneria), in Tunis (*Bullet. épigr. de la Gaule*, 1883, p. 3) mentions an offering of the *splendidissimus ordo* of the decurions, *Fortune Reduci Aug.*, for the triumphal return of Alexander Severus. This inscription, and another of Pesth, leads us to think that Mammæa had accompanied her son into the East, as she followed him in the expedition against the Germans; this persistence "of the avaricious mother" in remaining always at the side of the prince was no doubt one of the causes of the catastrophe which cost both of them their lives.

³ *Profectio Aug.* (Eckhel, vii. 277). Lampridius (*Alex.*, 60) pretends that a Druidess told him, *Gallico sermone*, not to expect victory and not to rely on his soldiers. The Druids had fallen to the rank of sorcerers, telling fortunes. It is known that Aurelian and Diocletian consulted them to know the future.

to avoid war. He proposed peace to the Germans, gold and presents of all kinds, greatly to the disaffection of his soldiers, who wanted to keep this gold for themselves. In the army there was at that time a chief named Maximin, who had been born in the most barbarous part of Thrace.

At first a shepherd, he had become a soldier, and by his lofty stature and strength he attracted attention, and had risen from grade to grade up to the command of the new levies, whose drilling Alexander had confided to him. These recruits were for the most part rough and coarse Pannonians like himself, but wholly devoted to a man who possessed their qualities and their faults, and on the contrary filled with contempt for the tranquil virtues of the emperor. Furthermore, they reckoned that the reign of Alexander had lasted long enough, that the recent war had exhausted his treasury, the remainder of which the avarice of Mammæa kept under lock and key; that, in short, there would be every advantage in a change of



Alexander Severus.¹

princes, since the new one would pay richly for his dignity, especially if they should choose Maximin, who, without noble birth or illustrious record, would owe everything entirely to them. One day they threw a purple mantle over his shoulders and marched in arms towards the imperial residence. At their approach Alexander ordered his guards to go and apprehend the culprit; they hesitate, then refuse, and allow the assassins to enter, who put to death the son and the mother;²

¹ Statue of heroic size, in Grecian marble. (Museum of Naples.)

² In the seventeenth century there was discovered at Rome, near the Porta San Giovanni Gate, the sarcophagus of Alexander Severus and Mammæa. (Cf. below, p. 313.) The bas-

or, as Herodian says, "the parsimonious woman and the pusillanimous child;"¹ some accounts make him die a cowardly death. (March 19th, 235.)

Alexander had reigned thirteen years, though his age was only twenty-six.² He is the last of the Syrian princes. If among them we reckon Severus, on account of the influence exercised over him by Julia Domna, this dynasty had ruled the Empire more than forty years: a brief space of time which was marked by great events and bloody tragedies, but during which completely disappeared what was left of the Roman blood and spirit. But for the juriconsults, who preserved the especially Roman science, the customs and beliefs make us feel in the midst of an Asiatic monarchy. The Empire is inclining to the Orient, and soon will be lost in it.

The respect of Alexander for Abraham and Jesus, and the ancient relations of his mother with Origen, had rendered him favourable to the Jews and the Christians.³ The latter enjoyed during his reign a profound peace and a sort of legal existence. In a contest which the Church of Rome had with some inn-keepers in the matter of some public land, he pronounced in favour of the Christians: "Better," said he, "that this locality should become a place of prayer than a place of debauchery."⁴ He had been struck with the manner in which the Church proceeded at its sacerdotal elections, and for a moment thought of imitating it for

reliefs placed above the figures of the emperor and his mother represent: the dispute of Achilles and Agamemnon; the imprisonment of Chryseis; Achilles preparing to avenge the death of Patroclus; finally, Priam demanding the body of his son. This sarcophagus, which we give on page 313, contained what is called the "Portland Vase," in blue glass with white ornaments, now in the British Museum. We reproduce it in an extra plate.

¹ Julian, in the *Cæsars*, repeats this judgment.

² Or twenty-nine years and some months, according to Lampridius. There are doubts as to the precise date of his death. Eckhel (vii. 282) inclines to the beginning of July. To the reign of Alexander is referred an inscription of the *Fratres Arvales* describing a curious expiatory sacrifice, because the lightning had struck down some trees of the sacred grove of the goddess Dia. Among other victims immolated *ante Cæsareum genio d. n. Severi Alexandri Aug.* was found a *taurus auratus; item divi num. XX ververices XX*. These *divi* are, from another inscription of the year 183: Augustus, Julia (Livia), Claudius, Poppæa, Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Sabina, Antoninus, Faustina the Elder, L. Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina the Younger, and since Commodus, Commodus himself, Pertinax, Severus, and Caracalla. (Orelli, No. 961, after Marini, *Atti de' fratelli Arvati*, pl. 43, p. 167.)

³ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 49. This was the very expression of the Gospel: *domus mea domus orationis*.



Emilia del Daddo pinxit

Imp. T. railley

Damourez chromolith

THE PORTLAND VASE

FOUND IN THE SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS

the functions of state.¹ Of this thought there only remained, as we have seen, the invitation given to the people to denounce the faults of the candidates proposed for the offices. Lampridius pretends that Alexander wanted to build a temple to Christ, to enrol him in the ranks of the gods, and that the priests dissuaded him from it, declaring, on the faith of the sacred books, that if he executed this project, the other temples would be abandoned.² That might be said of Constantine, but could not be of the son of Mammaea, the Christians at that time not being sufficiently numerous to inspire this apprehension. However, they profited by the tolerance of Alexander to build their first churches, which are shortly afterwards mentioned by Origen.³

Of Mammaea they have also made a Christian; a singular Christian, this empress called on her coins the beneficent Juno, to whom the senate decreed an apotheosis, and for whom they instituted a festival which the pagans celebrated as late as the fourth century!⁵ Like her son, she had desired to become acquainted with the new faith,⁶ and many had that curiosity. Eusebius relates that a governor of the province of Arabia requested the bishop of Alexandria and the prefect of Egypt to send Origen to him, that he might confer with him about the new doctrine.⁷

The reign of this young and unfortunate prince, to whom in spite of his weakness we must accord a peculiar regard, was then the moment when the past and the future, the two great social forces, could come together without mingling, and live in peace until the transformation should be effected.⁸ In fact, a compromise was not impossible between the Empire, now become disdainful



Coin of Mammaea in the Likeness of Juno.⁴

¹ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 45.

² *Id.*, *ibid.*, 42.

³ *In Matth. hom.*, xxviii. Origen says that they were burned, probably during the reign of Maximin.

⁴ IVNO CONSERVATRIX. Juno standing, holding a patera and a sceptre; a peacock is at her feet. Reverse of a silver coin.

⁵ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 26. All her medals are pagan.

⁶ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 21.

⁷ *Id.*, *ibid.*, vi. 19.

⁸ Zonaras (xii. 16) pretends that there were many Christians at the court of Alexander: πολλοὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀλ. οἶκον ἦσαν τῶν Χριστῶν ἐπεγνωκότες θεόν. Mangold, *de Ecclesia primæva pro Cæsaribus ac magistratibus rom. preces fundente*, 1851, thinks that in the first two

of its old divinities, and a Christianity which would have been respectful towards the established order. The one accepting religious tolerance as its rule of government, the other, satisfied with the liberty allowed it, continuing peaceably to win souls, but not gaining power by violence; making conquest of the world by virtue of moral truth and not as a victorious party which establishes itself by force in the positions from whence it has dislodged its adversaries. Unhappily, the revolutions of this world are not effected with this wisdom. The spirit of Tertullian has replaced in the Church that of Clement, and in the State the violent will also succeed the pacific. On both sides, force will be employed; by Diocletian, in the name of the gods; by the successors of Constantine, in the name of Christ, and the Empire will be shaken to its foundations.

centuries liturgical prayers for the emperors and magistrates were said in the Christian communities.

¹ This Medusa is carved on the outside of the famous cup of Oriental sardonyx, known as the Tassa Farnese. It was found near the Castle of S. Angelo (Hadrian's Tomb), or at the Tiburtine Villa, and is now in the Museum of Naples.



Medusa, or Aegis.¹

TWELFTH PERIOD.

MILITARY ANARCHY (235-268 A.D.). BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE.

CHAPTER XCIV.

SEVEN EMPERORS IN FOURTEEN YEARS (235-249 A.D.).

I.—MAXIMIN (235-238); GORDIAN I. AND GORDIAN II.; PUPIENUS AND BALBINUS (238).

AS the Roman aristocracy and the provincial nobles abandoned military service, the sons of barbarians entered it, and, reaching the higher grades, disposed of the troops and consequently of the Empire.

Caius Julius Verus Maximinus by his father's side belonged to the Getæ; by his mother's, to the Alani. When Severus, on his return from Asia in the year 202, traversed Thrace, he celebrated, on occasion of a festival, the usual military games. Maximin, whose herculean strength had made him famous among his comrades, was matched against some of the emperor's attendants, and conquered sixteen of them in succession. This prowess gained him the honour of being at once enlisted in the army. Three days later, seeing the emperor pass on horseback at full gallop, he kept pace with him on foot. Severus continued the race for some time, then proposed to him to take part in a wrestling match, fatigued as he was. Immediately Maximin threw seven of the most active soldiers one after another, and upon this received the gold collar and was admitted to the guards. This new Ajax,

who was as brave as he was strong, rose rapidly through the grades, but would serve neither under Macrinus, who had killed the son of his benefactor, nor under Elagabalus, whom he despised—two praiseworthy sentiments which should be set down to his



Maximin.¹ (Museum of Naples.)



Maximus (Son of Maximin).²

credit. He re-entered the army in the reign of Alexander, who made him tribune with the rank of senator. The rest of the story is well-known. Disgusted with an emperor, whom his mother held in leading-strings, the troops were eager to have a true soldier at their head, and they made choice of the man who possessed all the physical qualities of one—strength, agility, and dexterity.³ His

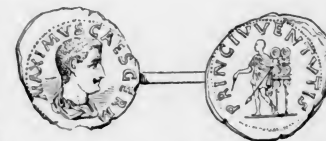
¹ Heroic statue, the antique head preserved. (Luni marble.)

² Statue of Greek marble, the antique head restored.

³ I make no mention of the extravagant stories of his strength and voracity. They are credible only on the supposition that Maximin was a morbid case of polyphagy, of which Létourneau gives such curious instances in his *Physiologie des passions*.

son Maximus, not yet twenty years of age,¹ was saluted Caesar and prince of the Roman youth.

The extraordinary fortune to which Maximin had attained did not remove from his mind the consciousness of his own unworthiness, and placed him in an attitude of hostility towards all who possessed what he had never had, ancestors, a name, education, and wealth. He dared not appear in Rome. This



Maximus, Caesar and Prince of the Youth.²

city full of glorious memories, this senate of which he was not yet an actual member,³ an assembly remaining still the shadow of a great reality, intimidated the barbarian. The friends and councillors of Alexander, all his household, and among this number many Christians, were at once put to death; soon after a conspiracy, real or feigned, cost the life of Magnus, an ex-consul, and of several other persons.⁴ In the army were many troops of African and Asiatic origin, Osroenian and Armenian archers, Moors armed with javelins, Parthians who had fled from the Persian dominion, all devoted to the dynasty which had arisen out of Leptis and Emesa. The favourite of the Pannonians and the murderer of Alexander was doubly odious to them; it was their desire to overthrow him and proclaim as emperor, against his will, an ex-consul whom one of his friends assassinated through spite at not having had the preference himself. This murder disorganized the rebellion; new victims fell, and



Germans concealing themselves among Rushes. (Column of Antoninus.)

¹ Maximus was killed in his eighteenth or in his twenty-first year. (Capit., *Max.*, 1.)

² MAXIMVS CAES. GERM., around the bare head of the prince. On the reverse, PRINC. IVVENTVTIS. Maximus standing, holding a wand and a javelin; behind, two standards. (Silver coin. Cohen, No. 4.)

³ *Neque ipse senator esset* (Eutrop., ix. 1).

⁴ Capitolinus says, four thousand. (*Max.*, 10.)

Maximin made haste to seek sanction for his power by gaining a victory over the Germans.

These barbarians made no resistance to a serious attack. Abandoning to the Romans their harvests and their wooden houses, which were burned, they took refuge in the depths of forests, whither they believed the legions would not dare to follow them, and in marshes through which they alone knew the way. Maximin, however, pursued them into these retreats, killed a considerable number of them and sent to the senate, with his letters announcing the victory, a picture representing himself as fighting surrounded by enemies, while the horse upon which he is seated is



Maximinus Germanicus.¹

half buried in the mud. He asserted that he had ravaged the country over a space of 400 miles. Other wars, of which we have no particulars, gave him the titles of Dacicus and Sarmaticus. From Sirmium, which he had made the

centre of his operations, he commanded the line of the Carpathians, and proposed to penetrate as far as the northern seas: this son of the Goths was desirous of crushing that barbarism whence he had himself emerged.²

A design like this, and a life passed in the camps of the Danube in rigorous climates, give the man a certain savage grandeur. But the senators left idle in the curia, the languid dwellers in Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, who, from the recesses of their luxurious villas could not discern the perils that the north concealed in its mysterious depths, and the populace, deprived of their wonted pleasures, were indignant at the affront offered to the imperial purple. Maximin was called the Cyclops, the Busiris, the wild beast; men openly desired his death, and in the theatre verses were declaimed like these: "The elephant is huge, but men kill him; the lion is strong, but men kill him; the tiger is

¹ Laurelled head of Maximin. On the reverse, Maximin and his son, standing, holding a victory. Between them, two kneeling captives. (Large bronze of the *Cabinet de France*.)

² In 256 he assumed the title of Germanicus (Eckhel, vii. 291). His victories over the Germans belong therefore to that year.

terrible, but men kill him. Beware of all, thou who fearest none; for what one alone cannot do, many together can." The rude soldier gave back contempt for contempt to the effeminate revilers whose hands could not grasp the sword, to these crowds living on charity and public games, who had never seen other blood flow than that of gladiators, while the emperor replied by sentences of death to those who insulted him. Notwithstanding the efforts of the empress, who strove vainly to soften this savage disposition,¹ murders and confiscations multiplied, and hatred increased against the Thracian who dared to say openly that an Empire like this could be governed only by the most uncompromising severity.

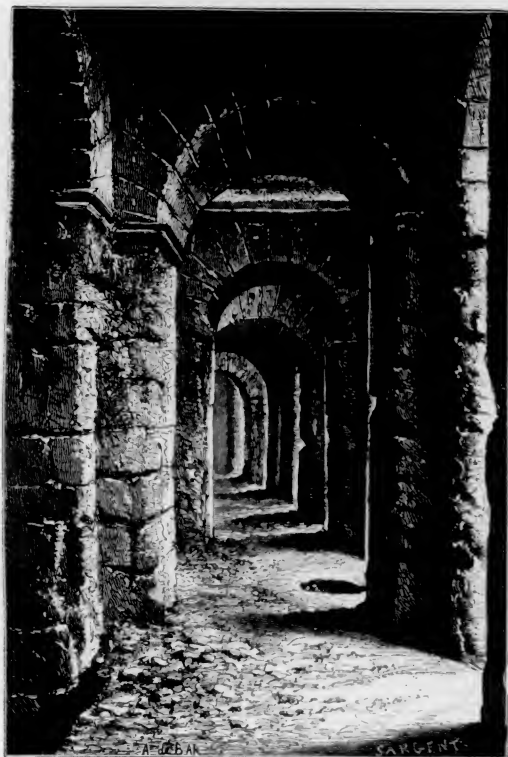
This hatred Maximin discerned everywhere, even amidst flatteries, and his cruelty only increased in consequence. Those even who had aided his fortunes became guilty of having known his humble beginnings, and he caused these embarrassing witnesses of his obscurity to disappear. As there was safety for him nowhere except with the army, he gorged it with gold, and the public treasury not furnishing enough, he pillaged cities and temples, coined the statues of the gods into money and confiscated the funds destined for games and distributions; citizens were slain while endeavouring to defend the statues of their divinities. A catastrophe was becoming inevitable, and an eclipse of the sun which occurred at this time was believed to announce it.

About the middle of February, 238,² an insurrection of peasants broke out in Africa. One of the most obnoxious of the agents of this fiscal tyranny, the procurator of the province of Carthage, had condemned many landowners of Thysdrus to fines which were ruinous to them. They applied for a delay of three days, and employed that time in calling in from the adjacent country their

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xiv. 1.

² This period presents serious chronological difficulties, which have been removed by Eckhel (vii. 293-5), and by Borghesi (*Sull' imp. Pupiano*, in his Works, v. pp. 488 *et seq.*), and especially by L. Renier. In the latter's memoir upon the inscriptions of the Gordians, he establishes, moreover, that Capellianus was in command in Numidia, and not, as has been always believed, in Mauretania; that the Third Augustan legion was disbanded after its defeat: that the true name of Balbinus was Decimus Caelius Galvinus Balbinus (no inscription had given it until that of Bouhira, recently discovered); that, finally, a rescript inserted in the *Code* (ii. 10, 2) proves that Pupienus and Balbinus were dead by the tenth before the kalends of July (June 22). In the reorganization of Africa by Gordian III. the Numidian lieutenantcy was suppressed, and Cæsarian Mauretania became, and remained until the time of Valerian, a prætorian province, governed by a legate who commanded the entire army in the African provinces.

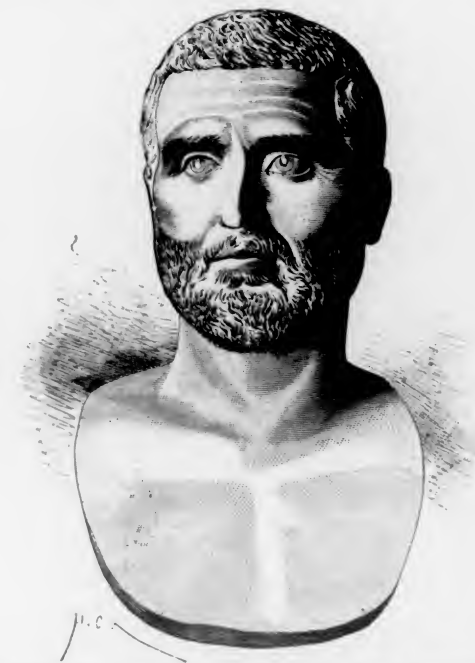
husbandmen, who entered the city by night, armed with clubs and hatchets concealed under their clothing. At break of day the conspirators with this band attacked the dwelling of the proconsul, killed him, and then hastening to the dwelling of the procurator, who was at this time in Thysdrus, they invested him with a purple robe, and, in spite of his reluctance, proclaimed him



Thysdrus (El-Djem): View of a Circular Gallery in the Amphitheatre or Colosseum.

Augustus. Gordian was the person of highest rank in the Empire. He was said to be a descendant of the Gracchi; his mother, Ulpia Gordiana, belonged to the family of Trajan; and his wife was the great-granddaughter of Antoninus Pius. He was, moreover, a scholar, a poet, and a man of integrity; he had immense wealth, but he was eighty years of age, and content with having passed through so many revolutions without loss of life or fortune, this

assiduous reader of Plato and Aristotle, of Cicero and Virgil,¹ would have been glad to end his days peacefully. But the choice was not allowed him. Moreover to touch the imperial purple,



The Elder Gordian. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 64.)

though but for a moment, was to be like him of old who laid hand upon the Ark, his life must be the penalty.

Gordian accepted, and Carthage, which had not seen an emperor since Hadrian, received with transport the new Augustus. He associated with himself his son, who had been one of his

¹ Gordian had composed a poetical Antoniniad. Capitolinus thus describes one of his palaces: "In their villa, which yet stands upon the Praenestine road, may be seen a tetrastyle temple of two hundred columns, of which fifty are of Carystian marble, fifty of Claudian, and fifty of Numidian; there are also three basilicas a hundred feet in length, and thermae, which are surpassed in beauty only by those of Rome." (*Gord.*, 32.) "While aedile, Gordian gave at his own expense twelve spectacles, one each month, where gladiators in number from three hundred to a thousand were engaged. On one occasion he let loose in the amphitheatre a hundred wild beasts of Libya; another time, a thousand bears. At the August games he furnished to the populace two hundred stags, thirty wild horses, ten elands, a hundred Cyprus bulls, three hundred ostriches, thirty wild asses, a hundred and fifty wild boars, two hundred chamois, and two hundred deer." (*Ibid.*, 3.)

lieutenants, and immediately despatched emissaries to Rome with letters for the consuls, the senate, the people, and the prætorians, and assassins to destroy the prætorian prefect, the pitiless agent of the cruelties of Maximin. They also were to spread the false



The Younger Gordian. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 65.)

rumour that the emperor had been murdered in camp in Pannonia. The prefect being attacked unawares was stabbed in his own tribunal. In his letter to the senate Gordian declared that he would submit to the decision of that august assembly. Since the time of the true Antonines the Conscript Fathers had not heard language like this. It gave them courage, and without waiting to

see if the imperial offices were really vacant, they decreed them to the two Gordians, father and son, in a secret session¹ (March, 238). The people were, for once, of the same mind with the senate; a ruler who scorned to come to Rome appeared to them false to all his duties. They rejoiced therefore at the report of Maximin's death, and welcomed with acclamations the emperor whom the Fathers had given them. The revolution would have failed of its chief interest if it had been on paper only; a sanguinary reaction smote the officers and partisans of the Thracian and the informers who had served his cruelty. Under this pretext every man rid himself of an enemy, and debtors murdered their creditors. The prefect of the city perished in one of these tumults.



Unique Inscription of the Elder Gordian.²
(Museum of Bordeaux.)

Meanwhile messengers had been sent out to communicate to the provinces the impulse which had begun with Rome and Carthage. Their despatches, written in the name of the senate and the Roman people, called upon the nations to succour the common country and acknowledge the two rulers who had just freed the world of a wild beast.³ Maximin at first ridiculed these new "Carthaginians," and promised his soldiers that this revolt of the senate should give them rich booty. There was, in truth, nothing of Hannibal in the Carthage of the time, and when the Numidian legate, Capellianus, arrived from Lambesa and Thevestes with his legion, the Third Augustan, the citizens who had come out to oppose him gave way at sight of the Numidian horse, and in their precipitate flight

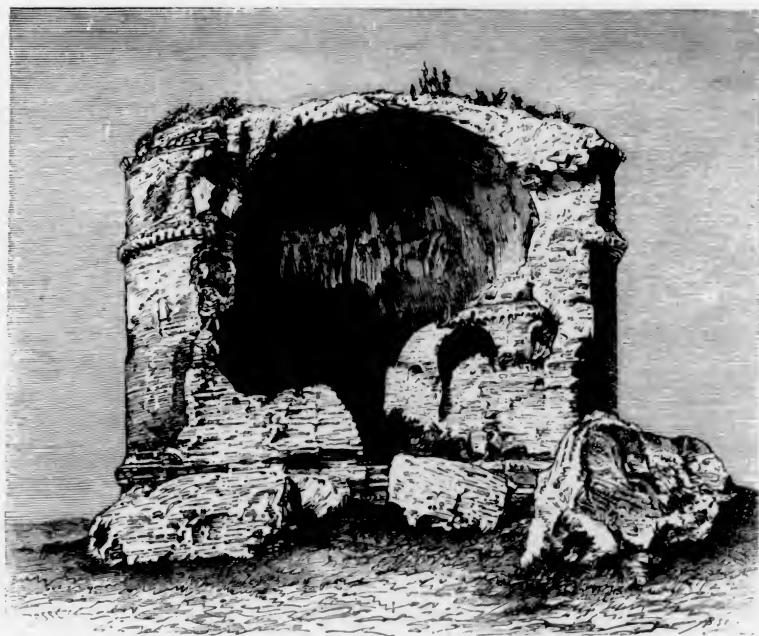
¹ For a *senatus-consultum tacitum*, the scribes and attendants, all, in fact, who were not senators, went out of the curia, and the members of the senate themselves prepared the reports and decrees.

² From the restoration by M. Ch. Robert, in vol. iv. of *Mémoires de la Société archéolog. de Bordeaux*.

³ The letter is addressed: *proconsulibus, præsidibus, legatis, ducibus, tribunis, magistratibus, ac singulis civitatibus, et municipiis et oppidis et vicis et castellis*. (Capit., Mar., 15.) The two Maximins were at the same time declared public enemies, and a reward offered to any person who should kill them. (*Ibid.*, 16.)

crushed one another in the gates of the city.¹ The younger Gordian was slain in the tumult, and his aged father in despair took his own life; the two had reigned a few days over a month. This news struck consternation at Rome. Embarked in so terrible an enterprise the senate could not fall back; it was compelled to be either the victim or the executioner.

Ideas which later were more fully developed had begun at



Ruins of the Tomb of the Gordians (from a Photograph by Parker).

this time to germinate. In the time of Caracalla Herodian had believed that a division of the Empire was possible. In the deliberation which took place after the arrival of the news from Africa, a senator proposed the appointment of two emperors, one to remain at Rome and have charge of civil affairs, the other to be with the army for the direction of military operations. This was the system which Diocletian carried out. The proposal was well

¹ Capitolinus (*Max.*, 19) speaks, however, of an *acerrima pugna*.

received, and the senate proclaimed two *Augusti*, Pupienus,¹ a military man, and Balbinus, who had won honour in the civil career. To render these powers absolutely equal, the title of Pontifex Maximus, which had never before been shared, was given to both, and the two Gordians were pronounced *divi*.

A great crowd had gathered outside the Capitol when the senate was in session.

At the news of the decision a violent clamour was raised, especially against Pupienus, who as governor of the city had severely repressed those infractions of the public order that the



The Two Gordians, proclaimed *divi*.²

lower classes so willingly commit or excuse. Accordingly, when the new emperors with their suite attempted to go the imperial palace, they were driven back into the Capitol. The Gordians being extremely rich had many adherents who had proposed to derive advantage for themselves from their reign. Of this family there remained a boy—grandson through his mother of the proconsul of Africa³—who was at this time in Rome. Upon the elevation of



Gordian III. Caesar. (Silver Coin bearing on the reverse the legend: *Pietas Augg.* Cohen, No. 73.)

his grandfather and uncle the senate had given him the prætorship and the title of Caesar, although he was but twelve years of age. After the African disaster men were in request, and the boy was forgotten, but those whose interests were concerned had not forgotten him, and they instigated the mob, who by their clamour

¹ Their names were: *M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus* and *Decimus Caelius Balbinus*. The latter claimed descent from Balbus, the Spaniard, the friend of Pompey and Caesar.

² Medallion of bronze struck at Ægæ in Cilicia, confirming the apotheosis decreed by the senate: *quos ambo senatus augustos appellavit, et postea inter divos retulit*. On the obverse, the laurelled heads of the two Gordians facing each other; the legend (in Greek): The Divine Gordians, the venerable Roman, African, Augusti. On the reverse, an eagle upon an altar, and: The inhabitants of Ægæ, Severiani, Hadriani, the neocoros city (having a temple of the Augusti), the navarchia (having a marine arsenal), in the year of Ægæ 284 (238 A.D.).

³ An Algerian inscription (L. Renier, No. 1,431) calls him *divi Gordiani nepos et divi Gordiani sororis filius*. To the same effect, Herodian, vii. 27.

forced the senate to renew the decree naming the young Gordian Caesar.

So Rome had three emperors; but she had civil war



Balbinus. (Bust of the Capitol.)

nevertheless. Maximin had left in the city only a few prætorian veterans, and this soldiery, whose insolence we have often mentioned, was always regarded with ill-will by the nobles and the populace. One day two of these soldiers, unarmed and as spectators, entering the temple where the Conscrip Fathers were deliberating,

passed beyond the altar of Victory, a serious breach of etiquette. To this they added some insolent demeanour, or possibly some threatening language in the name of their emperor: the exact offence is not known; but an exasperated senator stabbed them both, then rushing out into the open square held up his bloody dagger, exclaiming that it must needs be that these enemies of the



Maximin. (Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

senate and of the Roman people perish. The crowd fell upon the prætorians who chanced to be in the city; many were killed, and the remainder shut themselves into their camp, which the gladiators belonging to the nobles vainly sought to take by attack; these old soldiers made a strong resistance, and at times sallied out with great slaughter among their assailants. To restore peace Balbinus issued edicts and entreaties, but he was driven out of the tumult with sticks and stones, but without intentional injury. The affair

was a private quarrel between town and camp, of a kind often seen before and since in military governments. The citizens finally cut off the water supply of the camp, hoping to force the prætorians



Pupienus. (Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

to open their gates. The latter did indeed open them, but it was to fall upon the mob with levelled pikes, and pursue them into the city, where the combat went on. Assailed in the narrow streets by stones hurled down upon them from the roofs, the soldiers set fire to the houses, and in the midst of the conflagration

soldiers and populace became reconciled, while uniting to plunder whatever the flames had spared. A great part of the city was destroyed.

Maximin now found himself in the position in which Severus had been forty-five years before; but he did not show the prudence of the African emperor, and his army, having no supplies awaiting them along the road, advanced slowly. It is true the disposition of the provincials was no longer the same; the inhabitants fled at the approach of Maximin and his barbarians, and the cities which he entered were empty of men and provisions.¹

The senate had time therefore to raise troops in Italy, to fortify positions, and to cut the roads. The fleet of Ravenna had carried off or destroyed all the coast vessels, and allowed nothing to arrive by way of the Adriatic for the army of Pannonia.² Twenty ex-consuls had divided Italy among themselves, to make it a fortress as it were, and from Ravenna, where he had collected his army, Pupienus directed the movements of all. This city, the Venice of the Romans, afforded him an excellent strategic position. Thence he kept guard over Upper Italy and the lower course of its two great rivers, the Po and the Adige; his fleet kept him in communication with Aquileia, and he covered the road to Rome. The Italians cordially aided his preparations; they felt that they were about to fight for the old renown of Italy against a fresh invasion of the Cimbri. The gods were made to speak: in Aquileia the auspices declared that Belenus promised success.³ Moreover, good news came in from the provinces. Most of them had declared for the senate, and the legions which remained faithful, especially those of the Rhine where Pupienus had been in command, sent him detachments which enabled him to officer a considerable number of recruits. In Africa, Capellianus, after his victory at Carthage, had pillaged the province to enrich his soldiers, to prepare his own way to the imperial power if Maximin should be overthrown.⁴ But the governor of Mauretania defeated and killed him; the Third Augustan legion was disbanded; its name was effaced from the

¹ *Sublatis omnibus quæ victum præbere possent* (Capit., *Max.*, 21).

² Capit., *Max.*, 23.

³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 22; Herod., viii. 7.

⁴ Capit., *Max.*, 19. Cf. L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 3,177.

monuments it had erected, and the troops remaining were sent into Rhaetia.¹ Maximin, therefore, remained isolated.²

When he reached the banks of the Isonzo, the torrent, swelled by the melting of the snows, rolled broad and rapid, and the fine



Sarcophagus of a Centurion of the Third Augustan Legion.³ (Museum of the Louvre.)

stone bridge which spanned it had been broken down. Here the army was detained for several days while rafts were constructed from casks and planks found in the deserted houses.

On the opposite side, some miles distant from the stream, was Aquileia, the real gateway into Italy on this side. Whether

¹ This legion was reconstituted about the year 253, in the reign of Valerian, whom it, with the whole Rhaetian army, had aided in obtaining the imperial power.

² . . . orbem terrarum consensisse in odium Maximini (Capit., Mar., 23).

³ White marble, found among the tombs along the Appian Way. It represents eleven Loves forging arms, in allusion to the employment of the centurion: *Blaera Vitalis* (centurio) leg. III. AVG. B. M. M. D. [Bene Merenti Mater Dedit?]. (C. I. L., vol. vi. No. 3,645.) "The artists of the Roman epoch were accustomed to treat religious traditions lightly, and attribute to Loves or to children certain occupations which in reality only belong to grown men. In this class of ideas the sarcophagus under consideration is one of the most instructive." (Frühner, *Notice*, etc., No. 341, and p. 321; also Henry d'Escamps, *Descr. des marbres du musée Camp.*, pl. 108.)

Maximin should take it, or whether its inhabitants should allow him to traverse it with his famished hordes, in either case the great and wealthy city would be ruined. Accordingly these descendants of Roman colonists had resolved to make a desperate resistance. They closed the gaps in their walls, amassed immense quantities of provisions, and prepared all military supplies. The women, copying famous examples, had given their hair to make rope, an act consecrated by a temple built in Rome to the Venus of the shaven head. Two ex-consuls, one formerly a *dux* in Mœsia, and a very able soldier, conducted the defence. There were but few troops in the city, but all the inhabitants enrolled themselves as a garrison, and the bravest of the neighbouring country people had thrown themselves into the place.

They were able to defeat all designs and to repel all attacks, and set on fire the besieging machines employed by the enemy. Maximin, exasperated by these repeated defeats, finally put to death the officers who had so unsuccessfully conducted his affairs. Great indignation was aroused at this unjust conduct; provisions, moreover, were lacking, the army saw neither supplies nor succour come to it, the whole Empire appeared to be hostile, and the emperor was not one of those leaders who give their soldiers courage to fight against a world.

The soldiers of the Second Parthica were the most uneasy. Their wives and children and all that they possessed being left at Albano was at the mercy of their adversaries. To save them the soldiers murdered Maximin and his son. This emperor's reign had lasted three years and a few days (238).¹

Upon this the army demanded entrance into the city, but the people of Aquileia would by no means agree to this. They let down provisions from their walls, requiring pay for the same, and also opened markets at their gates, and the strange sight was seen

¹ Maximin was sixty-five years of age (*Chron. d'Alex.*, ad ann. 238, and Zonaras, *Ann.*, xii. 16). The ecclesiastical writers (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 28) place in his reign a persecution, which they call the sixth. Sulpicius Severus has no knowledge of this; he speaks only (*Hist. sacr.*, ii. 16) of a few priests who were persecuted . . . *nonnullarum ecclesiarum clericos vexavit*. The persecution was probably limited to some local oppression. In Cappadocia, for instance, of which Firmilianus was bishop. Cf. Cyprian, *Ep.* 75: *erat transcendendi facultas eo quod persecutio illa non per totum mundum, sed localis fuisset . . . ut per Cappadociam et Pontum*; and the Church has no authentic martyrs in this reign. Eusebius mentions not one.

of the besieged supplying the besiegers with food. Pupienus coming in all haste from Ravenna to this army destitute of a chief, received their oaths of fidelity to the three emperors of Rome, and sent the troops away to their encampments, after having, as was fitting, paid them liberally in gold the price of blood.

During these transactions the senate had lived from day to day in all the anxieties of a man who sees the knife at his throat.



Equestrian Statue of an Emperor crowned with Laurel.
(Guattani, 1786, and Clarac, pl. 967, No. 2,497.)

Therefore their joy was as extreme as had been their terror, and they testified it by the vastness of their display of gratitude to the gods and the emperors: to the former, solemn thanksgivings and hecatombs of victims; to the latter, triumphs without a combat, trophies, triumphal chariots, gilded equestrian statues, and, by way of novelty, statues carried by elephants.

When the noise of acclamations had ceased and the flames of sacrifice were extinguished, Pupienus calmly examined the situation, and found it still full of dangers. "What do you



Heroic Statue of Pupienus. (Museum of the Louvre.)

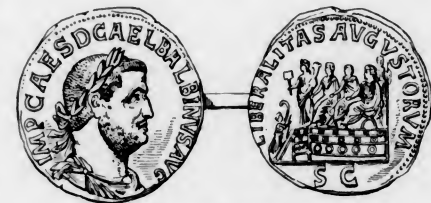
expect will be our recompense for having delivered Rome from a monster?" he one day asked his colleague. "The love of the people, the senate, and the whole human race," Balbinus replied with simplicity. "Our recompense will be," the old general said, "the hatred of the soldiers." And he saw the real consequence.

Pupienus and the Public Peace.¹

The two emperors at first lived on terms of cordial friendliness; to attest their harmony they caused coins to be struck representing two hands clasped with the legend: *patres senatus, amor mutuus*; also this: *fides mutua*.² But Balbinus regarded with contempt the obscure birth of Pupienus, the latter despised his colleague's weakness, and after a few days distrust sprang up between them. It was difficult for the combination devised by the senate to have had any other result, and this result was sure to bring about a catastrophe. The praetorians with silent hatred endured "the senate's emperors," and their hatred increased with the acclamations wherewith the Conscript Fathers saluted these men chosen by the supreme council of the state. They feared lest there might be renewed against themselves the execution made by Severus in the case of the praetorians of Julianus. In a *senatus-consultum* these words had been imprudently used:



Two Hands Clasped with the Legend: PATRES SENATUS. (Silver Coin of Pupienus.)

Large Bronze of Balbinus.³

"Thus act those rulers who have been chosen by wise men; thus perish the rulers who were chosen by the inexperienced."⁴ This

¹ IMP. CAES. PVIEN(us) MAXIMVS AVG., around the laurelled head of the emperor. On the reverse, PAX PVB LICA SC. and Peace, seated. (Large bronze.)

² Eckhel, vii. 305.

³ IMP. CAES D(ecimus) CAEL(ius) BALBINVS AVG., and the laurelled head of Balbinus. On the reverse, LIBERALITAS AVGVSTORVM SC. Balbinus, Pupienus, and Gordian III. seated on a platform. Liberalitas standing; a citizen ascending the steps.

⁴ Herod., viii. 21.

was a bravado, and the soldiers comprehended it. One day when scenic representations had drawn away from the palace a large number of its usual guards they hastened thither. Pupienus desired at once to summon the German guard; Balbinus, suspecting some treachery on the part of his colleague, refused to allow it to be called in. While the two emperors were disputing, the prætorians forced the gates, seized them both, and dragged them across the city with every insult, exclaiming: "Here are the emperors of the senate and the Roman people!"¹ It was their intention to carry their prisoners to the camp to put them to death with slow tortures. But the German guard approaching, the prætorians murdered the emperors at once and left their dead bodies in the open street (June, 238).

Less than five months had sufficed for the triple tragedy of which Rome, Carthage, and the camp of Aquileia had been the theatre. The senatorial restoration had lasted just long enough to give the soldiery time to recover from the surprise this audacious attempt had caused them, and it could last no longer, for the senate had neither material nor moral force; the power was elsewhere. From Commodus to Diocletian the soldiers were the true masters of the Empire, and the evils of this dominion were only for the moment dispelled when the army had at its head chiefs at once able and strong, like Severus, Aurelian, and Probus. The constitution of the Empire required for prosperity a strong hand at the helm, but nature is not so lavish of superior men; and human wisdom had not by good institutions supplied what nature did not furnish.

¹ With the reign of Pupienus and Balbinus ends the work of Herodian, which, notwithstanding all its faults, is very useful for this epoch so poor in historians. We mention, for the year 238, the publication of the book by Censorinus, *de Die natali*. About this time also Commodianus, the most ancient of the Christian poets, wrote his *Instructions*, eighty pieces of barbarous verse. His *Carmen apologeticum* is of the year 249. Gemadius (*de Script. eccles.*, 15) says of this author: . . . *Scriptis, mediocri sermone quasi versu, librum adversus paganos. Et quia parum nostrarum attigerat litterarum, magis illorum destruere potuit dogmata quam nostra firmare.* The initial letters of the twenty-six last verses form these words: *Commodianus mendicus Christi*. Another example of these acrostics, with a barbaric prosody and metre, is found in an Algerian inscription. (L. Renier, No. 2,074.)

II.—GORDIAN III. (238-244).

Within a few months six emperors had perished, and only a boy was left, Gordian III.¹ The murderers carried him away with them to the camp.

They had made him Caesar through hatred of Pupienus and Balbinus; now that he was left alone they proclaimed him Augustus; a ruler twelve or thirteen years old was the chief who suited them best. Meanwhile the Empire, wearied out with so many tumults, rested tranquil for a few years. There is mentioned only an insurrection in Africa, which was quickly suppressed by the governor of Cæsarian Mauretania (240).² But affairs at court went badly. Gordian II. had had as many as twenty-two



Gordian III.³

concubines; to guard this harem he had adopted the Oriental method of employing eunuchs, and his nephew came into possession of this dangerous household. Ill-defended by his mother against them and the freedmen, Gordian allowed them to be masters of the palace and the treasury, which they plundered at will. Their

¹ "He is said by most authorities to have been eleven years of age, but some consider him thirteen, and Junius Cordus believes that he was sixteen." (Capit., *Gord.*, 22.)

² L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 99, and *C. I. L.*, vol. vi. No. 1,090.

³ Luni marble. Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.

sway lasted till 241 or 242; at this period the young emperor married Tranquillina, the daughter of Timesitheus, and appointed his father-in-law praetorian prefect.¹

This Timesitheus, who had filled with integrity important financial positions, and many times served as governor of a province,



The Empress Tranquillina as Ceres.
(Statue in the Museum of the Louvre.
Parian Marble.)

vice praesidis, proved to be a man, and he thrust back into obscurity those who ought never to have emerged thence. One of his letters to Gordian shows the extent of the evil and the vigour of the remedy: "To Augustus, my master and my son, Timesitheus his father-in-law and prefect [greeting]. We rejoice to see that you have escaped from the disgrace of this age in which eunuchs and men whom you regarded as friends trafficked infamously in all things. Our rejoicing is the greater in that you yourself applaud this fortunate change, which proves also, my respected son, that you were not to blame for these abuses. It could not indeed be endured longer that eunuchs should dispose of military commands; that honourable services should be left unrewarded; that the caprice or interest of a few men should

cause the innocent to perish and set free the guilty; that the treasury should be emptied by those who were constantly scheming to prejudice you against the best citizens, who were bringing the wicked forward and driving good men away, and trafficked in the very words that they themselves ascribed to you. Let us,

¹ C. Furius Sabinus Aquila Timesitheus. (Spon, *Antiq. de Lyon*, edition of 1857, p. 163.) See his *cursus honorum* in De Boissieu's *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 245.

therefore, thank the gods who have given you the will to heal the woes of the state. It is pleasing to be the father-in-law of a ruler who is willing to know all, and drives from his presence the men by whom he himself seemed formerly to be offered for public sale."

To this letter Gordian replied: "The emperor Gordianus Augustus to Timesitheus, his father and prefect. If the mighty gods were not protecting the Roman Empire, we should still be, as it were, exposed for sale by the eunuchs, themselves bought in the public markets. I at last understand that it is not a Felix whom I should place at the head of the praetorian cohorts, nor a Serapammon in command of the Fourth legion, and, not to enumerate in detail, that I ought not to have done many things that I have done. But I render thanks to the gods that you, whose fidelity is well

known to me, have taught me what the captivity in which I was held had prevented me from understanding. What could I do when Maurus sold the government, and when, acting in concert with



Coin of Tranquillina.¹

Gaudianus, Reverendus, and Montanus, he praised these men and blamed those? What could I do but approve what he had told me, it being also confirmed by the testimony of his accomplices? In truth, my dear father, an emperor is very unfortunate when the truth is concealed from him. He cannot go out and learn it for himself, and he is obliged to hear what he is told and to decide according to the information men bring him."

Timesitheus was not only renowned for his eloquence and integrity, but also, when the occasion required, he could show himself a good general. He caused the fortifications of cities and frontiers to be repaired, and collected vast quantities of provisions in these strongholds, so that the armies could be supplied from them in case of need. The posts of the first importance were supplied with a year's stores of corn, pork, vinegar, barley, and

¹ SABINIA TRANQVILLINA AVG., surrounding the bust of the empress. On the reverse, FELICITAS TEMPORVM SC. Felicitas standing.

straw; and others with supplies for one or two months. He investigated the condition of the arsenals and made sure that the weapons in the soldiers' hands were in good order. He sent away



Provision and Baggage Waggons. (Bas-relief of the Antonine Column.)

from the camps all useless persons, old men and children, who hindered the movements of the troops and consumed the rations. Discipline was the more easily maintained because he watched with the utmost vigilance over the needs of the soldier, and even in the most remote marches secured the seasonable arrival of provisions. He also revived the old usage of surrounding the most temporary camps with a ditch; and as he visited the



Coin of Shapur or Sapor I.¹

outposts often, even during the night, he kept watch upon the conduct of all. In a short time a man like this, able and devoted to the public welfare, restored their military virtues to the troops, and the army again became the formidable weapon that it had so long been.

Of this the Persians became aware. Satisfied or exhausted by the first collision which had taken place in the reign of Alexander Severus, they had remained tranquil until about the close of Maximin's reign; but new Asiatic dynasties do not at once abandon

¹ Bust of Sapor, with legend: The worshipper of Ormuzd. On the reverse, a pyre between two standing figures; legend: Chapouri. (Gold coin.)

the tent for the harem. To consolidate their power they have need from time to time to give scope for the warlike ardour which gave them their existence. Ardeshir again threatened Armenia and the Roman provinces. Upon his death in 240 he was succeeded by his son Shapur, or Sapor, who for a third of a century (240-273) remained the indefatigable enemy of the Romans. This monarch directed a formidable invasion which penetrated the heart of Syria. He took the strong cities of Atræ, Nisibis, and Carrhæ, crossed the Euphrates and menaced Antioch.¹ At news of this Gordian opened the temple of Janus (241),² a ceremony which seems then to have occurred for the last time, and with a



Coin commemorating the Crossing of the Hellespont by the Emperor.²



Sapor I.³



Persian Horseman.⁴

large army set out for the valley of the Danube, which the Sarmatians and Goths had been ravaging for four years;⁵ the

¹ Mirkhond, *Hist. des Sassanides*, French translation by Sylvestre de Sacy, p. 288.

² Reverse of a medium bronze of Gordian III. with the legend *Trajectus Aug.* Gordian is seated in the prow of a prætorian galley, around which three dolphins are swimming. At the present day shoals of porpoises follow vessels in the Hellespont.

³ Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 27.

⁴ Engraved stone (sardonyx) of three layers, 23 millim. by 20. Pehlevi legend, of which four letters only can be clearly made out. Cf. Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift der deutsch. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xviii. pl. vi. 4. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1,344.)

⁵ Intaglio of the Sassanid style. Perforated cone, 10 millim. in diameter. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1,377.)

⁶ The *initium belli Scythici* dates from the reigns of Maximin and Balbinus, in 238. (*Capit.*, 16.) In this first invasion the Goths destroyed Istria, upon the Euxine.

Alani had even reached as far as the neighbourhood of Philippopolis in Thrace, where they defeated a Roman force. The barbarians could not make any stand against the large army led by Gordian, which drove away these pillagers as it passed along.¹

In 242 the emperor crossed the Hellespont and made his way rapidly to the Euphrates.

The Persian cavalry offered no better resistance than the Goths had done, but the history of these engagements is lost. We have only a few lines in a despatch from the emperor to the senate: "After the narrative of the advantages gained by our advance, each one of which merits the honour of a triumph, we have broken the yoke already placed upon the neck of Antioch and have delivered Syria from this king and his dominion. We have restored Carrhæ and the other cities to the Empire. We are now at Nisibis and, the gods favouring, shall soon be at Ctesiphon, if they preserve to us Timesitheus, our prefect and father, who plans and conducts everything. To him we owe this success, and shall owe others yet. Therefore, vote supplications to the gods and thanks to Timesitheus." The senate decreed to the emperor a quadriga of elephants, and to the prefect a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses, with this inscription: "To the tutor of the state."²

Unfortunately, not long after the wise tutor died, carried off by disease or perhaps by poison which Philip had administered (243). This Philip was an Arab of Trachonitis,³ son of a robber chief famous in that country, and for a time following his father's mode of life. Enrolled in the Roman army he rose from one grade to another until after the death of Timesitheus he was made its highest officer. Gordian appointed him to succeed the man whom he had perhaps murdered as prætorian prefect, and the operations

¹ . . . *delevit, fugavit expulit atque submovit* (Capit., Gord., 26). On the tomb of Gordian are engraved the words, *Victor Gothorum*. (*Ibid.*, 34.)

² Capit., Gord., 27. An inscription recently discovered in Algeria gives Gordian seven imperial salutations. (*Bull. de corresp. afric.*, 1882, p. 119.)

³ His name was M. Julius Philippus, and that of his wife, Marcia Otacilia Severa. See L. Reuier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 2,540. According to Aurelius Victor (*Cæs.*, 28), he was born at Bostra, which is said to have been called from him Philippopolis. Ecclesiastical councils distinguish between Bostra and Philippopolis, which is said to have been built on the ruins of the former (Labbe, *Conc.*, vol. viii. pp. 644, 675). M. Waddington has discovered the ruins of Philippopolis, where are yet to be seen a theatre, an aqueduct, baths, temples, and numerous public edifices; but the wall was never completed; Philip had not time to finish his work.

against the Persians continued. A great battle gained near Resaina on the Chabaras had opened the road to the Persian capital, when suddenly a sedition broke out.

The new prefect had fomented it by intentionally disorganizing the service his predecessor had so well established. Secret orders led the supply trains astray and hindered the boats laden with provisions from reaching the camps. When Philip saw discontent springing up and growing, he employed emissaries to go about among the tents and the groups of soldiers and complain of Gordian: an emperor so young was incapable of ruling the state and commanding the army; a colleague ought to be given him who would take the place of Timesitheus. The army, impelled by famine, placed the Empire in the power of Philip, and directed that he, as tutor, should rule jointly with Gordian.²

The friends of the young emperor could not deceive themselves in regard to this division of authority imposed by the soldiers: it was a master set over him, and the insolent behaviour of Philip made the situation perfectly evident. They prepared a counter-revolution. When they believed themselves sufficiently in force



Philip the Elder.¹

¹ Bust in the Louvre, not designated with certainty. (Luni marble.)

² Zosimus, i. 18.

they obtained a convocation of the army, as if it were a deliberative assembly. Gordian, ascending his tribunal, complained before them of the ingratitude of Philip, whom he had, he said, loaded with favours, and he asked for justice from the soldiers, that is to say, the deposition of the emperor whom they had appointed. But the opposing party were victorious, and it was Gordian who was deposed. Here Capitolinus places a scene of unworthy supplications, in which Gordian ignobly descends all the steps of power, begging



Medal commemorative of Peace with the Persians.¹

first a share in the Empire, then the rank of Caesar, or the title of praetorian prefect, lastly, the grade of *dux* and his life. We have no more reason to believe in this young man's cowardice than in his great courage; but at twenty a man does not die thus. Gordian was killed near Zaitha, the city of olive-trees, where his assassin erected to his memory a splendid tomb, which a century later was yet standing.² Three other emperors, Valerian, Carus, and Julian, were destined to die in these deserts.

Philip wrote to the senate that the soldiers had chosen him emperor in the stead of Gordian, deceased by natural causes, and the senate decreed to the latter apotheosis, and to the former the imperial titles. The Conscript Fathers consoled themselves for their secret grief by granting to all the surviving members of this ill-fated family, once so prosperous, exemption from wardship, legations, and municipal burdens (*munera*). This was all that they had it in their power to give (February or March, 244).

III.—PHILIP (244).

Instead of prosecuting the war against the Persians, discouraged as they were by their defeat at Resaina, Philip made haste to conclude peace, on terms advantageous to them,³ and returned to

¹ PAX FUNDATA CUM PERSIS: reverse of a silver coin of Philip the Elder.

² Amm. Marcellin., xxiii. 5. The government of Gordian III. had great legislative activity; the Code of Justinian mentions 240 ordinances of this reign. One of them is important: it granted to soldiers who had accepted, unawares, a burdensome inheritance, the advantage of being held to the payment of the debts only to the extent of the assets (Code, vi. 22). Hence the institution of the inventory.

³ Eusebius, ix. 2; Zonaras, xii. 18, 19.

Antioch. Eusebius, who is disposed to represent this murderer as a Christian, says that it was related in his time¹ that Philip, wishing with the empress to celebrate Easter in Antioch, the bishop, S. Babylas, forbade them admission to the church; upon which both humiliated themselves, made public confession of their sins, and took their places among the penitents. These rumours in the end became

accepted truths,² although it is not easy to see what interest the Church had in claiming such a proselyte. It may be that this Arab had in his youth a know-



Philip, the Empress Otacilia, and Philip the Son.³

ledge of the Christian religion; that, following the example of Mammaea, he had established relations with Origen,⁴ and it is certain that during his reign, as during that of Alexander, the Christians enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity;⁵ but all his public conduct was that of a pagan emperor. According to the legend of one of his coins, he believed that his accession had been predicted by Apollo,⁶ and the medallions of Otacilia Severa bear profane types,

¹ Ὁ λόγος ἐκρίθη (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 34).

² S. Chrysostom, Orosius, and Zonaras admitted them, and S. Jerome says of Philip (*de Vir. ill.*): *qui primus de regibus rom. christ. fuit*. But these authors all lived or wrote after the penitence of Theodosius, and it was well to increase the authority of that famous example by confirming the rumours that had naturally grown up among the believers in respect to the public penitence of a whole imperial family whose toleration had caused them to be suspected of sharing in the Christian faith. At the end of the fourth century, a bishop, when that bishop was S. Ambrose, might forbid an emperor entrance to his church: a century and a half earlier no man would have dared to do it.

³ CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM. Busts of Philip and Otacilia, and of their son. On the reverse: EX ORACVLO APOLLINIS: a round temple with four columns, and within it a statue of Apollo. (Bronze medallion.)

⁴ Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, vi. 33) possessed two letters written by Origen, the one to Philip, the other to the empress. But he does not say that he finds there the proof that these imperial persons were Christians.

⁵ Except at Alexandria, if we may believe Eusebius (vi. 41). But this so-called persecution was probably only one of the riots so common in that city, in which Christian as well as heathen perished.

⁶ *Ex oraculo Apollinis* (Cohen, iv. p. 201, No. 4; see above). He caused Gordian III. to be proclaimed *divus*, and performed all the pagan rites of the Secular Games. There

sacrilegious honours that a Christian believer would have refused. On the other hand, at that time of religious confusion many persons were uncertain what they believed. The rational syncretism of the Alexandrian philosophers became an unreasoning syncretism in many minds. Thus a singular monument, though of much later date, represents a Saint George with the head of a sparrow-hawk, that is to say, a hero of Christian legend is confused with an Egyptian god Horus.² The so-called Christianity of Mammæa and Otacilia was of the same nature and even more vague than this.

The events of Philip's reign are almost unknown to us. The



Reverse of a Coin of Otacilia.¹



S. George with the Head of a Sparrow-Hawk.
(Identified with Horus.)



Roman with the Head of a Sparrow-Hawk.

Augustan History from Gordian III. to Valerian, that is to say, from 244 to 253, is lost, and to fill this gap we have only the meagre or doubtful summaries of Zosimus and Zonaras, who wrote,

occurred during his reign a riot at Alexandria against the Christians, which was arrested only when civil war made a diversion. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 41.)

¹ IVNO CONSERVATRIX. Juno veiled, holding a patera and a sceptre. (Denarius.)

² Cf. *Horus et S. Georges*, Memoir by M. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Revue archéol.*, 1877.

the former in the fifth century, the latter in the twelfth. They speak of a ceremony which stirred all Italy, the celebration of the Secular Games on the thousandth anniversary of the founding of Rome (248).¹ To do honour to this great occasion all the magnificence of imperial festivals was displayed, and the enthusiasm of the nations responded to the pomp of the ceremonial. The god Terminus having steadily advanced for a thousand years, the multitude might well believe that he was not now about to recede.



Coin commemorating the Thousandth Anniversary of Rome. (Reverse of a Large Bronze of Philip.)



Aureus of Philip the Son, Caesar and Prince of the Youth. (Cohen, No. 28.)

And, in considering this constant good fortune through so large a space in the duration of humanity, the degenerate sons of old Rome allowed their poets to predict for the Empire a new millennium. But shouts of victory were about to cease: a successor of Augustus and Trajan was ere long to perish under the blows of the

Goths; another was to be a captive in the hands of Sapor; and already he had been born who was to reduce the ancient queen of the world to the condition of a mere Italian town.

Philip's son (M. Julius Philippus) was but seven years of age; he made him Cæsar, and (in 247) Augustus, forgetting the fate of those imperial boys for whom the purple had been but a shroud. The emperor placed all his kindred in positions of importance. His brother Priscus commanded the army of Syria; his father-in-law (?), Severianus, that of Mœsia. He moreover treated the senators with respect, and seems to have ruled moderately, without cruelties or confiscations. However, he caused the palace of Pompey, the property of the Gordians, who had much embellished it, to come into the possession of the state. The Carpiæ, a people of Getic origin, probably resident on the banks of the Pruth, had come down into the lands of the lower Danube. It appears probable that Philip went in person to expel them and made two campaigns in that war (245-6).² Upon his return to Rome the

¹ The thousandth year of Rome began, accepting Varro's calculation, the 21st of April, 247. The year was allowed to be completed before the games were celebrated. (Eckhel, vii. 324.)

² *Victoria Carpiæ*, *Carpiæ Marimus*, legends on two of his coins; another, giving him

news arrived that the Syrians, exasperated by severities of Priscus, had proclaimed an emperor, Iotapianus, who called himself a



The Younger Philip. (Bust found at Civita Lavinia. Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 69.)

descendant of Alexander, and that some rebels in Mœsia had proclaimed another, Marinus.¹ Philip, in much anxiety, consulted the senate. Decius, one of the members of that assembly, who knew

the title *Germanicus Maximus*, announces some victory over the Germans. (Cohen, iv. p. 202, No. 5.)

¹ We have imperial coins of two other usurpers who cannot be placed, Pacatianus and Sponsianus. The workmanship of the coins indicates the time of Philip or Decius. (Cohen, iv. pp. 229, 231, and pl. xi.)

the value of the new Augusti, announced that these mock kings would not be able to maintain themselves; and in fact they fell



Ruins of the Thermæ of the Gordians. (Photograph by Parker.)

of themselves. Philip, however, believed it useful to send to the army of the Danube the wise adviser who had so well understood the turn affairs would take. Decius long resisted, foreseeing that

these legions who, for fourteen years had made no seditious movements, would seize the first pretext to give themselves the pleasure and profit of a revolt, and so it proved; Decius had scarcely entered the camp when the soldiers saluted him emperor in spite of himself. Those who had been concerned in the late enterprise, whom Decius had been commissioned to punish, had devised this new scheme by which they would at once save themselves from chastisement and secure a *donativum*.



Coin of the Elder Philip, with the Legend: *Victoria Carpica*.

Decius wrote to his master that as soon as he should have returned to Rome he would lay aside the purple. The emperor did not credit this promise, and marched against the army of Pannonia; an engagement took place near Verona,¹ and he was defeated and slain. The prætorians left at Rome murdered his son (249): the boy was now twelve years old, and had never been seen to smile.²

¹ The *Chronicle of Alexandria* represents him as forty-five years of age at the time of his death. For results of the Gothic invasion, see chap. xvi.

² Aur. Victor, *Ces.*, 28. This tragedy took place early in the autumn.



Reverse of a Bronze Medal of the Two Philips and Otacilia, with the Legend: GERM(anici) MAX(im)i, CARPICI MAX(im)i. Victory, standing in a Quadriga, assists Philip, Otacilia, and their Son to enter it. (Cohen, No. 5.)

CHAPTER XCV.

THE EMPIRE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

I.—THE BARBARIANS.

THE Roman Empire, extended around the Mediterranean Sea, included the most favoured regions of the temperate zone: fertile lands covered with rich harvests, and beautiful cities in which civilization had made its first development. Notwithstanding the periodical catastrophes which occurred at Rome or in the camps, this region was a vast oasis in the midst of the triple barbarism of the North, the South, and the East. For the moment, that of the South was not formidable. The desert horsemen were not yet dreaming of abandoning the date-trees which fed them, and the wells of which they had drunk since Abraham's time, for the sake of disseminating a new religion through the world. Only the Blemyes, from time to time, disturbed Upper Egypt, and on the Arabian coast the Saracens began to attract notice—witness the foolish history related by the *Chronicle of Alexandria*, of lions and serpents placed along their frontier to deter them from crossing it.¹

In the East, myriads of men were in agitation, formidable in frontier wars, but organized into great states, and by that very circumstance rendered incapable of those vast migrations which tread cities and empires under foot.

In the Northern regions, on the contrary, that great movement westward still continued which had begun in the remotest ages with the first migration of the Aryans. Not being able to encroach upon the settled inhabitants of Iran, the nomad hordes bore northward, passed through the *Völkerthor*, "the gate of the nations,"²

¹ Amm. Marcellinus says (xxii. 15): . . . *Scenitas Arabas quos Saracenos nunc adpellamus*.

² This is the name German authors give to the plain which extends from the last slopes of the Ural to the Caspian Sea.

and crowded the great Sarmatian and Germanic plain in a floating mass, scantily attached to the soil, a pastoral rather than an agricultural people, whom an old writer accuses of recognizing no right but that of the stronger,¹ a habit which has existed in all times, and still exists. They were most dangerous neighbours. Notwithstanding the ungrateful and severe climate, these prolific races increased rapidly,² and in the midst of their poverty for ever turned their eyes towards the countries of the sun and of gold. Thrice already, within historic times, they had attempted to enter them.

In the time of Marius, while 300,000 Cimbri and Teutones ravaged Gaul, Spain, and Northern Italy, others had rushed into the Hellenic peninsula, and had devastated it from the Adriatic to the Black Sea.³ When, after the victory of Vereclæ, Marius had set upon his buckler the head of a barbarian with protruding tongue, it was to signify that Rome had stifled the barbaric world in her mighty arms.

But forty years had scarcely passed when this formidable enemy reappeared with threatening aspect: 120,000 warriors, the vanguard of the great nation of the Suevi, and 430,000 Usipetes, or Teneteri, undertook the conquest of Gaul. They were already in possession of its eastern portions, when Cæsar drove the former back into the German forests and exterminated the latter between the Rhine and the Meuse. During the reign of Marcus Aurelius an immense coalition again threw even Rome itself into anxiety; the Marcomanni came as far as Aquileia, and the emperor was obliged to establish himself for several years on the banks of the Danube with the principal forces of the Empire.

Thus in three centuries there had been three formidable attacks, the Cimbri, Ariovistus, and the Marcomanni, and in the interval between the great invasions, a multitude of combats and endless alarms along the Rhine and the Danube. This Northern barbaric world was like a sea of men, whose waves, now violent, now feeble, beat incessantly against the Roman entrenchments.

¹ *Jus in viribus habet* (Pomp. Mela).

² *Scanzia insula officina gentium aut certe velut vagina nationum* (Jordanes, 4).

³ See vol. ii. pp. 483 *et seq.*

With Cæsar, Augustus, and Trajan, Rome had taken the offensive; she had crossed the Rhine and the Danube, and on the one hand penetrated as far as the Elbe, where she could not maintain herself, and on the other as far as the summit of the Carpathians, across conquered Dacia. But the Germans could not be grasped; in peace as well as in war they eluded the influence of Rome. From the contact with an ancient civilization they had gained nothing. Ammianus Marcellinus still shows them in the time of Julian possessing no cities in their own country, and afraid to dwell in those which they had conquered. "A walled inclosure seemed to them a net in which men were caught, and the city itself a tomb where people were buried alive."¹ One of their great tribes, the Suevi or Suabians, were called "the wanderers."² From deserters and prisoners of war and Roman traders, who bought from them the amber of the Baltic or the long fair hair of their women, they asked only instruction in making their attacks more formidable. Rome found, therefore, in this vague and fugitive world no



Young Dacian. (England, *Marm. Oxon.*, pl. 20. and Clarac, *op. cit.*, pl. 834 B, No. 2,161 J.)

firm points where she could establish herself, and whence she could command the entire country. Accordingly, after some vain attempts, she refused to enter it again. Her policy in regard to the Germans was to cover with fortresses the Roman bank of the two great rivers, and to throw across this defensive line—which

¹ xvi. 2.

² *Die Schwebende* (Zeller, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, i. p. 81). Tacitus represents the Germans as saying to the Ubii: *Postulamus a vobis, muros coloniae, munimenta servitii detrahatis* (*Hist.*, iv. 64).

extended uninterruptedly from the North Sea to the Euxine—pensions to the chiefs to win these warriors to peace, many intrigues in order to divide them, and a little gold to attract their bravest soldiers into the service of the Empire.

These precautions sufficed until the time when the migration of the Goths overthrew Eastern Germany, and brought as far as the Euxine the men who were to be the chief agents in the destruction of the old world.

The Goths, or Good Doers, *Gut thind*, who have left in the Scandinavian peninsula their name and the traces of their abode, had quitted it at an unknown but recent period, under the leadership of two powerful families, the Amalidæ (Amalungs) and Baltidæ (Baltungs), who were regarded as the descendants of Odin and of Freya, the Venus of Northern mythology.¹ These priest-kings, who, however, had no sacerdotal character, judges of the people in time of peace and military leaders in war, subjugated the Vandals, who were probably also of the same race with themselves,² and a crowd of other tribes whom they incorporated with themselves or drove aside either to the south or west. The number of the Goths increasing³ with their victories, which drew to them all adventurers eager for war and booty, the great mass of the nation was broken up into two bodies: one, the Goths of the East, or Ostrogoths, under Filimer, crossed the Vistula, and subjugated the Sarmatians as far as the Euxine; the other, the Goths of the West, or Visigoths, settled around the mouths of the Danube. A few tribes set in motion by this great migration went still further westward: the Gepidæ, in Transylvania, where the Romans now held only the fortified posts; the Vandals and Heruli, in the Moravian Carpathians; the Longobardi, in the upper valley of the Oder; the Burgundians, in those of the Saale and the Main. It is possible even that some of these tribes reached the southern frontier soon enough to have a share in the war with the Marcomanni in the time of Marcus Aurelius, or that the pressure exercised by them

¹ "The Baltidæ," says Jordanes (20), "are, after the Amalidæ, the noblest of the Goths." The Vandals had kings of the family of the Astingæ (*id.*, 22). Ptolemy, in the time of the Antonines, mentions the Goths as already established on the lower Vistula. The place vacated on the shores of the Baltic was occupied by the Slavs.

² Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, iv. 14; Procop., *Bell. Vand.*, i. 1.

³ *Magna populi numerositate crescente* (Jordanes, 4).



View of the Carpathian Mountains.

upon the Germans of the South obliged the latter to seek their fortunes across the Danube.

By the success of this migration the Goths found themselves brought into the neighbourhood of the civilized world. The rich pasture lands of the Black Sea fed their flocks; the fertile Ukraine gave them more corn than they needed; the Sarmatian rivers gave their vessels access to the Euxine, girt by a belt of cities full of wealth easily to be captured; and while the Carpathians, which the legions had never yet ventured to cross, concealed their movements, they had, in the open space between the extremity of these mountains and the sea, a gateway always giving them access into the Roman provinces. They remained, therefore, for the present tranquilly and fearlessly multiplying in these fruitful regions, whence their warriors could almost see the enormous booty in store for their courage.

Their national songs, which Jordanes had the opportunity of reading, but unfortunately did not preserve for us, related their exploits. They boasted of having subjected the Marcomanni to tribute and the chiefs of the Quadi to obedience. Their rule, therefore, or their influence, extended from Bohemia to the Tauric Chersonesus, and their name was dreaded far and near. Their first appearance in Roman history is in the year 215. To attach to themselves the powerful nation whose hand was so heavy upon their ancient enemies,¹ the Romans subsidized the Goths, which did not prevent the Roman provinces from soon having cause to dread these dangerous neighbours. While the body of the nation remained stationary, some adventurous band was always detaching itself, and at its own risk and peril crossing the Danube or the Euxine. Did the Goths essay, like the Germans in Trajan's time, to enter into relations with the great Oriental Empire? We do not know; but when Sapor invaded Roman Asia they fell upon Mœsia. As early as 238, in the time of Pupienus and Balbinus, they destroyed an important city in this province, and in 242 Gordian encountered them here, where they had probably remained since their earlier inroad. He killed a large number of them, and

¹ Jordanes, 16: . . . *Sub cujus sæpe dextra Wandalus jacuit, stetit sub pretio Marcomannus.*

by the aid of money¹ was able to rid himself of the rest. It was but for a short time, however; they had learned the road to these rich countries, and later would return in force sufficient to destroy a Roman army and kill an emperor. There have been counted in a space of thirty years (238-269) ten important invasions made by them; and they rested for a century (269-375) only after they had driven the Roman garrison out of Dacia Trajana.

While in the north-east masses of men accustomed to fight under great military chiefs pressed heavily upon the frontier, about the Upper Danube, the Rhine, and the Lower Mein the barbarians were organizing in a manner to give their warlike enterprises that unity of action which they had hitherto always lacked.

During the first and second centuries of the Christian era history knew only the Germany of Tacitus; in the third that Germany seems suddenly to have disappeared and another appears. Under the double pressure of Rome and the Gothic invasion the Germans had felt the need of a kind of union among their tribes, not however going so far as to establish actual confederations, and the Roman frontiers being at the time so poorly defended their warriors formed the habit of making inroads into these provinces so long closed against them.

At the epoch where we now are nothing is said of the social and religious organization which Tacitus has described, nor of the tribes known to him: we hear of the Alemanni, the Franks, and the Saxons; later of the Thuringians and Bavarians, designations at once ethnographic and geographic.²

"The Alemanni," says Agathias, "are a mixture of different peoples, which is signified by their name, 'the men of all races.'" But the Suevi were the dominant people, and gave their name to the Decumation lands, henceforward called Suabia. The Franks were also "the men armed with the *franca*," or, more probably, "the free men,"³ that is to say, those soldiers of the Catti, Sicambri, Bructeri, Chamavi, Tenctheri, and Ansivarii, who, without

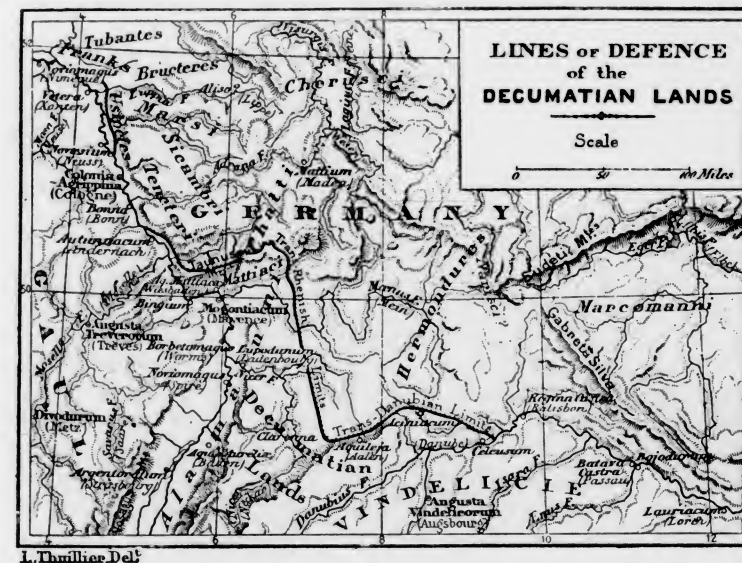
¹ See p. 279, and in the *Excerpta de Legationibus* of P. Patricius, Bonn edit., i. 24, the account of the deputation of the Carpi at Menophylis.

² In respect to this new grouping of the populations of Western Germany, see Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, vol. i. pp. 160-229, edit. of 1881.

³ Wachter (*Glossarium Germanicum*) derives the name from *Warg*, *Wrang*, exiled, banished, which does not correspond with the idea of an agglomeration of tribes.

the general participation of their respective tribes, engaged in war under individual leaders. The Saxons, "the men of the long knife," *sear*, recruited their bands among the Chauzi, the Frisii, the Angrivarii, and what remained of the Cherusci.

These peoples had no permanent directing council or sole chief, although all the tribes belonging to one group, or most of them, sometimes united to wage a national war. More frequently,



L. Thuillier Del.

Lines of Defence of the Agri Decumates.

however, there were formed among them free associations of warrior bands acting together for a definite purpose, which purpose having been accomplished or else defeated they separated again to reform after a time for some new enterprise.¹ These undisciplined bands were the more to be feared because Rome could have with them neither real peace nor open war.

As the aborigines of America had their hunting grounds, so each of these nations had its territory to pillage: the Alemanni,

¹ G. Waitz (*Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, i. 342) says: *Ueberhaupt weiss die altere Zeit nichts von eigentlichen Bundesverfassungen*. This is true; but Sozomenus (iii. 6) shows the Saxons acting, in a given case, as a nation, and Julian was obliged to encounter at Strasburg seven confederated Aleman kings (Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 12). But seven other chiefs of the same nation held aloof.

the region extending from the Main to the Alps and from the Bohemian Forest to the Vosges, that is to say, the Roman provinces of Upper Germany and Rætia; the Franks, those of Lower Germany and Belgica; the Saxons, the ocean and the British Islands.

Under Caracalla the Alemanni had invaded the Decumatan lands; here they experienced a defeat which drove them back and kept them quiet for twenty years. Milestones have been found in this region bearing the names of Elagabalus and Alexander, a proof that these emperors were obeyed there.¹



*Coin of Maximin, with the Legend: *Victoria Germanica*.²

Under Alexander the Franks had with impunity scoured the whole of Gaul, killing and pillaging at random, until, satiated with booty, they returned to their encampments, indifferent to the fate of their companions whom they had left along the road. Maximin pursued these plunderers into the depths of their forests, and believed that he had smitten the barbaric world with a terrible blow: upon his coins we read the legend, *Victoria Germanica*, so often imprinted on Roman money, and never true save for the moment, since the blow was always struck into empty space.



Victoria Germanica. (Gold Coin of Maximin.)³

In the middle of the third century, then, Germany organized itself for an attack: in the East, an innumerable nation, ruled by a family who were regarded as favourites of the gods, and who were able to prepare enterprises carefully and judiciously and to conduct them with unanimity; in the West, warlike confederations, and a multitude of chiefs incessantly flinging their bands at the Empire, like *bandilleros* flinging their lighted darts at the bull in the arena. Assailed by the contemptible enemies which he cannot reach, the powerful creature

¹ These milestones being discovered near Baden-Baden, while others, bearing the name of Septimius Severus, were found much further to the East, Wintersheim (ii. 214) concludes from this fact that the Roman frontier had already been pushed back in the West, under Elagabalus or Alexander.

² Maximin standing, crowned by a Victory. (Medium bronze.)

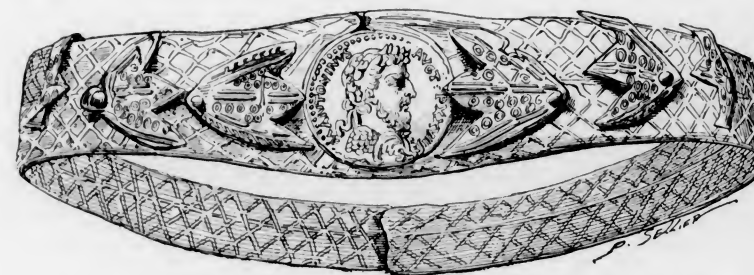
³ MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. Laurelled bust of the emperor. On the reverse, a standing Victory; at her feet, a German, his hands tied behind his back.

is confused, distracted, he roars and falls to the ground. Such was to be the fall of the Roman colossus; but, for it, the *fiesta del toro* was destined to last two centuries.

The danger increased then all along the northern frontier. All the outposts of the Empire which covered the main position are lost or will shortly be so. The Decumatan lands are invaded; Dacia has now but a few scattered garrisons which will be recalled by Aurelian; a city which up to this time had been as the eye and hand of the emperors over the Scythian world, Olbia,¹ which the Antonines had protected, where statues had been erected in honour of Caracalla,² disappears at this time from history, and the other allies of Hadrian at the mouths of the great Sarmatian rivers³ are at the mercy of the Goths. Soon Rome will fall back behind the Danube, and even the great river



Scythian Coin, struck at Olbia. (*Dictionn. numism.*, vol. i. p. 667, No. 1,268.)



Head Band of Gold, with a Medallion of Commodus, found in a Tomb in the Crimea.

will no longer protect her, for already Istriopolis, an important city of Dobroudja, had been destroyed, and the Alani had penetrated into the valley of the Ebro. Whilst the barbaric world made this step forward, Roman commerce had fallen back; her traders no longer dared venture into the lands of the North. Imperial coins found in these regions are, with a single exception, pieces of date anterior to the third century.⁴

¹ Capit., *Ant.*, 9.

² Beckh., *C. I. G.*, No. 2,091. After the year 250 A.D. we hear no more of Olbia.

³ See vol. v. pp. 29 *et seq.*

⁴ Note by M. de Witte to the *Hist. de la monn. rom.*, vol. iii. p. 116. He ought, however,

Upon the Black Sea, the kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus being no longer able to do police duty for Rome, piracy reappeared. In Asia, the national and religious revolution effected by the Sassanids was the cause of another danger, and these threatening events occurred when the Roman power of resistance had diminished. The dark days were beginning.

II.—THE ROMAN ARMY.

It has been a common remark that the nations included within the Roman Empire were old, that life had exhausted them, that their blood was impoverished, and that, following the common law of living things, they had reached the stage preceding death. These reasons, furnished by the convenient doctrine of historic fatality, could never have appeared very satisfactory. And at the present day it is absolutely required that a more serious examination be made of the morbid symptoms which errors produced and wisdom could have prevented.

And first the danger appeared so great on the frontiers only by reason of the interior situation.

It is no longer Hannibal at the gates of Rome: the enemy approaching are only hordes whom the ancient Roman legions would have driven before them like whipped curs. In the first century A.D. the Marcomanni, in the second the Dacians, were as formidable as the Goths were now, and the Germans of the West had been as desirous as were the Frankish and Alemannic bands to invade Gaul or Italy. They were at that time arrested because the Roman world had, together with an army worthy of itself, a great man for leader who ruled twenty years. After him another for an equal length of time watched over the Empire and the frontiers. Under the mighty hand of Trajan and of Hadrian the barbaric world bent the knee. Severus still held it motionless and timid. But children had succeeded men, fools were in the place of the wise, reigns of a few days' length had followed those lasting for years; a policy of chance had taken the place of a

to say also that the base coin of copper and silver at this time issued by the imperial mints could be forcibly circulated only in the Empire. Nations outside would naturally refuse this token money, which had no intrinsic value. (See pp. 382 *et seq.*)

policy of foresight. Civil and military institutions are all relaxed; the government no longer governs, and the state totters upon its yielding and crumbling base.

Montesquieu represents the Roman Empire at this time as a kind of irregular republic, somewhat like the former regency of Algiers, where the soldiery at will appointed and deposed the dey. The remark is just: the Roman people never employing its electoral right, and the senate, which was powerless to make its own right respected, having suffered the prætorians to seize its prerogative, the armies of the frontiers deprived the prætorians of the lucrative opportunity. This appears to us shameful, and is so; but it was inevitable that the military power, the one thing surviving amid the ruins of the institutions of Augustus, should dominate all. Contemporaries were not astonished at it. For centuries the army had been the Roman people under arms: this remote souvenir was not yet completely effaced; and even made up as it was, the army which defended the

Empire was the only body which appeared worthy of representing it. S. Jerome thought thus, for he compares the election of the bishop by the priests to the election of the emperor by the soldiers.

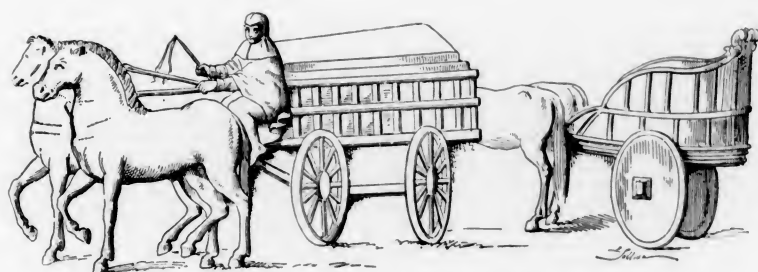
But unfortunately the new army is very different from the old. It was the legionary infantry that conquered the world; but



Legionary Foot-Soldier, Standard Bearer.¹

¹ Found at Mayence, and preserved in the museum of that city. On the left shoulder Lucius bears a helmet with lowered visor; a long and a short sword hang at his belt; he holds in the left hand his buckler, and in the other the standard adorned with the civic crown. Cf. Lindenschmit, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des römischen Heeres während der Kaiserzeit*, etc., pl. iii. fig. 1, and p. 19.

the infantry is now disdained, and, a certain sign of the decline in military matters, the cavalry gains in importance daily. It always equals the infantry in number, while in the time of Polybius, by a contrary excess, the legion had but one horseman to ten foot-soldiers.¹ Commanders of cavalry are appointed: Balista under Maerinus, Aureolus under Gallienus, Aurelian under Claudius II., Saturninus under Probus; and this title gave them great authority.



Carts for Transportation of Baggage. (Pompeii.)

The barbarians served chiefly in the cavalry, and its increase shows how the foreign element was increasing in the Roman army.

At the same time the camp became embarrassed with an enormous baggage train. A letter of the emperor Valerian shows what the commander of a legion required annually for his military household: 715 bushels of corn, 1,430 of barley, 13 cwt. of pork, 400 gallons of old wine, 300 skins for tents, etc.,² without counting

¹ Marquardt, *Handb.*, vol. ii. p. 584; and *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, vol. xxv. p. 473. According to Gen. Rogniat, the proportion ought to be one in six; according to Napoleon, one in four. This varies according to the character of the country where the war is carried on. At the present time it is one in four in the French army. (Budget of 1877.)

² "We have intrusted to Claudius the tribuneship of the Fifth Martian legion. (It will be noticed that at this epoch the commanders of the legions were only tribunes.) You will give to him out of our private treasure for his annual salary, 3,000 *modii* of corn (the *modius* being very nearly a peck), 6,000 of barley, 2,000 pounds of pork; 3,500 *sextarii* of old wine (the *sextarius* being about a pint and a half), 150 *sextarii* of good oil, 600 of oil of second quality; 200 *modii* of salt, 150 pounds of wax; a sufficient quantity of hay, straw, vinegar, fruits, and vegetables; 300 skins to make tents, six she-mules, three horses, ten camels, and nine mules annually; 50 pounds of silver ware and 150 gold philips (*aurei*) of our coinage annually, and at the new year 160 *trientes* (a third of the *aureus*). You will give him eleven pounds weight of pots and jars for wine; eleven more of kitchen utensils; two red military tunics annually, two silk-trimmed cloaks, two clasps of gilded silver, one of gold with copper point, a shoulder-belt of gilded silver, a ring with two stones weighing an ounce, a bracelet

the pay, which was 25,000 sesterces in good gold pieces,¹ at a time when commerce had only debased coin at its command.² We see further what burdensome and sometimes singular dues they received from the state, and can estimate also what crushing burdens were imposed on the treasury by all these favours, often moreover doubled and trebled. In giving to Probus the office of governor of the East, the emperor Tacitus gave him advantages five times greater than the usual salary of this office. The *impedimenta* of the officers corresponded doubtless with that of the commander, and it is easy to see how the Roman army, retarded by such enormous baggage, could scarcely, in spite of their numerous cavalry, ever come up with an active enemy who arrived suddenly and disappeared as rapidly as he came.

In this army there were also a crowd of useless persons who on days of battle were not present in the ranks. It was regarded as a useful reform when Alexander Severus reduced the number

seven ounces in weight, a collar weighing a pound, a gilded helmet, two bucklers embossed with gold, a cuirass (which he will return), two Herculean lances, two short javelins, two reaping-hooks, four others for hay, a cook (whom he will return), two of the most beautiful female captives, a white garment of half silk and another of Girba purple, an under-tunic of Mauretanian purple, a secretary (whom he will return), an architect (whom he will return), two pairs of Cyprus cushions for the table, two under-tunics without borders, two sheets, a toga (which he will return), a laticlave (which he will return), two footmen who will be always at his orders, a carpenter, a praetorian steward, a water-carrier, a fisherman, a pastry-cook; 1,000 pounds of wood daily, if there is enough, otherwise, as much as the locality can furnish; four shovelfuls of charcoal daily, a bath-man and the wood necessary for hot baths, failing which, he will be obliged to employ the public *thermae*. You will furnish at your discretion other things of minor importance; but you will not fix their value, so that if any article be lacking, he could not require its equivalent in money." (Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 14.) See also what Valerian ordered the urban prefect to furnish daily to Aurelian during his stay in Rome, without counting what was supplied him by the prefects of the treasury (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 9). The French regulations furnish a general of division for campaign rations: 2,465 kilos of pork, 175 of rice, 48.75 of salt, 61.25 of sugar, 46.75 of coffee, 730 litres of wine. This allowance is for a year, and is furnished daily during the campaign, and in time of peace is suspended. But the Romans made no distinction between the peace and war footing, so that the enormous allowances enumerated above were permanent, while the French treasury supports this expense only in time of war. Under Louis XV. the French army had enormous baggage. The ordinance of March 9th, 1756, gave each lieutenant-general thirty horses, and each colonel fourteen, and they actually had twice that number, with an immense train of carriages and waggons. Consequently these armies could not move. (See the *Comte de Gisors*, by Camille Rousset, pp. 182 *et seq.*)

¹ . . . *cujus militie salarium, in auro suscipe.*

² *Hist. de la monn. rom.*, iii. 143, No. 1. Probus received for his pay as tribune only 100 aurei, and the remainder in denarii and sesterces; but the total amounted to 28,000 sesterces instead of 25,000, the 3,000 sesterces additional representing the difference in exchange, or what the tribune lost in receiving part of his pay in denarii and sesterces instead of receiving the whole in gold.

of orderlies to ten for a legate, six for a *dux*, and four for a tribune; a proof that the number had before that time been much larger, and it doubtless again became so in later reigns, these restrictive ordinances being unpopular.

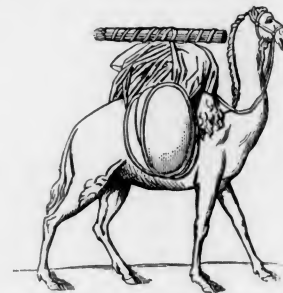
Two things further prevented a general from requiring of his



Roman Horseman, found at Bonn and preserved in the Museum of that City. (Lindenschmit, *op. cit.*, pl. vii. No. 1.)

troops those rapid marches which had so many times enabled the Roman army to surprise an enemy and strike decisive blows. The soldiers had been accustomed to carry with them provisions for seventeen days, unless they were in an enemy's country. Alexander relieved his legionaries of this burden, and established their camps in such a way that they could receive their provisions without fatigue. On a march mules and camels brought them along, but in this case another train was required to supply with

food the beasts of burden and their drivers; the line of *impedimenta* lengthened, and the army became the more unwieldy. Moreover the order of battle was changed, and the soldier's arms modified. As, from day to day, the number of barbarians in the army increased, it had become necessary to abandon the earlier organization of the legion, which required a mathematical precision in the movements and much skill in camp labours. The quality of the soldier deteriorating, less was asked from individual experience, more from collective power. Caracalla had organized a Macedonian phalanx, and Alexander Severus increased it to 30,000 men, a dense mass difficult to break into but also difficult to move, and in which much strength was wasted. Lastly, these soldiers, so desirous to live comfortably and needing so many things, found the weapons of the republican legionaries too heavy for them; they required a smaller buckler, less fatiguing to their enfeebled arms, and the cuirass and helmet of iron became a burden from which they begged the emperor Gratian to relieve them.¹



Dromedary carrying Baggage.
(Bas-relief from the
Column of the Emperor Theodosius
at Constantinople.)

It had been now many years that the semestrial tribunes had only nominally fulfilled the law requiring of them a period of service in the legions, and Roman senators would not tolerate camp life. One of them had obtained from Commodus exemption in the matter of military service;² Caracalla had excused them all from it, and Gallienus forbade it to them;³ and an old author is surprised at finding a young man of good family in the service.⁴ The decurions of the provincial cities demanded the same privilege as the Roman senators, and the law, sanctioning this inward desertion, closed the army against them for ever.⁵ It was the

¹ Vegetius, i. 20. The phalanx did not last.

² Borghesi, *Œuvres compl.*, v. 311; L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 18. Alexander Severus had thought of making a similar rule. (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 45.)

³ Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 33: . . . *ne imperium ad optimos nobilium transferetur, senatum militia vetuit, etiam adire exercitum.*

⁴ *Id.*, *Valer.*, 32: . . . *quanquam genere satis claro.*

⁵ Constitution of Diocletian, in the *Code Just.*, xii. 34, 2, and maintained by his successors.
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whole aristocracy, great and small, which, in an empire founded by arms and incapable of maintaining itself without their aid, now



Legionary with Helmet, armed with the *Pilum*.

refused to bear them. The effects of this change began to appear about the middle of the third century. The sons of the Roman and provincial senators, who had filled the great military and civil offices, were replaced in the army by men of low degree. Some of these soldiers of fortune became able generals, but for the most part they were men of ignoble ambition, who, destitute of the patriotic pride of the early consuls, were willing to tear the Empire into thirty pieces that they might each for an instant be adorned with a rag of the purple.

The separation of the civil and military orders, whose union had made the fortune of the Republic and formed the great administrations of the early Empire,¹ is still further marked by the creation of

Cf. *Code Theod.*, viii. 4, 28, anno 423, and *Code Just.*, x. 31, 55: *Si quis decurio ausus fuerit ullam affectare militiam . . . ad conditionem propriam retrahatur*, anno 436.

¹ See vol. v. p. 516.

² Found at Wiesbaden and preserved in the museum of that city. (Lindenschmit, *op. cit.*)

Severus, and has become established in a general manner in 237 A.D.,¹ was useful, for it has endured to this day, but with the condition that the high military posts should be assigned only to men worthy of holding them, and that it should never open the way to high civil office. But Macrinus gave to two freedmen the government of Dacia and Pannonia, and to a former spy, who knew not how to read,² the consulship and the office of urban prefect. A few years later a man of mixed race, Getan and Alanian, a mere soldier, was invested with the purple of Caesar, and he by whom this emperor was overthrown was the son of a blacksmith.³

This army now forbidden to the noblesse of the Empire, and shortly after to the townspeople of the cities, was recruited from the dregs of the provincial population. In the time of Septimius Severus a juriconsult could say: "Formerly the military service was obligatory, and he was punished with death who did not respond to the call. Now we have abandoned this severity because our cohorts are recruited from volunteers."⁴ But these volunteers were poor wretches who had neither household gods nor homes, like those vagabonds with whom in the last century the recruiting officers of the French army filled their regiments, where they became the soldiers of Rossbach. There was indeed a certain conscription: every city was required to furnish a definite number of men and horses, and this was a tax upon property. Both were obtained as cheaply as possible and delivered over to the recruiting officer, *productio tironum et equorum*. These words are in the text of the law under the head of municipal obligations: "The furnishing of recruits, horses, and other animals or necessary things . . . is a personal obligation."⁵

Besides these soldiers taken by contract were others who were a danger to the state, those obtained from among the nations whom the army had to combat. Aurelius Victor, speaking of the legions of that time, writes: "The soldiers! the barbarians, I had

¹ See the senatus-consultum sent at this date to the proconsuls and military chiefs. (Capit., *Maximin*, 15.)

² Dion, lxxviii. 14.

³ Pupienus was, it is said, the son of a blacksmith or a wheelwright.

⁴ Arrius Menander, *Digest*, xlix. 16, 4, § 10.

⁵ Arcadius Charisius, in the *Digest*, l. 4, 18, § 13.

almost said."¹ When Aurelian was intrusted with the defence of Thrace the emperor gave him a legion, but also 300 Ituraean archers, 600 Armenians, 150 Arabs, 200 Saracens, 400 men of Mesopotamia, 800 *cataphracati* (men clad in mail), who were to come from the same region; and, to show him that he could count on capable subordinates, Valerian wrote him: "You will have with you Hartomund, Haldegast, Hildemund, and Cariovix"²—all Germans. At the battle of Emesa in 272, one of the best generals in the army, Pompeianus,³ was a Frank. Many others conceal for us their barbaric origin under Roman names. These Lembazii, Riparenses, Castriani, and Dacisci, who at that time formed the entire garrison of Rome, were not all men of the old provinces.⁴ The Roman army then was composed, in the different ages of its history, in the following manner: first of citizens, then of Italians, then of provincials, and now the barbarians are entering: it is a descending scale.

Following the able policy of the republican senate, the emperors, in concluding a treaty with the Goths or Vandals, stipulated that the children of the barbarians should be given up as hostages, and received them, both boys and girls, into the noblest houses in Rome. The boys were educated like the Roman youth, and the girls were married to Roman officers in the intention that these wives would keep their husbands informed as to what might be going on over the frontier. Hunila was of royal blood among the Goths: Aurelian gave her a handsome dowry and married her to Bonosus, one of his generals, a valiant boon-companion who in a battle of cups defeated all the barbarians, and plucked from them their most secret thoughts.⁵

Certainly there is no heroism in military virtues like these; but there was not a hero left under the standards. In the time

¹ Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 37: *militibus ac pæne barbaris*. After defeating an army of Goths, Claudius II. selected a number to fill the gaps in his cohorts. Ten years later Probus incorporated 16,000 Germans into his legions; all the emperors did the same. Under Theodosius barbarians were more numerous than Romans in the Roman army.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 11.

³ S. Jerome, *Chron. ad ann.* 272.

⁴ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 38.

⁵ *Id.*, *Bon.*, 14.

of Alexander Severus the Syrian legions declined to fight with the Persians,¹ and at Trebizond and Chalcedon, Romans more numerous than the Goths fled before them.² Finally, from amidst these men who had nothing of the Roman soldier except his costume, went out deserters carrying over to the enemy the secret of Roman tactics, drilling the enemy's troops, forging his weapons, building his ships, even constructing for him engines of war wherewith to attack fortresses: at the siege of Philippopolis the Goths made use of all the engineering contrivances known to the Romans at that time.³ Implacable as traitors are to those whom they have betrayed, they incited invasions, showed the way, and took the lead in the pillage, while their comrades remaining under the standards made and unmade emperors. It was a deserter who in 259 guided the Goths in the



Ituraean Archer. (Museum of Mayence.)⁴

¹ Dion, lxxx. 4. He adds that they were disposed to go over to the enemy.

² See, in Zosimus, the invasion of Asia Minor by the Goths and Scythians in the time of Valerian. Jordanes says (16) of deserting legionaries in the time of Decius and of Philip: *... milites ad regis Gothorum auxilium confugerunt*. A multitude of the soldiers of Niger had gone over to the Parthians, and to leave the door open for their return, Severus had modified the terrible penalties denounced by law against deserters.

³ See Dexippus, No. 2, in vol. iii. p. 678, of the *Fragmenta historicum Græcorum* (Didot).

⁴ The inscription is as follows: Monimus Jerombali f(ilius) mil(es) coh(ortis) I Ituraeor(um)

conquest of Bithynia, and it was perhaps a military sedition which gave up to the Persians the emperor Valerian.¹

Thus we see the standard is lowered among the soldiers no less than among the officers, and consequently in the government. And whose is the fault? It is the fault of the citizens of every rank, who will no longer endure the military service, and of the rulers, who know not how to compel them to it. We have already remarked that the appearance of superior military organization always marks the advent of a new dominion, for the reason that the army in many respects sums up in itself the civilization of a people. The empires of Persia and of Athens, of Thebes and of Macedon, of Carthage and of Rome, succeed each other in the order of the improvements made in military institutions. At the period with which we are now occupied these improvements had reached a limit which could be passed only by the aid of sciences unknown to antiquity, and centuries must elapse before these new sciences were discovered. The Greek genius, which was above all speculative, had been able to create mathematics and astronomy, and to begin mechanics and natural history; but mathematics alone have not—as chemistry and physics have—the virtue of leading man to the control of the material world; and these poets, these philosophers, these artists, who made the civilization of the old world, were not able to arm it with forces conquered from nature. To protect itself against the barbarians the Roman world had, therefore, means scarcely, if at all, superior to those which the barbarians employed. When, by the pensions which the imperial government paid, and by the commerce carried on in time of peace with the Roman traders, by the booty snatched from the provinces, and by the lessons which deserters taught them, the Goths, the Alemanni, and the Franks had procured themselves the necessary resources for the development of their metallurgic industries, they were able to give themselves an armament almost as formidable as that of the Romans. They had the superiority of courage, and their religion, like that which Mahomet gave the barbarians of the south, inspired them with a martial ardour which the

ann(orum) L. stip(endiorum) XVI h(ic) s(itus) e(st). Monument found at Mayence. Cf. Lindenschmit, *Tracht*, etc., pl. v. No. 3, and p. 22.

¹ Zonaras, xii. 23.

Romans no longer possessed. On the field of battle the legions had the advantage of discipline, of a better arrangement, and of traditions of military art which were not wholly lost, and this superiority would have secured to the Empire constant victories if these legions, which for two centuries had been the strength of the state and the confidence of the Cæsars, had not now become the scourge of the former and the terror of the latter. Accordingly, the chief care of the emperors now to come will be to put an end to barrack-revolts by a violent reaction against the military order. To save themselves from the continual attacks of the soldiery they will effect an administrative revolution which will appear to give themselves more security, but will not increase the safety of the Empire; they will divide the army in order to have less reason to fear it, and will make it up of barbarians in the hope that these foreigners will be more docile.

III.—THE ADMINISTRATION.

In the age preceding the nobles were the governing class; a regular and slow ascending movement replaced the Roman aristocracy, which was becoming exhausted, by the provincial aristocracy, full of life and experience. The latter obtained seats in the senate in proportion as its members, by their services in the cities and the legions, earned the attention of the emperor; and the sons of these senators, before succeeding their fathers in the curiæ, were prepared for their high office by an excellent administrative education. Revolutions had now changed this favourable condition of affairs.

Enfeebled by the institution of Hadrian's *consilium principis*, and despoiled of its last powers by the imperial council of Alexander Severus, the senate had nothing to do in the state, and it mattered little that Caracalla called Egyptians and Palmyrenes¹ to sit with the Conscript Fathers; Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, and Philip, Syrians and Arabs,² and Maximin, Thracians. The

¹ De Vogüé, *Inscr. araméennes de Palmyre*, Nos. 20-22.

² Zosimus (i. 19) says that Philip placed all his relatives in the higher offices, and Philip was the son of a Bedouin, a robber-chief.

higher grades in the army, the really important offices in the state, even the imperial dignity, being the prey of soldiers of fortune, the senate and the public offices were filled with the friends of the emperor, who selected them from the places where he himself had lived. From this it resulted that the recruiting for the administration, as well as for the army, was made in the lower strata of the population, that the worth of the men who influenced public affairs grew less, and that life everywhere fell to a lower standard.

The movement of concentration which had taken place in Rome in the last centuries of the Republic went on in the provincial cities. The number of the *humiliores* increased, that of the *honestiores* diminished; and in the provincial cities are seen only two classes, the decurions and the common people. The latter lost their last rights, even the comitia falling into desuetude; almost everywhere the curia, instead of the popular assembly, was the electoral body,¹ and the office of decurion had become hereditary.²

But the elections had become very onerous to the persons elected. In Pliny's time to enter a municipal senate did not involve great expense; at the period of which we are now speaking a perpetual flamen paid 82,000 sesterces for his office;³ of this he expended 30,000 for a statue to adorn the city; 20,000 for the required gift to the decurions, and he promised the people scenic games with a distribution of money. Prodigalities like these were possible to the rich only; consequently it was inevitable that many should seek in their office the means of indemnifying themselves, as the republican proconsuls used to repair, in a year of provincial government, their fortunes, ruined by an election in the forum. The Empire had put an end to this colossal plundering, and it was obliged also to arrest those of the municipal Verreses.⁴ But to

¹ Africa still held electoral comitia in the time of Constantine (*Code Theod.*, xii. 15, 1), and Julian, in the *Misopogon*, speaks in the case of Antioch of senators elected by the people, and later of municipal judges who had no regard for justice.

² See in the *Digest*, l. 2, the section *de Filiis decurionum*.

³ This amount was paid into the municipal treasury *ob honorem flaminii*. (L. Renier, *Bull. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, June, 1878; inscription of the time of Elagabalus, recently found at Philippeville.) This, it is true, is an individual instance.

⁴ The extortions of the municipal magistrates were of very early date. Cicero (*ad Att.*, vi. 2) avers that he had made those of Cilicia restore their ill-gotten gains, and he adds that these restitutions permitted the province to pay the arrears of its taxes.

succeed in this, the home government was obliged to administer the provinces, which formerly it had been contented with ruling.

The time of the family of the Severi is that of the most renowned juriconsults of Rome. Now these incomparable logicians sought, on their part, to establish everywhere and in all cases the idea of the rights of the state, which had been so extensive in the early republics. Obeying their influence as well as the social necessity of which we have just spoken, the emperors encroached upon the municipal liberties, and this ever-increasing interference of their agents, which the citizens themselves solicited or abetted, undermined and destroyed the vitality of the municipal rule. The finances of the cities are now in the hands of trustees acting in the emperor's name; the irenarchs appointed to maintain public order have need of the consent of his representative before entering upon their office;¹ new taxes are levied, public works are executed only with the authorization of the governor, who annuls the decisions of the local senate when they are displeasing to him, *ambitiosa decreta*, and the elections are made under his good pleasure when he does not appoint the candidates directly himself.² The duumvirs act as judges only in cases where a small sum was involved, and the practice of appeal to the Roman magistrate will have soon reduced the duumviral jurisdiction to nothing more than the equivalent of a French *justice de paix*.³ Accordingly, municipal honours losing their dignity, the obligations they imposed were the more onerous, and, through different reasons, pagans and Christians alike avoided them. But the government, already seeking to render the decurions responsible for the payment of the land-tax,⁴ watches carefully to see that the provincial senates be

¹ . . . cum a præsede ex inquisitione eligatur (*Digest*, l. 8, 9, § 7). See (*ibid.*, xxii. 1, 33) the rights which Ulpian attributes to the *præses* in respect to the financial administration of the city: . . . qui disciplina publicæ et corrigendis moribus præficitur (*ibid.*, l. 4, 18, § 7). . . . a decurionibus, iudicio præsidum . . . nominentur (*Code*, x. 75). An ordinance of Alexander Severus gives the governor of a province the right to annul the election of a decurion elected by persons unfriendly to the latter for the purpose of imposing ruinous expenses upon him.

² *Digest*, xlix. 4, §§ 3-4. "When he writes to the senate," says Ulpian, "*ut Gaium Seium creent magistratum*," it is advice rather than command." But the advice was as potent as an order.

³ The *justice de paix* decides debts not above 100 francs.

⁴ Many sentences in the *Digest* show this tendency from the beginning of the third century, but it is not until the time of Constantine that we find this system completely established. For

kept full; any one seeking to escape this duty by taking refuge in another city is brought back,¹ or, if he cannot be found, his property is confiscated for the use of the curia. A criminal sentence did not free a man from the duty of service as decurion; on the expiration of his term of punishment he returned into the municipal senate.² When it was a question of receipts the treasury had no scruples.

The government, which with one hand chained the refractory to municipal honours, with the other threw back privileged persons into the taxable, because it was essential for the government to secure its share in the net revenue of the cities.³ In the time of their prosperity these cities had multiplied exemptions from the *munera*, of which the burden, in the general impoverishment, had fallen heavily upon the other inhabitants. The number of physicians, rhetoricians, and grammarians enjoying immunity was reduced,⁴ and the citizen who had been exempted from the *munera* because of his poverty was subjected to them, notwithstanding his age, if fortune came to him late in life.⁵ We see that the government tried its best to find functionaries for the cities and resources to fill their treasuries: a care beneath which was concealed the very legitimate desire of protecting public order and securing the payment of the state-tax. But this self-interested solicitude obliged the government to intervene daily more and more in municipal affairs. The two centuries of the early Empire

the municipal organization of the first century, see in vol. v. of this work the whole of § 2 of chap. lxxxiii., and for the first attempt upon the liberties of cities, p. 130 of this volume.

¹ Ulpian, in the *Digest*, l. 2, 1. From this time the great anxiety of the government is to retain the rich in the cities. At an earlier period the number of decurions in the Italian cities was 100 in each; we have seen (vol. iv. p. 810; vol. v. pp. 331 *et seq.*) that this number was often exceeded. The register of Thamagaz contained seventy-two names, and mentions only the priests and magistrates. Julian (*Misopogon*) compelled all the rich men of Antioch to enter the curia in that city, and many of his predecessors had probably done the same. The minimum of fortune required for a seat in the curia had been placed very low: it was twenty-five *jugera* (*Code Theod.*, xii. 1, 35, anno 342), or 300 *solidi* (*aurei*), about £180 (*Nov. Valent.*, III. iii. § 4). This *Novella*, which is of the year 430, gives this as a very early figure, *secundum vetera statuta*.

² *Digest*, l. 2, 2, 1 and 3; *Code*, x. 37, 1: *Curiales jubemus ne civitates fugiant . . . fundum . . . scientes fisco esse sociandum*.

³ *Code*, iv. 61, 15. In this constitution Theodosius and Valentinian II. affirm that they confirm an ancient custom, *prisca institutio*. It is proper to say that the levy for the state being made only after all the public services of the city had been provided for, the two-thirds reserved for the state from the net revenue must have been a very small sum.

⁴ See vol. v. p. 403.

⁵ *Digest*, l. 5, 5, *proem*.

showed a just balance between the power of the state and the liberty of the cities; while this equilibrium lasted the public prosperity was maintained; when the former was overthrown the latter perished, and the moment of that disaster was near at hand.

The government was not alone guilty of this administrative invasion, which would have been so salutary had it been kept within limits.

To understand the slow evolution which led the central power to keep so strict a watch over the cities in which narrow and jealous oligarchies had been formed, we must remember how, in the Middle Ages, most of the communes came to an end. Their inhabitants also allowed to grow up in their midst a *bourgeois* aristocracy, like that of the Roman decurions, which perpetuated itself in the public offices and made the financial resources of the city serve its private ends. Abuses necessitated the intervention of the suzerain, and, as a consequence, the suppression of the municipal charters. At the two epochs the same result followed from similar causes. It is not that history repeats itself, but there are analogies which make ancient facts intelligible in the light reflected from more recent events. In seeing how our fathers lost their communal franchises we understand better how those of the Romans were lost.¹ In all times communities have cared little for their rights when their interests were in danger: . . . *neque populus ademptum jus questus est*. To put a stop to certain disorders arising from liberty, an administrative guardianship became necessary, which, exaggerating its legitimate rôle,

¹ This is seen in the Middle Ages in countless instances; M. Giry gives yet another instance in the history of the commune of St. Omer. "The provosts had appropriated to themselves a part of the city; they were accused of maladministration and were suspected of falsehood and cheating in their accounts; the public were exasperated at seeing the municipal offices perpetuated in an aristocracy composed of a few families, whose members, being successively provosts, passed the city's accounts from hand to hand, and treated the municipal finances as their private inheritance. In 1305 the commune accused the town magistrates 'after the accustomed way' before the high and noble Madame d'Artoys de Bourgogne as their '*droit juge*.'" This is still done in our time. "In Ireland, before 1848, there were seventy-one municipal corporations completely independent. The officers of these corporations went so far as to appoint one another. The corporations of Trim and Kells alienated their territory to allow two or three of the members of the corporation to buy it at a nominal price. That of Naas adjudged to one of its members for a price of twelve pounds sterling lands which were worth a hundred; that of Drogheda decided that the poor-fund should be exclusively expended for the profit of the members of the corporation and their families." (Arth. Desjardins, *de l'Aliénation des biens de l'État et des communes*, p. 34.)

soon made dead bodies of these cities which were once so full of life.

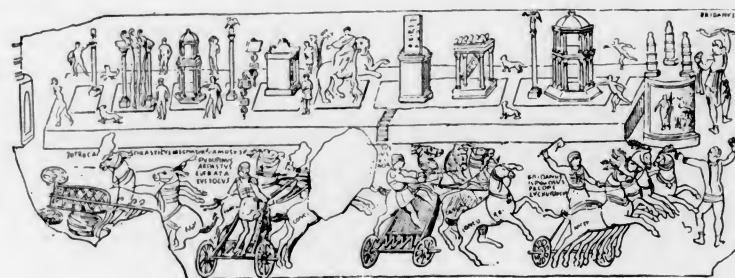
Another evil arose: in undertaking to think and act for all, the imperial government singularly retarded the transaction of public business. A government may be remote, an administration must be close at hand, and when a government administers an immense empire it necessarily administers it ill. All moves slowly, decisions are founded upon documents, far from the parties interested, and out of sight of things themselves which sometimes speak so eloquently. A document of the year 114 shows that at the gates of Rome, under Trajan, it already took ten months for the officer in charge of the *Cærites* to give a signature.¹ When this force, which suppressed all others by stifling the local life, falls into incapable hands, it must be, in its turn, as it were, suppressed by revolutions. The emperor having become the universal administrative officer, what, under the Thirty Tyrants, will become of the administration? To put this question is to show what deadly languor must in those unhappy times invade the social body!

The emperors worthy the name had taken pride in executing great public works—roads, bridges, monuments of all kinds; when they did not do this themselves, they incited the people of the provinces to these undertakings, and gave them the assistance of cohorts and legions in the work. But the armies now fight with each other, and the rulers who assume this purple, which is dabbled with blood every six months, can think of nothing beyond the anxiety of protecting their own lives. The Empire, abandoned to itself, suspends all work of repair or construction, and bridges become ruinous and military roads fall into dilapidation. With this the troops which had maintained general security in the interior are withdrawn to swell the numbers of those who are concerned with politics and not with the public safety. And so free-booters re-appear, the roads become insecure, traffic is interrupted, and destitution extends.

Although an edict of Caracalla had subjected the provinces to new taxes, the country ravaged by the barbarians or possessed by

¹ See the letter of the decurions of *Cære*, *ap. Egger, Historiens d'Auguste*, p. 390, and Orelli, No. 3,787.

usurpers—sent to Rome but insufficient supplies of money; and yet the need increased daily. The wasting of the public revenues by rulers of a day, the lavish gifts bestowed upon those soldiers of fortune who had no personal means, but must be expensively maintained in order to secure a continuance of their doubtful fidelity; lastly, a scarcity of money produced by the continual exportation of the precious metals into countries where the Empire bought much while selling nothing: all these causes of poverty compelled recourse to the most disastrous measures of bankrupt governments. Formerly the high offices of the state were held by rich senators who met a portion of their expenses from their



Games of the Circus. (From a Mosaic of Barcelona.)

own private means, but now the emperor must find the money for everything. When Aurelian, the son of a poor freedman, is made consul, Valerian writes to the prefect of the treasury: "On account of his poverty you will give him, for the games of the circus which he must furnish for the people, 300 pieces of gold, 3,000 of silver, ten tunics of silk, fifty of Egyptian linen, four Cyprus table cloths, ten African carpets, ten Mauretanian coverlets, 100 swine, 100 sheep: you will cause a public banquet to be served to the knights and senators, and you will furnish for the sacrifice two great and two small victims."

Later we shall read of largesses made by Gallienus to Claudius; others obtained from the emperor lands which did not belong to him. All who assumed the purple in these days perished by a violent death; after the defeat, their partisans were despoiled; and as each province had its usurper, each was exposed to numberless confiscations. The conqueror not being able to pay his

friends with gold, paid them with confiscated property. Claudius Gothicus had received some. After his accession a woman came to claim the possessions of which she had been deprived by Gallienus for the profit of his lieutenant. "You have wronged me," she said; but the emperor answered: "No; as a subject I had no concern with the execution of the laws; now, as the ruler, it is my duty to attend to it, and I give you back your lands." To put a stop to this shameful method of obtaining wealth, Claudius forbade any one to solicit another's property, to denounce as guilty the innocent for the sake of obtaining their possessions. This edict was added to the many others in the archives which like it were well-meant, and, like it also, without durable effect.



Claudius Gothicus,
Laurelled. (Gold
Coin.)

IV.—DECLINE IN INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, AND THE ARTS; DEPOPULATION OF THE EMPIRE.

The recruiting of the labouring classes went on, like that of the administration and of the army, under conditions which constantly grew more and more unfavourable. We may represent the Roman Empire as formed of a series of concentric zones extended around the Mediterranean Sea. Those nearest to this sea, having been for the longest time centres of civilization, were the most enlightened and the wealthiest; in proportion as we advance inland in every direction we approach the barbaric world. Rome at first obtained her slaves from the first zone which conquest gave her. She took them from southern Italy, Sicily, Greece, Greek Asia, and Carthaginian Africa: 150,000 Epirotes were sold at one time by Paulus Æmilius. These slaves, corrupt frequently, but intelligent and active, furnished the numerous freedmen who became at Rome architects or physicians, teachers or artists, and the friends and boon companions of the nobles. This zone being subjugated and reduced to peace, war no longer obtained captives in it, and it became necessary to seek working people in the second zone, and afterwards in the third. The great slave markets thus fell back with the frontiers. The concession of citizenship to the entire Empire fixed them there, and the barbarians who furnished the

supply sold the ruder prisoners whom they themselves had made captive in the heart of the barbaric world. Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus brought in such captives without number, filling the great estates with labourers incapable or dangerous, under whose hands the earth soon ceased to give other than the most meagre harvests.¹ The progressive steps of the Roman decline are marked by the constantly lowered social level; it is thus that the Athenian republic was ruined, and the great Roman Empire was to perish by the same causes.

Agriculture suffered from an evil of long standing. To the political concentration going on in the city and in the state had corresponded a concentration of fortunes and estates,² or rather the second fact had been the cause of the first, and free labour was disappearing from the country. During thirty years of invasion and civil war, agriculture must support, beside the usual burdens, innumerable requisitions and incessant devastations. Under so many disasters which extensive landowners alone could resist the petty proprietors succumbed. They abandoned their hereditary acres to become colonists, to take as soldiers their share in the immense pillage, or to seek in the cities higher wages and a life which they believed would be less severe. In Diocletian's edict, the labourer, the shepherd, the muleteer are paid but a third as much as the joiner, the mason, and the workers at trades in general; so that there came about an unfortunate circumstance which other ages have seen also: the urban population increasing at the expense of the rural population. Only one class had gained in numbers, the proletariat of the cities and of the country, where the colonists were beginning to establish serfdom.³

Agriculture loves the free labourer, and she had them no longer; to be richly productive she has need of the expenditure of capital, and if we except a few great proprietors, this

¹ Papinian, fifty years before the period with which we are now concerned, fixed the legal price of slaves at 20 aurei, or 500 denarii (*Digest*, iv. 4, 31). We may conclude from this that slaves were becoming scarce and consequently dear, for this price is high (see vol. ii. p. 306, n. 3), whereas the inferior quality of the slaves of that time ought to have lowered the price.

² We have seen, under Nero, that six landowners divided among themselves the whole province of Africa (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xviii. 6). In the time of Nerva, Frontinus says further: "In Africa private estates are as large as the whole territory of cities" (*Gromatici veter.*, p. 53). Under Theodosius is found the same condition of things.

³ In respect to the coloni, see vol. v. pp. 311 *et seq.*

community had none in reserve; hence the ground returned but small harvests and famine was always threatening.



As libralis of Latium.

and fortune in the privileges which they secured from the authority or obtained for themselves by closing the common market against their rivals.²

¹ Vol. v. pp. 388 *et seq.*, and p. 293 of this volume.

² See vol. v. p. 562, n. 3, the privileges accorded to the traders and labourers connected with the mine of Aljustrel.

Industry of every kind found itself no better off. The workshops, filled with the ignorant and despised lowest class, produced poor work, and the system of corporations destroyed competition. Certain industries whose existence the government made it a point to protect had been in good time constituted as monopolies, and it is said that Alexander Severus would have been glad to give all the trades a corporative organization,¹ which moreover private individuals took of their own choice. Everywhere traders and mechanics formed associations: the bakers of Rome and Ostia, boatmen of the Saone and of the Rhone, mariners of the Seine, ship-carpenters, ship-brokers, measurers of corn, and the like; all those who laboured with their hands sought security in union

Manufacturing industry was still further slackened by the lessened demands of trade, hampered as it now was by revolutions, by the cessation of public works, by the increase of taxation, and also by piracy and robbery on the highways springing up again, against which the emperors no longer made war, so occupied were they with their own private quarrels.

And it suffered perhaps most of all from an extremely bad monetary system.

The amount of silver and gold in circulation in the Empire was diminishing, less on account of the mines being exhausted than by reason of the difficulty of obtaining their products. This work, which had been so well carried on under the early Empire, required, in order to be kept up actively with the processes at that time employed, an energetic discipline; and for the existence of such a discipline there was needed for the Empire the strong and stable government which it no longer had.¹ When, in the reign of Valens, the Goths invaded Thrace, all the miners fled to the barbarians. A scarcity of the precious metals produced disastrous consequences. The Republic had at first known but one coin, the bronze as; after the Punic Wars silver became the monetary standard (the sesterce and the denarius). The early Empire had the gold piece (aureus), and for 200 years gold was the chief circulating medium, and with it silver, for copper does not seem to have been in use, none being found in



Denarius of Domitius Calvinus of the year 40 B.C.



Copper Coin of the Third Century A.D.: C. Postumus. (J. de Witte, *Recherches sur les empereurs qui ont régné dans les Gaules au troisième siècle*. No. 256, pl. xvi.)

¹ Hirschfeld, *die Bergwerke*, pp. 72-91, and Flach, *Table d'Aljustrel*. Under the Republic and in the first century of the Empire the mines of precious metals and the quarries of marble which belonged to the state were farmed out like the other revenues. In the second century they were placed under the supreme direction of a *procurator Caesaris*, assisted by numerous subordinates for superintendence or direct management, *probatores*. When anarchy invaded the government it also took possession of the mines, whence slaves and criminals constantly made their escape. Observe that the procurator was often one of the emperor's freedmen, and that centurions, serving, like our discharged soldiers, in many civil occupations, sometimes had the superintendence of the works; thus, for the marbles of Synnada, in Phrygia, a centurion had charge of the *cæsura* or cutting. (*Mélanges de l'École franç. de Rome*, August, 1882, p. 291.)

the treasures buried at that time. We have elsewhere explained¹ that the great republican fortunes took more than a century to disappear. Public and private wealth held out under the Antonines. But in the third century both were seriously impaired. Of this there is twofold proof: the coins were debased, and in the buried money of that time pieces of gold become more and more rare, and there is a great quantity of copper. The aurei found have different weight, and we are obliged to conclude that, losing its character of a standard, the aureus came to be only a piece of gold accepted in trade for its weight, so that traffic retrograded until the time when buyer and seller needed to be furnished with scales.³



Gold Coin of the Third Century A.D.: C. Postumus (*ibid.*, pl. xvi. No. 251). Providence on the Reverse.²

This would have been merely an annoyance and a waste of time; the monetary alterations were a cause of perpetual deceptions and even of ruin to persons engaged in financial transactions. The sesterce was the unit under the Empire, a coin equal in value to a quarter of a denarius or one-hundredth of an aureus. Now the silver denarius being ninety-six to the pound in the first years of Nero's reign, and almost of pure metal, contained in the time of Alexander Severus fifty or sixty per cent. of alloy, and from a value of about eightpence had fallen to about threepence-halfpenny.⁴ To this depreciation of silver naturally corresponded an augmentation in the value of gold. The state believed it wise to take advantage of these circumstances and accept only aurei in payment of taxes.⁵ It was the act of



Denarius of Nero.

¹ Vol. v. pp. 566 et seq.

² Quinarius of gold or *semis*, the half of an aureus. The quinarius of silver (or half denarius) was so called because it had the value of five ases. *Denarii*, says Varro, *quod denos aeris valebant, quinarii, quod quinos*.

³ In the fourth century the treasury required, to prevent frauds, that the tax-gatherers should pay their receipts in ingots.

⁴ Two silver pieces of Decius, identical in appearance, are worth, the one fivepence, the other threepence (Mommson, *Hist. de la monnaie romaine*, vol. iii. p. 85, n. 1). Accordingly, treasury orders did not, as we have seen (p. 366, n. 2), bear the definite figures, so much money, like the 25,000 sesterces which were originally the pay of the legionary tribune, but an indication of the different kinds of money which, put together, would come to about the same sum.

⁵ See on that point, p. 246, n. 2.

a fraudulent bankrupt, such as it would be to refuse to receive into the public treasuries bank-notes issued by the state at their fair value. Or, if a word less harsh be preferred, it was an increase of taxation, such as has recently occurred in great states where, the paper money being below par, it has been decided that custom dues be paid in gold. The tax-payer, for example, who owed 100 sesterces could not pay it as before with twenty-five denarii, worth to him in his daily transactions less than eight shillings; he must deliver to the tax-gatherer an aureus, which was worth much more than that. After the year 256 silver coin contained not over twenty, and sometimes only five per cent. of pure metal. Under Claudius Gothicus, the Antoninianus, the silver coin most common in circulation, was a mixture of copper, tin, and lead, with a whitish coating, which gave the pieces when new an appearance of silver. But instead of a precious metal, the possessor of this piece of money had only an alloy of copper: it was nothing more than a token.¹ The same government which condemned the counterfeiter to the wild beasts,² gave a forced currency to the false coin which it put in circulation, and punished with banishment or death those who refused to receive it,³ on the ground that the emperor's image upon the piece was competent to give it the value that it pleased him to assign to it.



Antoninianus of Claudius Gothicus. (Cabinet de France.)



Argentens Minutulus of Caracalla.

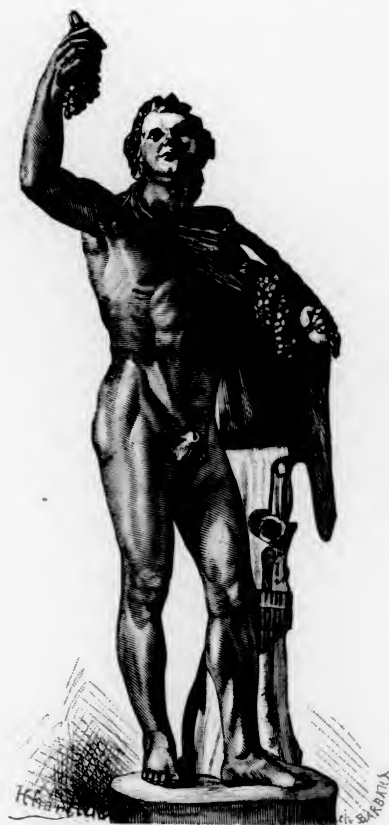
The intrinsic value of the aureus was reduced, like that of the silver denarius: Cæsar made forty to the pound, Caracalla, fifty, Constantine, seventy-two; and at the same time the amount of pure metal employed decreased and the quantity of alloy increased: in the first century, .009; in the second, .062; in the third, still more.⁴

¹ From Claudius II. to Diocletian there are only very few coins which contain any silver at all (Eckhel, vii. 475). This author remarks that from the time of Claudius all the cities except Alexandria and three cities of Pisidia—Antioch, Seleucia, and Sagalassos—had lost the right of coining money.

² Ulpian, in the *Digest*, xlviii. 10, 8.

³ Paul., *Sent. Recept.*, v. 25, 1.

⁴ Lenormant, *la Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, i. 202. In respect to the distinction between coins



Faun of *Rosso antico*.
(Statue found at Hadrian's Villa. Vatican,
Museo Pio-Clementino, Cabinet, No. 433.)

The Empire, therefore, was in a condition like that of France in her most evil days, about the middle of the fourteenth century; and we can truthfully say that from the reign of Gallienus to the middle of that of Diocletian the monetary system of the Romans was a permanent bankruptcy.¹ Under the infliction of these constant perturbations of the monetary standard, discouraging to both the producer and the trader, labour diminished, and we have seen that from other causes the production lost in quality as well as quantity.

In the region of intellectual and artistic production the decline was even more manifest.

The religion of the beautiful disappeared with the gods who had inspired it, and dragged with it in its ruin art, which always corresponds with the mental condition, because in order to produce its work it requires to be solicited by the public taste. It had besides a formidable enemy. In its first age Christianity was iconoclastic; it anathematized

or pieces circulating in trade; commemorative medals, like the immense gold piece of Eucratidas (vol. iii., coloured plate facing p. 232); the imperial medallions employed as presents to great personages at the epoch of military gifts, and often worn around the neck on a collar as a decoration; the pieces made for religious offerings or for prizes at certain sacred games; those worn as talismans, theatrical tesserae, tokens, and the like, see Lenormant, vol. i., Introduction. The custom of women wearing coins about the neck or set as ornaments is very ancient.

¹ Mommsen, *Hist. de la monnaie rom.*, vol. iii. p. 144, and Lenormant, *ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 172 and 184.

pagan art, it forbade its believers to cultivate it, and, wherever possible, it destroyed the statues of the gods. The bishop of Caesarea in the fourth century would not allow the figure of Christ to be represented, and the rude frescoes of the catacombs show



Conical Stones representing Melkarth-Baal, the Phoenician Hercules.¹

what painting became in Christian hands. Art, which was so useless to the new faith, was no more serviceable to the old. What could art do with the black stone of Elagabalus, the conical deities of Syrians, even with the Ephesian Diana of the fifty breasts,² or with the Olympians made objects of caricature, like

¹ Stones found at Malta, of which one is in the Museum of the Louvre. The Phoenician Hercules was represented in his sanctuary, in Tyre, by two columns of gold and emerald. The two cones of Malta bear the same inscription in Phoenician and Greek; it is a dedication made by two brothers to Melkarth-Baal, "the king of the city." (Communication of M. Ph. Berger.) In respect to conical stones, see above, p. 276, n. 3.

² See vol. iv. p. 23. And yet the Greeks had succeeded in giving to this deformed object all the beauty that it could have.

the beautiful Ganymede represented at the feasts of Isis by a monkey?¹ How could men have exhibited in marble or in bronze the hypostases of the neo-Platonists and the confused abstractions



Ganymede as an Ape, on a Lamp in the Museum of the Louvre.

of the Gnostics? From the temple and the forum, art had fallen to the boudoir. It at first maintained itself by the imitation of ancient work; but this imitation becoming more feeble as the models became more remote, no man knew how to produce anything that was not dull and affected. The inspiration being lost nothing remained except a handicraft, and the unworthy successors of the masters produced by contract for an impoverished and coarse community which had lost relish for the elegance of earlier days. Compare the busts of this period with the statues of the early Empire,² or the sculptures of the Arch of Constantine with those of the Antonine age, even the pretty trifles, the exquisite vases, the graceful furniture of Pompeii with the ceramics and the heavy ornamentation of the end of the third century, and it will be apparent that barbarism is approaching.³

¹ Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, xi.

² Eckhel (vol. vii. 458) says of the bronze coins of Postumus, Victorinus, and Tetricus: *Ultimam plerique barbariem redolent, sic ut non in provincia . . . sed Sarmatas inter Gothosque . . . percussi videri possint*. Many others of these emperors are coins of the early Empire re-minted. (De Witte, *Revue numism.*, vi. 1861.) At the same time, M. de Witte has published many fine bronze coins of Postumus, and the difference is explained by the diversity of mints. That of Lyons especially, which belonged to the Gallic emperor, had traditions and artists enabling it to still issue fine coins, and we shall see them until the close of the century.

³ See, in the *Congrès archéologique de France*, vol. xlvii. 1881, pp. 220-239, the remarks of Dr. Pléque upon the Gallo-Roman pottery made at Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme).

Stern preachers of philosophy and religion had driven laughter away, while public calamities had put an end to happiness, and art, which is the joy of life, no longer knew how to adorn it: the sadness of the Middle Ages was beginning.

We must make allowance however for the barbarians. The fear of invasion had obliged the cities, which had remained open during "the Roman peace," to shut themselves up within walls; and to build these walls they had in many places already destroyed the buildings that more fortunate generations had erected. At Tours, at Orleans, at Angers, at Bordeaux, at Saintes, at Narbonne, at Reims, at Poitiers, and in many other cities of Gaul we find in the old walls fragments of columns or entablatures, monumental stones, and inscriptions. Themistocles did this in Athens, but Pericles and Phidias came after him, while after the great architects of the Antonines there were only masons.¹

The Greek language was still written with elegance:

Oppianus of Cilicia and Babrius (if Babrius belongs to the third century) are two good versifiers, almost two poets; the name of Longinus is always mentioned with respect; and Photius, in



Candelabrum of Hadrian's Villa (Marble); on the Base, Jupiter (the other Sides represent Juno and Minerva). (Vatican, Gallery of Statues, No. 412.)

¹ De Caumont, *Cours d'Ant. mon.*, 8th part, *passim*; Batissier, *Histoire de l'Art monumental: Revue archéol.*, November, 1877, p. 351; and *Mémoires de la Société archéol. de Bordeaux*, 1880, pp. 63 et seq.

a transport of generosity, places the historian Dexippos beside Thucydides; we certainly shall not give the same honour either to Dion Cassius or Herodian, both of whom, however, have frequently been useful to us. Ælian and Philostratus must both



Candelabrum from Diomede's House at Pompeii.

be censured for their simple-minded credulity; Diogenes Laertius and Athenæus, by the precious information which we owe them, and Origen, by his vigorous mind, announce the splendour which the Greek fathers of the subsequent century will cast over the Church. The Roman world was turning more and more towards the East; there is life nowhere else at this time.

As for Latin literature, it was absolute nullity. There were still men of letters, for there always must be in a civilized society; but the writers of the time saw only the lesser sides of things: they take anecdote for history, rhetoric for eloquence, versification for poetry.¹ The union once so fruitful between the genius of Rome and that of Athens no longer exists, and this divorce of the two literatures is a sign foretelling the approaching separation between the two empires.² The Latin mind grows visibly weaker, except in the Church, where Cyprian at Carthage is the precursor of Augustine at Hippo.

Meanwhile the Christians have also their share in the decline of the Empire. A half century of tranquillity had singularly increased their number; but although life, which was enfeebled in the pagan world, was ardent in their communities, they were for the state a cause of weakness rather than strength. The Roman law punished celibacy; they honoured it. The great development of the monastic system comes in the following century, but many believers already shunned marriage, which their clergy, as a rule, avoided.³ They lived by themselves, avoiding all intercourse with the heathen, except in cases of absolute necessity, and abhorred the sacrilegious festivals of the latter. Being foreigners in the cities whose honours they rejected, they were the same in the Empire, which they refused to defend with weapons,⁴ and without displeasure they saw the approach of the barbarians. On the way to execution S. Marianus exclaimed: "God will avenge the blood of the righteous. I hear, I see the white horsemen coming!" and Commodianus depicted in barbaric verse the Goths marching

¹ We must, however, regret the *Memoirs* of Septimius Severus and also perhaps the *History* of Marius Maximus, often quoted by the compilers of the *Augustan History*, although Vopiscus (*Firmus*, 1) says of this writer: *Homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit*, and some other chroniclers of whom we know scarcely more than the names. There remain three verses written by the Emperor Gallienus, a fragment of an epithalium which he composed for the marriage of one of his nephews. Censorinus wrote his treatise *de Die natali* in 239. Two other grammarians, Nonius Marcellus and Festus, are sometimes said to belong to the third century. The two versifiers, Nemesianus and Calpurnius, come at the close of the century, and cannot be placed in the list of true poets; Calpurnius is a very skilful maker of verses.

² In the fourth century the eastern bishops and most illustrious doctors of the Church were ignorant of Latin.

³ See on this subject, pp. 217 *et seq.*

⁴ See p. 212 of this volume, and also what is said by Ælius Aristides (vol. ii. p. 402, ed. Dindorf) of Christians who are unwilling to participate in the affairs of the city.

upon Rome with "the destroyer king,"¹ to bring to nought the enemies of the saints and to put the senate under the yoke. Marianus and "Christ's beggar" were right in announcing to the persecutors an approaching expiation, but others were wrong in making themselves the instruments of it. In Pontus, the Christians united with the Goths in pillaging the heathen, overthrowing the idols and burning the temples;² consequently the emperors at last taking alarm, sought to extirpate by sword and fire that refractory element which the menaces of the law and judicial executions had not been able to hold in check. Then terror was to brood over the nations, the purest blood was to flow, and a civil war was to be added to the foreign war.

This civil war has the character of wars among savages. The western provinces have already witnessed scenes as terrible as those of the American frontier, when the savages swoop down upon it, scalping the men, carrying off the women, and leaving the buildings a mass of smoking ruins. As guides to the richest dwellings and the best-concealed treasures, the invaders found the slaves of barbaric origin, who regarded them as liberators. In Thrace and Greece and Asia Minor there was also bloodshed and devastation, and long trains of captives whom the barbarians, when wearied with expeditions and satisfied with plunder, carried away with them to their encampments in the North. At each new invasion the ravages extended further; first by land, then by sea.

¹ *Commod. episc. Afric. Carmen apologeticum*, in the *Spicilegium Solesmense* of Dom Pitra, i. p. 43. Commodianus calls the Gothic king Apoleon, from ἀπόλλωμι, to ruin, to destroy "He marches upon Rome," says this old author, "with thousands of Gentiles and . . . makes captive the vanquished. Many senators shall with them weep in chains. . . . Meanwhile these Gentiles will everywhere cherish the Christians and, rejoicing, seek them out as brethren . . ." (verses 800-815). From verse 801 on, the *Carmen* is believed to have been written at the exact time with which we are now occupied, before the persecution of Decius, in 238. Tertullian, in his *Apol.*, 37, addressed to the Roman magistrates, calls upon them to regard it as a merit in the Christians that they did not favour the attacks of the Mauretanians upon Hadrian, of the Marcomanni upon Marcus Aurelius, of the Parthians upon Severus, which proves that in his heart the idea of aiding the enemies of the Empire was not repugnant to him. Two centuries later, Salvienus, in his *Gubern. Dei*, still extolled, in the midst of the calamities of an invasion, "the virtues of the barbarians who repulse all those infamous practices which the Romans permit. Vice, which is with them the exception, is the rule among us." This is the same spirit which, in the first century, led S. John to condemn "the great whore." See pp. 211-3 of this volume.

² See the fifth canon of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus in Routh, *Reliquiæ sacrae*, iii. 262, who adds: *Ista Barbarorum incursio gravissimis inter christianos perpetrandis delictis occasionem præbuit.*

The Goths were soon to construct vessels and carry devastation along all the coasts. "Hordes of Scythians," says Ammianus Marcellinus, "crossing with 2,000 vessels the Bosphorus and the Propontis, devastated the shores of the Ægean Sea. . . . All the cities of Pamphylia suffered the horror of a siege; Anchialos was taken; many islands were ravaged, and a multitude of enemies for a long time surrounded Cyzicus and Thessalonica. Fire was carried through all Macedon; Epirus, Thessaly, and Greece suffered invasion."¹ The rich cities bordering the sea of the Cyclades were obliged to rebuild their walls, which two centuries of peace had suffered to fall into decay, the Athenians to resume their weapons, grown rusty since the time of Sylla, and the Peloponnesians to bar their isthmus with a wall.² Everywhere were contests and bloodshed. At Philippopolis a hundred thousand dead bodies, it was said, lay beneath the ruins. The provinces unvisited by the Franks and Goths had other plunderers; in Sicily freebooters became so numerous that the island, once so favoured, seemed ravaged by a new Servile war.

Man, directing his strength against himself, suspended the struggle against the powers of nature, which resumed their sway, and declared it with a cruel energy. From the accumulated ruins, the untilled ground, and the undrained waters emerged contagion. The empire was like a great body in dissolution, exhaling deadly miasma. For twelve years (250-262) there was constantly a pestilence in the provinces; at one time in Rome and Achaia, 5,000 persons died daily; at Alexandria there was not a house without its dead, and the army of Valerian was reduced by sickness before encountering the archers of Sapor.

To these scourges was added another. The volcanic region, which extends in two directions from the Alps of Friuli across Italy and Sicily to Africa, and from the Adriatic to the Ægean Sea and the coasts of Syria, resumed their activity. The earth was shaken, and gave forth dull rumbling sounds; the sky was black for many days; chasms yawned in the ground; and the sea, hurling tremendous waves upon the shore, destroyed many cities.

¹ xxxi. 5. The picture which Zosimus (i. 23) traces of these devastations is even more gloomy.

² Zosimus, i. 29: the *Syncellus*, i. 715 (Bonn ed.); Zonaras, xii. 22.

It seemed as if the threats uttered by the Christians concerning the end of the world were about to be fulfilled. The Sibylline books being consulted, ordered a sacrifice to Jupiter *Salutaris*.¹

A document, preserved by Eusebius, sums up in brief and terrible words the situation of the Empire. In the capital of Egypt the number of persons between the ages of fourteen and eighty, inscribed during the reign of Gallienus on the registers of the alimentary institution, did not exceed the number of the men from forty to seventy who formerly had shared in these distributions.² Alexandria therefore had at this time lost more than one half of her population, and if such were the case in a city which had never seen a barbarian,³ what must have been the condition of the provinces where they made so many victims? It would not be going too far to say that in the space of twenty years that portion of the human race contained within the limits of the Empire, and formerly so prosperous, had diminished by one half. Such was one of the effects of governmental anarchy and of the appearance of the Germanic race in the Græco-Roman world.

We have admired the early Empire promoting order, security, and labour, the chief function of government in all ages, and its excuse in periods of absolute power, and we have repeated the words of gratitude that its subjects at that time so often uttered. It is now our duty to show these same subjects disaffected towards rulers who knew not how to defend them, and who so often ill-used them. Rome is no longer the sovereign goddess in whom all confide. Each province desires to have its own emperor; even dynasties of Gallic and Syrian origin appear. That is what a half century of revolutions has made of the flourishing empire of the Antonines and Severus. In states where the ruler is everything and institutions are nothing, decline may rapidly succeed greatness, for though we may not say that there are providential men, there are necessary men. Let Trajan, Hadrian, or Severus

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 4 and 5.

² *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 21, from a letter of Dionysios, the bishop of Alexandria. In France, out of every million of inhabitants, there are 789,559 between the ages of 18 and 80, and 267,652 between the ages of 40 and 70. The proportion between these two numbers is 2.95 to 1.

³ Egypt had suffered no invasion, but had been for twelve years agitated with sanguinary tumults, which the carelessness of the general government had allowed to break out in many other places. (Euseb., *ibid.*, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 16.)

be at the head of the government, and a hundred million Romans live in quiet and prosperity; let these men be replaced by those who are incapable of ruling, and disorder is in the armies and the barbarians are in the provinces. Civilization advances not by means of the masses, but by means of superior men; when nature formed no more men of that stamp, civilization fell away.



CHAPTER XCVI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DECIUS TO THE DEATH OF GALLIENUS (249-268).

PARTIAL INVASIONS THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE.

I.—DECIUS (249-251 A.D.); GOTHS AND CHRISTIANS.

C. MESSIUS QUINTUS TRAJANUS DECIUS was born of a Roman family, living in the village of Bubalia near Sirmium: in the year 201, according to Aurelius Victor; in 191, according to



Etruscilla, Wife of Decius.
(Bronze Medallion.)

the *Chronicle of Alexandria*. He heads the long list of Illyrian emperors, many of whom were destined to do the state great service. They were not men of brilliant qualities, but they were of accurate minds and



Trajan Decius.
(Bronze Medallion.)

energetic character, as might be expected from natives of those poor and warlike provinces.

Decius was of humble origin, and rose to distinction through his military career.¹ The old authors praise² him very highly, but his reign does not justify their eulogiums; it was extremely short, and the history of it is singularly confused and contains many contradictions. Three facts, however, are distinct, and they suffice: a war against the Goths; the re-establishment of the censorship, which indicates a return towards ancient customs; and,

¹ *Militie gradu ad imperium* (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 29).

² Especially Zosimus (i. 21-23) and Aur. Victor (29).

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as a result of this, a persecution against Christianity, the great novelty of the times.

After his victory near Verona (September, 249),¹ Decius went to Rome with his son, Quintus Herennius Etruscus, whom he had named Cæsar;² but he was almost immediately forced to leave it to repel an invasion of the Goths.



Herennius Etruscus, Son
of the Emperor Decius.

Confiding in the successes he had obtained in Thrace over these barbarians, Gordian III. put an end to the annual subsidy promised to this nation. At least, Jordanes³ relates that king Ostrogotha complained of this, and that he crossed the Danube with 30,000 of his people to ravage Mœsia. Other barbarians joined him; Roman soldiers even came to have a share in the plunder, and the mountaineers of the Hæmus, upon whom civilization had had but little effect, doubtless furnished the invaders with guides and auxiliaries. The great city of Marcianopolis (to the west of Varna) escaped by the payment of a ransom.⁴



Coin of Odessus. The God
standing, at the Left,
holding a Cornucopia
and a Patera.⁵

When the Goths returned with rich spoils, the Gepidæ attempted to plunder the plunderers; a hot engagement took place, in which the former were victorious. These events took place during the reign of

¹ We have a rescript of his, dated October 16th, 249, in the *Code*, x. 16, 3, and, according to Eckhel, Philip was still living on the 29th of August of that year.

² Eckhel, vol. vii. 342. Aurelius Victor (29) says that the Cæsar was immediately sent *in Illyrios*. Decius had a second son, C. Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus, who was also made Cæsar and Prince of the Youth.

³ In respect to the pensions paid the Goths since the time of Alexander Severus, see Tillemont, iii. 216. Jordanes, in his *History of the Goths*, gives an abstract of a great work, now lost, by Cassiodorus, the favourite minister of Theodoric. In respect to the Gothic war, see Wietersheim, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., where he discusses the contradictory narratives of Jordanes, Zosimus, Zonaras, and Aur. Victor. These details, however, lose all their interest in presence of the too certain fact of the defeat of the Roman army and the death of Decius.

⁴ *Post longam obsidionem, accepto præmio ditatus Geta recessit* (Jordanes, 17).

⁵ The Greek colonies of the coast of Thrace, far from changing the condition of the country, had undergone the influence of the barbarians, their neighbours, who had modified the manners, the forms of worship, and even the language of these Greeks. An inscription of the year 238 shows, at Odessus, the Thracian god, Derziparos, and upon early coins of that city the great god of the Odessians was Kurza. (*Revue archéol.*, March, 1878, p. 114; cf. Dumont, *Inscr. de Thrace*.)

Philip. The invasion had been so disastrous for Mœsia that the monetary series of the Pontic cities stops with this emperor; they had no more gold left to coin.

In the reign of Decius, Kniva, the successor of Ostrogotha, made a still more formidable invasion; he divided his forces into two bodies, sent one to ravage the part of Mœsia which the Roman troops had abandoned in order to concentrate themselves in the strongholds, and with the other, which amounted to 70,000 men, he attacked *Ad Novas*, an important city on the Danube. Repulsed by the future emperor, Gallus, at that time *dux* (duke) in Mœsia, he attempted to surprise Nicopolis, which Trajan had



Quinarius of Trajan Decius, equal in value to Two Sesterces.

built in memory of his Dacian victories. But the Gothic leader encountered an army which Decius had collected at that point. Unable to force the lines, the barbarian with the audacity of an Indian marauder, left the emperor in his camp, and advanced into the Hæmus, of which the passes were entirely unguarded; he came down upon the great city of Philippopolis, without keeping open a line of retreat.¹ Decius followed him over mountain paths, where the Roman army, both men and horses, suffered severely. The emperor had reached Berœa, sixty miles eastward from Philippopolis, and believed himself to be still far distant from the Goths, when Kniva, falling upon him unawares, made great slaughter among the imperial troops. Decius had only time to escape across the Hæmus. While the emperor was reforming an army from the garrisons of fortresses, Kniva seized upon Philippopolis by the connivance of Priscus, the governor of Macedon, who seems to have assumed the purple.² The barbarian king then returned into Mœsia, to deposit in a safe place across the Danube

¹ This is the same movement which gave the Russians the victory in the late war.

² Aur. Victor (29) represents the Goths as entering Macedonia, where, according to this author, they instigated the usurpation of Priscus.

the fruits of this fortunate campaign. On his way he encountered the emperor, who sought to avenge the Empire by re-capturing from the Goths their booty and their captives, among whom were several persons of rank. The treason of Gallus caused him to lose a second battle, in which he perished with his son, and not even his dead body was recovered (November, 251).¹

This was the first emperor who fell under the enemy's sword within Roman territory. Consequently this disaster carried terror through the provinces and joy and hope into the barbaric world; it was the terrible prologue to the great drama which was not to end until the day when the German race, after covering with blood and ruins all Roman Europe and a part of the East, installed one of the Heruli in the palace of Augustus and Trajan.

Two great faults and one blunder had been committed by Decius during his very short reign. Notwithstanding his experience he neither knew how to prepare for a Gothic war nor to carry it on sagaciously, and the result was the devastation of two provinces and his own death. As he would have had the credit of a victory, so he must bear the blame of a defeat. His second fault was the persecution of the Christians. His blunder exhibits a political simplicity astonishing in a man of his time; he re-established the censorship, fallen into disuse since the days of Claudius and Domitian, and the senate invested Valerian with the office. "Undertake the censorship of the world," the emperor said to him; "determine who shall remain in the senate and restore to the equestrian order its renown; take charge of the census and the levying of taxes; make the laws, and appoint to the high military offices. Your supervision will extend as far as the imperial palace and over all magistrates, with the exception of the urban prefect, the consuls, the *rex sacrorum*, and the chief vestal."

If Trebellius Pollio² really read these words in the public acts of the reign, it was a temporary colleague that Decius gave himself, a sort of interrex whom he left behind him in the capital,

¹ Before Kniva's invasion, it would appear that Decius gained some victories in Dacia, for an inscription calls him *restitutor Daciæ* (Orelli, 991), and against the Germans, *victoria Germanica* (Eckhel, vol. vii. 344-5), but there is no trace of this in the histories.

² *Valerianus*, l.

at a moment when he and his son were about to depart for a dangerous war.¹ We can even discern in this measure a new manifestation of the idea that it was wise to divide the imperial power among several persons, to have, as in the time of Pupienus and Balbinus, one emperor in the city and another in the army.

The censorship had wisely been suffered to fall into disuse, for it was an institution which, though useful in a little city, must necessarily be impracticable in a great state. But if it was impossible to restore the past, it appeared practicable to proscribe certain things in the present; and Valerian, who by no means brought back the manners of early Rome, made in the name of Decius, and later in his own name, a bitter war against the new creeds.

The Christian ideal was higher than that of Marcus Aurelius, but it was less disinterested. The sage who chanced to be an emperor asked for nothing in return for his obedience to duty; and hence but few have followed him. The Christian, on the contrary, made his bargain with God, as the pagan world had bargained with Jupiter. In return for their piety, the latter desired earthly good; in return for his, the former felt himself secure of eternal blessedness. His religion, therefore, possessed a powerful attraction for those spirits who were not resigned to submit to the universal law of creation: after life, death, and the secret of the tomb left to God. To the divine hopes which she held out, the Church added words and deeds of gentleness. In the midst of an aristocratic community, extremely harsh towards the lowly, she taught the equality of all men, great and small, Roman and barbarian, in the presence of the divine law, and promised to "the servants of God," whether slaves or senators, the same rewards. Her spirit of universal love, her care for the sick and poor, the new virtues that she required, in the place of those that the Romans had lost in losing the dignity of citizenship,² had gained her many hearts.

But, while the number of believers was increasing, the virtue of the early days seemed to decay. If we may accept the words of S. Cyprian, we must believe that the peace, which the Church

¹ Zonaras (xii. 22) even makes Valerian the colleague of Decius.

² Vol. i. p. 148, and vol. v. pp. 413 *et seq.*

had now enjoyed for forty years, had been fatal to discipline and morals; that piety was dead in the priests, integrity in the ministers, charity in the believers, and that all the vices of the pagan world had invaded the members of Jesus Christ. Instead of assisting the poor, they fraudulently possessed themselves of lands and heritages, and increased their revenues by usury.¹ "We



S. Cyprian and S. Laurence on a Gilded Glass of the Catacombs. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxviii. No. 7.)

devour one another," says a second contemporary; "and our sins have raised a wall between God and us. Haman insults us; Esther, with all the righteous, is in confusion, for all the virgins have suffered their lamps to go out; they are asleep, and the door is shut. When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth? The Word has his fan in his hand that he may cleanse his floor."² Like all pulpit orators, S. Cyprian exaggerates. His picture "of the fall" is too dark, as his apologies

¹ *De Lapsis, passim.*

² S. Pionius, priest in Smyrna and martyr in 250. (*Ap. Bollandists, February 1st, p. 45.*) Reference to the parable of the wise and the foolish virgins: *an omnino dormitaverunt omnes virgines et dormierunt . . . (Id., ibid.)*

are too brilliant in colour. S. Cyprian wrote in the midst of a persecution; since God had permitted it, its justice must be proved, and the irregularities of the Christians became necessary to explain the divine chastisement. Events really had a more natural cause. Since the time of the short persecution under Severus,¹ heroism had not been called out; there had followed a relaxed enthusiasm, and consequently a less rigorous life. But the hatred between Christians and pagans remained unabated, and the latter, seeing so many woes fall upon the Empire, invasions of barbarians, a destructive pestilence, and endless revolutions, believed the gods offended by the impunity allowed to those who blasphemed them. The government also became uneasy at the presence of this enemy, which, under penalty of destruction, the pagan state must either assimilate or destroy. Decius, a harsh and narrow-minded ruler, who, in his love of the past, believed himself able to resuscitate the dead, restore to the senate its power and to Jupiter his thunderbolts, undertook to avenge his gods. He promulgated an edict, which was posted in all the cities, ordering search to be made for all Christians, and punishment to be inflicted upon them. A war of extermination began. It appeared at first to succeed, because even more skill than cruelty was employed in it. All the efforts of the proconsuls were directed towards obtaining acts of apostasy. "Tortures," says S. Cyprian, "were continuous; they were not planned to give the crown, but to exhaust the power of endurance."² Accordingly apostasies were numerous. "To save his life, the son gave up the father, the father denounced the son."—"At Carthage the greater number of the brethren deserted at the first threats of the enemy. They did not wait to be questioned, but to preserve the wealth which held their souls captive, they hastened voluntarily to sacrifice to the idols; they implored the magistrates to receive them on the instant to burn the impure incense, and not to put off until the morrow that which was to make their eternal ruin sure." At Alexandria the same scenes took place, and at Smyrna, Rome,

¹ Origen (*Contra Celsum*, iii.) says that, until the time of the great persecution under Decius, there was but "a very small number, easy to count," of Christians put to death.

² S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 8, 52, 53, and his *de Lapsis*; Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 39, 41; Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*; Tillemont, iii. 326-345.



The Emperor Decius. (Statue of the Capitol.)

and throughout the Empire. Even bishops were seen leading their entire congregations into apostasy. Trophimus of Arles himself accompanied the Christians to pagan altars. Others, with money, bought toleration: the *libellatici* were very numerous. These weaknesses are in human nature, and we have no cause to wonder that Christianity, as it extended, lost something of its early virtue.

However, the persecution of Decius seems not to have been as severe as has been asserted.¹ A sentence of death was not always the inevitable sentence. Some were despoiled of their goods; others were thrown into prison: Babylas of Antioch and Alexander of Jerusalem, of very advanced age, could not support the rigours of imprisonment, and died in consequence. The most formidable, because at that time the most famous, of the Christians, Origen, was loaded with chains and threatened with the stake, but "the man of steel" betrayed no weakness. The torturers were wearied sooner than their victim; he was set at liberty and lived four years longer.²

As the persecution had been publicly announced many had time to escape. The most conspicuous leaders, Cyprian of Carthage, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Gregory Thaumaturgus escaped the peril, quitting their episcopal cities to live in some adjacent retreat whence they could communicate with the faithful. It must have been easy for many others to place themselves in shelter. Of these fugitives some went among the barbarians, others took refuge in the desert.

The martyrologies enumerate in this period a considerable number of martyrs; but serious authors dare not guarantee the authenticity of these *Acts*, filled with anachronisms and marvellous legends, like that of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, who being

¹ Except in Egypt, where there was doubtless a governor particularly bitter against the Christians. In Alexandria, a popular riot had cost the lives of several of them before the arrival of the edict of Decius. (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 41.) After the publication of the edict there were many apostasies and a certain number of martyrs. However, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria at this time, mentions as martyred after the edict but nine men and four women. (*Ibid.*) There must have been more.

² Origen, who was called *Ἀδαμάντιος* (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 14), was at that time sixty-five years of age. He had recently written (between 245 and 249) his great work against Celsus, the *Λόγος ἀληθής*. S. Cyprian says of the African confessors: *Nec cessistis suppliciis, sed vobis potius supplicia cesserunt* (*Ep.*, 10).

shut up in a cave, and walled in, emerged, living, two centuries after. We should not, however, fall into the opposite extreme, concluding from these pious frauds that there were very few condemnations to death. The edict of Decius reveals an intention on the part of the imperial government to strike a heavy blow;¹ a few of the leaders of the Church, bishops or doctors, perished, and, as always, the common people and the slaves. The most illustrious victims were S. Saturninus, first bishop of Toulouse, Pionius, priest in Smyrna, who, by his sacrifice, made up for the apostasy of his bishop,² and Fabian, bishop of Rome, whose see remained vacant a year and a half. Pionius was crucified, and with him a Marcionite, so the heretics had their martyrs also. If they had told us their story, they would have added glorious chapters to the great and terrible epic of persecution which has kept burning in men's minds across the centuries the flame of self-devotion, and still incites to noble sacrifices.

The storm let loose upon the Church by him whom Lactantius calls "the accursed beast," lasted in reality but a few months. At the end of the year 250 peace had been almost entirely restored to the Christian believers, and before the death of Decius all the imprisoned confessors were set free.³ The emperor had quite other work to do than torturing these inoffensive men on account of their belief. Kniva and his Goths compelled him to occupy himself less with his gods than with the Empire, and he left his undertaking incomplete. The persecution had been no more successful than the censorship of morals; but the latter had been but a harmless whim, while the former had caused tears and blood to be shed, and their trace still rests upon the persecutor's name.

¹ S. Cyprian (*Ep.*, 52) speaks of the hatred of Decius towards the bishops. See, in the *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*, the severity of the orders sent to the governors to bring back the Christians τῇ τῶν δαιμόνων λατρίᾳ . . . φόβῳ τε καὶ τῇ τῶν αἰκισμάτων ἀναγκῇ.

² A fugitive slave perished with him.

³ If the *Acts* of S. Acacius are authentic (Bollandists, March 10th). Decius himself ordered the release of that bishop.

II.—RAVAGES OF THE BARBARIANS IN THE EMPIRE; VALERIAN; PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS (251-260).

In the critical position where the army stood after the defeat and death of Decius, it had neither time nor disposition to await



Treb. Gallus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 73.)

a decision of the senate. Gallus easily obtained the purple from his legions.¹ In order to free himself from the suspicion of

¹ C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, born in 206, according to Aur. Victor, and in 194, according to the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. He was perhaps an African, a native of the island of Meninx.

betraying his emperor, he took for colleague Hostilianus, the second son of Decius, and he caused his own son Volusianus, whom he made Caesar,¹ to marry the sister of the second Augustus. Not long after, however, the later died or was killed. A dis-



Volusianus, Son of Treb. Gallus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors.)

graceful treaty had permitted the Goths to recross the Danube unmolested, taking with them their booty and their captives, and the promise of an annual subsidy in gold. But they had found the Empire so rich and at the same time so feeble, that it was to be expected that either Kniva or other chiefs would soon return.

¹ Eckhel, vol. vii. 365. After the death of Hostilianus, his brother-in-law was made Augustus (*ibid.*, 566), and reigned from November, 251, to February, 254.

There was, in fact, talk of new encounters in Pannonia, which the governor Æmilianus, a Mauretanian, knew how to turn to his own advantage. These slight successes encouraged his troops, whose military pride had been wounded by the treaty of Gallus with the Goths. The distribution among the soldiers of the money sent for the Gothic tribute completed the conquest, and the troops proclaimed their general.¹ Pestilence and famine desolated the provinces without interrupting the effeminate life Gallus was leading at Rome, and the people held him responsible for these disasters.



Hostilianus,
Second Son of Decius.²



Volusianus, Son of Gallus,
wearing a Radiated Crown.³
(Aureus.)



Trebonius Gallus,
Laurel crowned.
(Bronze Medallion.)

Æmilianus penetrated unopposed into Italy,⁴ as far as the city of Terni, where he met his opponent. A promise of money to the troops of Gallus decided the defection. The emperor was killed with his son (February, 254), and the victor had a few days of royalty.

This vain person⁵ promised the senate to renew the glory of the great reigns, to leave to the Conscript Fathers the administration of the state, while, he himself undertaking the hardships of war, would go and drive out the barbarians from the north and east; already he allowed himself to be represented on medals with the attributes of Hercules the Victorious and Mars the Avenger.

Even before the death of Gallus, Valerian, whom this emperor

¹ About the close of August, 253. (Eckhel, vol. vii. 371.)

² Caius VALENS HOSTILIANUS (*sic*) MESIVS QVINTVS Nobilis Caesar. (Large bronze.)

³ IMPERATOR CAESAR CAIUS VIBIVS VOLVSIANVS (*sic*) AVGVSTVS. (Gold coin.)

⁴ About the end of 253. In this case of difficult chronology we follow Eckhel, who has learnedly discussed the grounds for it.

⁵ M. Æmilius Æmilianus. (Or.-Henzen, No. 5,542.)

had employed to bring to his succour the legions of Gaul and Germany, had been by them (253) decorated with the purple in Rhætia. Rome had, therefore, three emperors at once. The disaster of Terni removed one of these. Valerian had no need to fight against the other. The soldiers of his opponent, feeling themselves the weaker party, and possibly offended at the advances



Aemilianus as Mars. (MARTI PROPUGNATORI.) (Silver Coin.)

made by their emperor to the senate, sent to the new Augustus the head of Aemilianus. The unfortunate man had been murdered near Spoletum; he had reigned not quite three months.¹

We find in this year a prefect of Rome who had the title of *comes domesticorum*, a new designation, and destined to be very conspicuous. Already we have seen *duces* and *praesidentes*; at the great council of war held in Byzantium, in 258, the emperor will be surrounded by them. Also the *amicus principis* (the emperor's counsellor) becomes a functionary; one Clarus was made prefect of Illyria and the Gallic provinces, and during the reign now



Laurelled Head of Valerian (IMP. C. P. LIC. VALERIANUS AVG.). (Large Bronze.)

beginning there were to be, as it were, two empires, that of the East, where Valerian was waging war, and that of the West, over which his son Gallienus ruled as Augustus. The elements of the approaching reform were in preparation.

We are about to enter upon the period known in history as that of the Thirty Tyrants, that is to say, of the most horrible confusion. We shall pass quickly over it, as in some dangerous or malarial locality the traveller hastens his steps.

The disorder existing in the state appears in the narratives which describe it. Even the chronology is uncertain, for this reason, that the emperors succeed each other too quickly for each to have time to issue the coins which fix our dates. The one thing plainly visible is that the whole barbarian world fell upon the Empire: the Franks overran Gaul; the Alemanni crossed the

¹ Eutropius says that he was killed *tertio mense*.

Rhine; the Goths or Scythians, the Danube and Euxine; the Persians, the Tigris and Euphrates.

Valerian was an upright man, who had with good reason been made the censor of others because he had always been his own censor; a man very well worthy of the second rank, but not of the first.¹ He endeavoured to relieve the public distress; he listened willingly to advice, and advanced men of worth. Claudius, Aureolus, Postumus, Ingenuus, Aurelian, were all distinguished by him, and Probus owed to this emperor his first honours.² But



Valerian and his Son Gallienus, wearing the Radiate Crowns. (Quaternio of Copper Alloy.)

the conduct of affairs required at a period of such extreme disorder something more than good intentions: there was needed a clear and active mind, much firmness and perseverance, none of which qualities Valerian possessed. Moreover, he came to power too late; old age is the time for repose, and not that for duties which require energy both of mind and body.³

To oppose Gallus, Aemilianus had brought into Italy the best troops from Pannonia, while to assist the former Valerian had led thither the flower of the Rhenish legions. The barbarians, who had not failed to observe this weakening of the garrisons of the frontier, attempted a new assault. Valerian had the wisdom to see that alone he could not possibly repel so many threats. Instead, however, of taking as his colleague one of the many valiant and experienced generals at this time in the Roman army, he chose his son Gallienus, who was too young to possess authority, and too effeminate to employ it well if he had had it.⁴ Father and son divided the defence. Valerian undertook the East,



Gallienus on Horseback treading down an Enemy.⁴

¹ P. Licinius Valerianus was of an old family, and at this time sixty-three years of age. He had held office as tribune for the first time while Gallus was yet living, in the year 253.

² Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 20; Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 8, 9, 11-15; *Prob.*, 3-5.

³ Zosimus is very severe upon Valerian (i. 36).

⁴ Reverse of a silver medallion with the legend: *VIRTVS GALLIENI*.

⁵ All the coins of Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus give him the title of Augustus; not one that of Caesar.

Gallienus the West (255); we shall see that both were incapable at their imperial trade.

Gallienus was still entirely devoted to pleasure, and passed his time in amusements of all kinds.¹ His father had but little confidence in this boy,² and yet dared not give him, as counsellor and guide, Aurelian, whose severity seemed to the old emperor too great for the time and especially too great for his son. He placed



The Straits of Hercules.

him in charge of Postumus, a skilful soldier, appointing the latter *dux* of the Rhenish frontier and governor of Gaul. Although the Romans still possessed their strongholds along the Rhine, the Frankish marauders could always find somewhere on the extensive frontier an ill-guarded point through which their bands could slip into the province. When they had once crossed the line of the *castra*,³ they were in the presence of disarmed populations who trembled at the sight of these yellow-haired warriors whose weapons never missed their mark; and the invaders went on across rivers and over mountains for the pleasure of seeing, of slaying, and of setting on fire the villas and cities. The Pyrenees did not arrest them, nor the Straits of Hercules; and the Moors with terror saw these sons of another world, whose destructive instincts would later be revealed to them by the Vandals. Among the Spanish towns pillaged or destroyed by the Franks, Eusebius names the great city of Tarragona,⁴ in which 150 years did not suffice to efface

¹ Never had entertainments been more numerous than in the reign of Valerian and Gallienus. (Eckhel, vol. iv. 422.)

² *Puer*. The word is in a letter quoted by Vopiscus (*Aur.*, 9), of which the authenticity has been called in question, though upon insufficient grounds. It is true that Aurelius Victor makes Gallienus thirty-five years of age at the time of his accession to the Empire.

³ They seem to have come into Gaul by the valley of the Moselle, where have been found many coins of this period which doubtless were buried at their approach.

⁴ Eusebius places the taking of Tarragona by the Franks in the year 263. According to Orosius (vii. 22) they remained a dozen years in Spain (256-268).

the traces of this devastation. Herda, in the time of Ausonius, was only a heap of ruins;¹ and in the fifth century Orosius speaks of many Spanish cities in ruins. If, as we said in relating the reign of Augustus, the Empire had been able to give the provincial assemblies a serious existence, and the municipal militia of the first century² had endured until the third, Spain could easily have repelled this handful of invaders. It was the isolation of the cities which prevented them from organizing for the common defence.

Gallienus cared little for these disasters: the Spanish and African sun, the civilization—whose contact is deadly to the barbarians when they are not strong enough to destroy it—would soon get the better of these bold marauders. He contented himself with detaining the bulk of the nation on the Rhine by many small combats, and finally, by the means so often employed, that of buying over a barbarian chief who should guard the frontiers for him; after which he assumed the name of Germanicus and caused himself to be represented on coins as the conqueror of two rivers, the Main and the Rhine, of which the one protected Gaul against the Germans and the other opened Germany to a Roman invasion.³ Aurelian distinguished himself in these laborious campaigns. He destroyed a Frankish corps near Mayence, and three lines of a song of his soldiers have been preserved:

*Mille, mille, mille, mille, mille decollavimus.
Mille Sarmatas, mille Francos occidimus,
Mille, mille, mille, mille, mille Persas quærimus.*⁴

In 258 an insurrection of the legions of Pannonia called Gallienus into that province; it had hardly been repressed when the Alemanni, not finding it possible to get through into Gaul, whose frontier was well guarded by Postumus, threw themselves



Gallienus conquering the Main and the Rhine. (Coin of Copper Alloy.)

¹ At the end of the fourth century. (*Ep.*, xxv. 5, 3.)

² Vol. iv. pp. 44 *et seq.*

³ Eckhel, vol. vii. 385, 390-91. Postumus issued similar coins. (*Ibid.*, 447.)

⁴ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 6. The date of this event is uncertain. Tillemont places it too early, in 242, for Valerian's letter to the urban prefect (*ibid.*, 9), in which the emperor calls him *liberator Illyrici, Galliarum restitutor*, and makes allusion to the important services which had lately brought Aurelian into notice, was written in 257.

upon Italy and advanced as far as Ravenna. In the time of Aurelian they made their boast that 40,000 of their cavalry had watered their horses at the river Po, and ravaged a large part of the peninsula.¹ It was the first time since the



Reverse of a Gold Medallion of Gallienus, found at Monaco in 1879.²

Cimbri that the Germans touched, otherwise than as captives, the sacred soil of old Italy. The Alps then were no longer an insurmountable barrier, and the fear of the Gallie "tumults," which four victorious centuries had dissipated, broke out afresh. Rome was in alarm. In the absence of the emperors, the senate levied troops and armed the citizens: it was the first worthy act done by them for many years. The Alemanni, doubtless less numerous³ than they afterwards represented themselves to be, and



Reverse of a Coin of Salonina, with the Legend, AUG. IN PACE.⁴

already laden with booty, made a disorderly retreat towards the Alps. Gallienus had time to arrive from Pannonia, and he defeated some detachments near Milan (258 or 259). In the hope of preventing the return of similar incursions, he employed upon the Danube the policy which had seemed to succeed upon the Rhine, that of alliances bought by gifts or honours; he married the daughter of a king of the Marcomanni, Pipa by name, and seated her beside the empress Cornelia Salonina. The fair-haired German became the emperor's favourite and supreme in the palace, where Salonina consoled herself with empty honours and philosophizing with the chief of the new Alexandrian school.⁵

¹ Dexippos, *Excerpta de Legat.*, in the *Scriptores Historie Byzantine*; Orosius, vii. 22.

² P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P. The emperor, wearing the prætexta, holding a wand in the left hand and a patera in the right, sacrifices at a lighted altar. Cf. Mowat, *Trésor de Monaco*, p. 9. This medallion is regarded with great doubt by M. Muret on account of the contradiction existing between COS. III. on the reverse and COS. V. on the face.

³ Zonaras says 300,000, but he adds that Gallienus defeated them with 10,000 men.

⁴ The empress Salonina, seated, holding a sceptre and an olive branch. (Coin of copper alloy.)

⁵ Pipa, notwithstanding the affection of Gallienus, remained only a concubine. There is neither medal nor inscription bearing her name, while Salonina is always called Augusta. On the coins of Gallienus are seen the heads of the husband and wife. There exists a coin of Salonina with the Christian legend, *in pace*. I do not, however, believe that Salonina decisively entered the Church, where she would not have been received without a conspicuous repudiation of heathen rites, and the empress who built a temple to Segetia, the goddess of Harvests, certainly never made that abjuration. But, inquisitive in respect to the ideas current in her

Without doubt an important law of Gallienus is due to the invasion of the Alemanni. The warlike zeal lately shown by the senate disturbed him. A rescript prohibited to the Conscript Fathers military service, and they were forbidden to appear in an army or in a camp.¹ In a preceding chapter we have seen the results of this decision.

The Marcomanni and the Goths, with their allies the Carpæ, the Boranæ, and the Burgundii, inflicted upon Illyria, Macedonia, Thrace, and Greece the woes that the Franks caused Gaul to suffer, and the Alemanni, Italy. All these provinces were desolated by devastations, murders, and a multitude of small combats, of which we know neither the place nor the date,



The Empress Salonina. (Museum of the Capitol.)

but in which the generals gained reputation and the selfish affection of a few soldiers, and later the dangerous honour of being elected to the Empire by this soldiery: a formidable favour which was equivalent to a death-sentence with brief respite. One of these generals, Aurelian, was to keep the purple for five years

time, and troubled by the disasters of the Empire and her own domestic unhappiness, doubtless the friend of Plotinus aspired to the peace which Christianity and the Neoplatonists promised after death. Her husband, who promulgated the first edict of toleration in favour of the Christians, is believed to have given this high testimony to the empress, who perhaps inclined him to benevolence towards the adherents of the new faith. See the *Mémoire* of M. de Witte sur l'impératrice Salonine, 1852.

¹ Aur. Victor, 33; cf. *id.*, 27. From that time forward the *præfectus legionis* took the place of legionary legate.

and to be a great ruler:¹ in a letter of 257 to the urban prefect, Valerian calls him the liberator of Illyria, who has cleared the province of barbarians. For their food these hordes drove along an immense number of cattle; Aurelian took so many from them that he was able to distribute among several Thracian towns a



Roman Auxiliary on Horseback killing an Enemy. (Monument found near Mayence. Lindenschmit, *op. cit.*, pl. vii. No. 3.)

great number of oxen and horses. He even sent to Rome for one of Valerian's villas, 500 choice slaves, 2,000 cows, 2,000 mares, 10,000 sheep, and 15,000 goats.²

As the circle of barbarism which enveloped the Empire was closing in on every side, Asia, as well as Europe, had its invasions.

The garrisons of the Roman posts, established, as we have seen, along the southern shores of the Euxine as far as Sebastopolis,³ at

¹ Another, Valens, who was to be emperor for a very brief time, appears to have compelled the Gauls to raise the siege of Thessalonica. At least, in Amm. Marcellinus (xxi. 16), he has the surname of Thessalonicus.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 10.

³ See vol. v. pp. 25 *et seq.*

the foot of the Caucasus, had been reduced in order to furnish soldiers for the continual revolutions of the Empire, and seditions, which the Antonines would have prevented, placed the kingdom of the Bosphorus at the mercy of its new neighbours.¹ The



Cimmerian Bosphorus: Jewels found in the Tomb of a Priestess of Cybele.²

Cimmerians gave up their vessels to the Goths, the Alans, the Heruli, and these extemporized pirates were carried across "the inhospitable sea" by the sailors of the Bosphorus as far as the Asiatic coasts. They seized upon Pityus, and then the great city of Trebizond, in which three centuries of prosperity had

¹ The kings of the Bosphorus put on their coins the effigy of the reigning emperor: Decius, Gallus, Volusianus, Hostilianus, Æmilianus, Gallienus, Odenathus, Probus, and so on. Cf. Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 306, and Cary, *Hist. des rois du Bosph.*, pp. 76-8. But these kings were now at the mercy of the barbarians, their neighbours. Accordingly, a gap of several years in the coins of Rhaseuporis IV. announces the troubles by which a barbarian usurper, Ininthinevus, profited. Phareanses, who seems to have reigned but a short time about the year 253, has also a name of doubtful aspect. A Rhaseuporis VII. reigned from 254 to 266, and probably longer. (*Trésor de numism.*, p. 63.)

² See, vol. ii. p. 804, a pendant found in the same tomb.

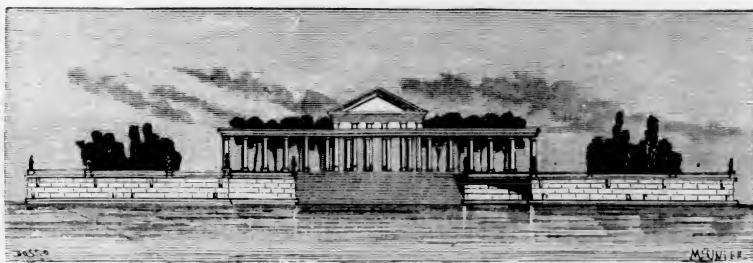
heaped up immense wealth, which a numerous garrison was not able to protect.¹

The rumour of this important capture fired the ardour of the Goths of the Danube. They forced their Roman prisoners to construct boats, in which they sailed along the coast while the



Island and Sanctuary of Apollo, in the Rhyndacus.² (Present Condition.)

main body of the army of invasion traversed all Thrace undisturbed, and arriving in the neighbourhood of Byzantium found along the shore a great multitude of fishermen, who consented to



Island and Sanctuary of Apollo, in the Rhyndacus.² (Restoration by Guillaume.)

lend their little boats, without doubt for the sake of sharing in the plunder. "From Chalcedon to the temple at the entrance of the Thracian Bosphorus," there were forces more considerable than those of the barbarians; but the Romans, seized with terror, fled, and the Goths entered Chalcedon, Nicomedia, the future capital of Diocletian, Nicæa, Cius, Apamea, Prusa, and Apollonia,

¹ There were two expeditions: the first, which failed, probably in 255; the second and successful attempt, in 257. (Zosimus, i. 32-3.)

² Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie Min.: Architecture*, pl. 1 and 2.

which its temple of Apollo did not protect, built upon an island in a charming lake formed and traversed by the Rhyndacus. Cyzicus escaped because the invaders could not cross the swollen river. All Bithynia was sacked, and the Roman legions nowhere dared to make a stand against the enemy. The people fled in inexpressible alarm, and many of these unhappy creatures, among whom we are forced to enumerate some of the Christians, took advantage of this immense disorganization to pillage in their turn (early in the year 258). The poor Jacquerie of France in the Middle Ages, yielding in the presence of similar disasters to a savage despair, said: "The devil is unchained; let us do the worst we can." Three centuries later, by the ruins they left behind them, the road the Goths traversed could be made out. "They carried back into their country immense booty," says Zosimus, "and they gave great honours to Chrysogonos, who had advised this expedition."¹

The preceding year Valerian had held at Byzantium a great council of war, in presence of the officers of the palace and of the army. We have the order of precedence in this assembly, and give it to show the new dignities that were coming into existence. At the right of the emperor were seated one of the consuls, the prætorian prefect, and the governor of the East; on his left, the *dux* of the Seythian frontier, the Egyptian prefect, the *dux* of the Oriental frontier, the prefect of the eastern annona, the *duces* of Illyricum and Thrace, and lastly the *dux* of the Rætian border. The foolish chronicler who had the opportunity to read the report of this session does not make known to us the serious deliberations which filled it; he contents himself with saying that Valerian decreed, on this occasion, extraordinary commendation to Aurelian for recent victories in Illyria over Gothic and Sarmatian bands.²

Where was the conqueror of the Franks and Goths at the

¹ Jordanes (*de Gothorum gestis*, 20) says that the Goths burned Ilium and the temple of Diana at Ephesus; he adds that in his time (the sixth century) there were still to be seen at Chalcedon the ruins that they had caused. Zosimus (i. 35) does not say who this Chrysogonos was, but it is apparent that these barbarians were not too barbarous to take advantage of traitors and collect the information necessary to the success of their expeditions.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 15. Valerian gave him at this time not the consulship, as Vopiscus says, but the consular ornaments. Inscriptions and coins prove that Aurelian was consul for the first time in 271. See Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 479.

time of the disasters which have just been described? Doubtless at Antioch with Valerian. This emperor did nothing to prevent or arrest the misfortunes from which Bithynia suffered. He merely sent a general to Byzantium to guard that important point. But the Goths had not as yet formed the design of establishing themselves permanently in the Empire, and their retreat was doubtless caused less by the approach of the emperor, who advanced into Cappadocia, than by the desire to place in safety before the stormy season¹ the booty with which their vessels were loaded, a

booty whose magnitude and value surpassed all their expectations.²



Reverse of a Coin
of Valerian, struck at
Antioch, in Caria.³

The Gothic invasion was probably connected with another invasion which seemed likely to drive the Romans out of Asia, that of Sapor. At least we see that the barbarians made their attack first upon the cities where the roads from Armenia came in, of which country the Persians were taking possession,

and in occupying Cappadocia Valerian seems to have had the design of placing himself between the two allies.

If it be said that this is ascribing to the barbarians too extensive combinations, we must remember the embassies sent by the Dacians to the Arsacids in the time of Trajan. The Amale required no great efforts of political intelligence to understand and follow the traditions of Decebalus.⁴

Sapor had assassinated Chosroes,⁵ the king of Armenia, and

¹ The ancients were reluctant to venture upon the Euxine earlier than May or later than September.

² Sozomenus (*Hist. eccl.*, ii. 6) and Philostorgus (*Hist. eccl.*, ii. 5) say that among the captives were priests who converted multitudes of barbarians on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. The work of conversion was possibly beginning among the Goths at this period; in 325 a bishop from this nation sat in the council of Nicea; but in western Germany there were no Christians, before Clovis, among the Franks, whom Sozomenus seems to designate, and the conversion of the Alemanni took place later.

³ ANTIOXEON. Bridge over the Meander; underneath, a couchant river and an equestrian statue. (Bronze.)

⁴ Vol. iv. p. 824. Pliny arrested in Bithynia an emissary from Decebalus to Chosroes. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the powerful league of the Marcomanni was formed in 165, shortly after the great successes of Vologeses in Armenia and over the Syrian legions.

⁵ Tiridates, the son of Chosroes, was saved by the satraps and sent to Rome, and, in 287, Diocletian placed him upon the throne of his fathers. (Moses Chorenos, *Hist. Armeniaca*, ii. 69-75.)

had placed one of his own partisans upon the throne. For more than a quarter of a century this country was like a Persian province, to the great grief of its inhabitants, for the Persians persecuted all those who followed the national customs, destroying all buildings of a sacred character, temples of the Sun and Moon; and the sacred fire of Ormuzd burning upon altars constantly was a reminder of the triumph of a hostile race and a foreign religion. Thus another bulwark of the Empire, and one of its best, was destroyed.

The possession of Armenia by the Persians in fact rendered easy their conquest of Mesopotamia, where Sapor took the fortified towns Nisibis and Carrhæ. The situation, therefore, was very threatening, and the blame of it was due to those who, in less than forty years, had instigated or effected ten military revolutions.



Sapor I.¹

The Romans, remaining masters of Edessa, barred to the Persian army one of the roads into Asia Minor, and the Cilician Gates, without doubt well guarded, at that time closed the other. Sapor, with his inefficient infantry,² was not able to force a passage through the mountains, and he could not hinder a Roman army from coming down into Syria; Valerian, indeed, entered Antioch without fighting. The appearance of the Goths in Bithynia obliged him to return into Asia Minor, "where," says Zosimus, "he did nothing save vex the people as he passed through." The retreat of the barbarians permitted him at last to leave Cappadocia and march upon Edessa, which, for many years blockaded, still held out. But his troops had suffered greatly from pestilence; and a defeat which he experienced, together with the clamours of the army, decided him to negotiate. Sapor refusing to receive envoys from the emperor, the latter requested a personal interview, repeating the error of Crassus. When the astute barbarian saw the emperor come to him weakly protected, he caused Valerian to be

¹ Bust of the king wearing the diadem and placed on a lion's head surmounted by two wings. Intaglio on sardonyx (20 millim. by 18). (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1,347.)

² In respect to the Persian infantry, see Amm. Marcellinus, xxiii. 6.

seized by the Persian cavalry and made prisoner (260).¹ This captivity lasted six years, accompanied by shameful ill-treatment, and after Valerian's death,² his skin, tanned, stuffed, and coloured red, was hung from the roof of the most important temple in Persia, where it remained for several centuries.³ The rocks of Nakeh-Roustem and of Schahpûr retained the story of this great Roman humiliation, and the horsemen there seen treading legionaries under their horses' feet perhaps gave rise to the legend of Sapor using the Roman emperor as a horse-block to mount by.⁴

Sapor took advantage of the consternation which this event caused in the Roman army to endeavour to seize the Empire as well as the emperor. Guided by the traitor Cyriades, he penetrated into Syria. One day as the inhabitants of Antioch were witnessing a performance in the theatre, one of them cried out suddenly: "I am dreaming or the Persians are upon us!" A few moments later arrows began to fall amongst the crowd, and the city was pitilessly sacked.⁵ Terror again seized upon all these provinces. It was asserted that Emesa had been saved by its divinity.⁶ No doubt the great mass of the Persian forces was in the northern part of the province, and only a detachment, easily to be resisted, was sent to the holy city; or indeed Sapor, through policy, respected a temple venerated by all the nations in this region.

All the attention of the Persians was now turned towards Asia Minor; that being conquered, the rest would fall. They

¹ This is the account given by Zosimus (i. 3). Zonaras speaks of a battle and a defeat. He adds that there was a tradition of a mutiny in the Roman army, which had caused Valerian to seek refuge with Sapor, *πρὸς τὸν Σαπώρην κατέφυγεν*.

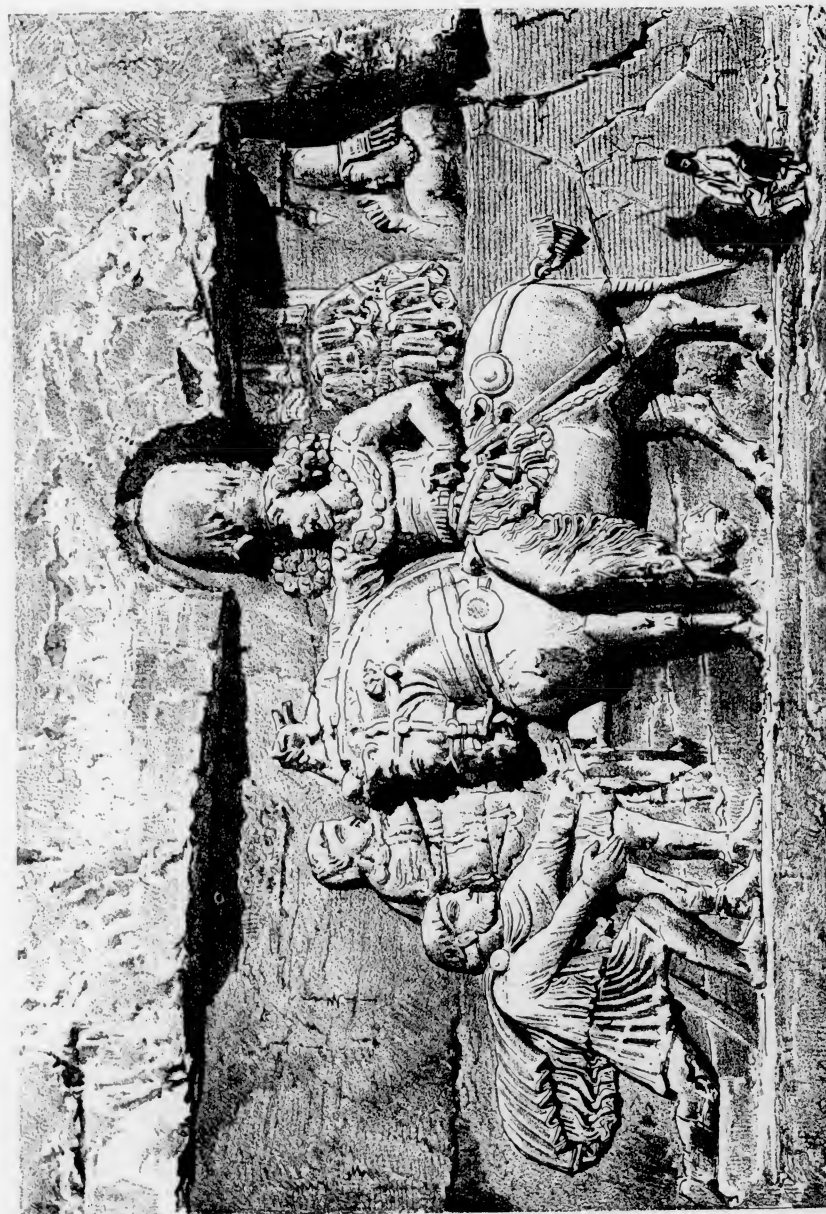
² Agathias even says that he was flayed alive.

³ What is legend and what is truth in this story? It is not easy to say. A letter from Constantine to Sapor II., quoted by Eusebius (*Life of Const.*, iv. 11), and the words of Galerius to Narses, related by Peter Patricius (*Excerpta de Legat.*, in the Byzantine), attest that Valerian certainly suffered the most humiliating of captivities; it lasted, according to the *Chronicle of Alexandria*, until 269. But Treb. Pollio (*Tyr. trig.*, 14) places the death of Valerian before that of Odenathus, consequently in 266: . . . *iratum fuisse reipublice Deum credo, qui, interfecto Valeriano, noluit Odenatum reservari*.

⁴ The bas-relief of Darabgerd shows Sapor treading under his horse's feet a prostrate man, on whose head seems to be a fragment of a laurel wreath. (Flandin, *Perse ancienne*, pl. xxxiii.) But this was a symbol of victory much in use among the Persians, and we are not to conclude that this sculpture represents a real action.

⁵ Am. Marcellinus (xxiii. 5) places this in the reign of Gallienus, that is, after the captivity of Valerian.

⁶ John Malalas.



Valerian Prostrate before Sapor, who is on Horseback. Bas-relief of Nakbeh-Roustem, under the Tombs of the Kings (Environ of Persepolis). (From a Photograph by M. Dieulafoy.)

crossed unopposed the passes of Cilicia, took the great city of Tarsus, and besieged Caesarea, the capital of Cappadocia, which is believed to have had at this time a population of 400,000 inhabitants. The city held out for a long time, until a prisoner, being put to the torture, revealed a weak point in the defences, through which the besiegers by night entered the place. They had been ordered to seize the brave Demosthenes who had directed the defence, but he cut his way through on horseback, killing many of the enemy, and made his escape.¹ Two years earlier than this the Persians would have been able from Cappadocia to reach the Goths, masters of Bithynia. But the barbarians of the south had not even need of aid from the barbarians of the north to reach the Propontis and the sea of the Cyclades. Terror went before them. "They might easily," says Zosimus, "have made themselves masters of the whole of Asia, if they had not been in haste to enjoy their victory at home and to carry off their booty."² After their departure the Syrians took revenge upon the traitor Cyriades,³ who had assumed the title of Augustus, and burned him alive.

It is said that when Sapor announced his victory to all the neighbouring or allied nations, the latter, terrified at so great a triumph, concealed their fears under the counsels of philosophic moderation, which they sent back in reply.⁴ The son of Valerian had no need of the consolations of wisdom to appease a grief which he did not feel. "I knew," he said, "that my father was mortal; besides, he has fallen like a brave man," and considering him as already dead, Gallienus apotheosized him. Possibly these words might have been pardoned to a son who had followed them by energetic acts to avenge his father and the Empire; but this feigned stoicism was only unfilial cowardice.

The reign of Valerian is marked by the most cruel persecution that the Church had yet endured. When the pagan inhabitants of the Empire beheld barbarians threatening the very heart of Italy

¹ Zonaras, xii. 23.

² Amm. Marcellinus (xxiii. 5) also speaks of this precipitate departure.

³ Or Mariades. Cf. *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 192 (Didot).

⁴ These letters must be fabrications, however, for the Persian archives certainly were not open to the writers of the *Augustan History*.

and ravaging two-thirds of the provinces, their anger was turned against this foreign people living among them, indifferent to their griefs, and refusing to take arms against the public enemy. As if entering reluctantly upon the career of persecution, the emperors in their first letters simply forbade the assembling together of Christians and their entrance into cemeteries; they required no one to renounce the worship of Christ, but required all to conform to the Roman cult, which was, however, equivalent to apostasy; and, finally, they as yet punished the contumacious with exile only. The Acts of Cyprian exhibit this first phase of persecution, which does not seem to have struck outside of the clergy.

"In the fourth consulship of the emperor Valerianus and the third of Gallienus, the third day before the kalends of September (30th August, 257), in the audience hall at Carthage, the proconsul Paternus said to the bishop Cyprian: 'The most sacred emperors Valerianus and Gallienus have deigned to address letters to me, in which they order all persons not professing the Roman religion to observe without delay all its ceremonies. I have therefore summoned you to ascertain your intentions; what answer have you to make?' The bishop Cyprian replied: 'I am a Christian and a bishop. I know no other god than the one true God who made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is. This God we Christians serve, to Him we pray night and day, for ourselves and for all men, and especially for the safety of the emperors.' The proconsul said: 'Do you persist in this resolution?' The bishop Cyprian replied: 'The good will that has once known God never changes.' The proconsul Paternus said: 'You may prepare then to go into exile in the city of Curubis: so Valerianus and Gallienus command.' The bishop Cyprian replied: 'I am ready to go.' The proconsul Paternus said: 'The orders which I have received concern not only bishops but also priests. I wish, therefore, to know the names of the priests dwelling in this city.' The bishop Cyprian replied: 'Well and wisely have your laws prohibited giving information: I therefore cannot make known to you or give up to you those of whom you speak; you will find them in the cities where they dwell.' The proconsul Paternus said: 'It is my will that they appear before me to-day in this place.' Cyprian answered: 'The rules of our order forbid

them to surrender themselves, and in this you cannot blame their conduct; but seek for them and you will find them.' The proconsul Paternus said: 'Fear not, I will find them.' And he



Gallienus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 76.)

added: 'The emperors also forbid meetings in any place whatsoever, and the entering of cemeteries. Whoever shall violate this wise prohibition will be punished with death.' The bishop Cyprian: 'Do whatever is commanded you.'¹

¹ Freppel, *Saint Cyprien*, pp. 477-8, from the proconsular reports of the martyrdom of S. Cyprian. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, also suffered exile only into the Libyan desert, three days' journey from Parætonium. (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 11.) Interrogated by the prefect

The successor of Paternus removed the sentence of exile decreed against Cyprian, and suffered him to reside at the gates of Carthage in a house which belonged to the bishop. But the calamities of the Empire increased. Emperors who could not aid themselves believed that they might obtain the assistance of Heaven by avenging their gods. In the middle of the year 258 Valerian sent to the senate the following rescript:

"Bishops, priests, and deacons shall be punished with death; senators, officers, and knights degraded and deprived of their goods. If they persist, death. Women of honourable birth shall be banished. Freedmen of the palace shall be sent as slaves to the emperor's domains."¹

We will further give the last interrogation of S. Cyprian, showing the general method of procedure against the martyrs.

"The proconsul Galerius Maximus said to Cyprian: 'You are Thascius Cyprianus?' The bishop answered: 'I am.' The proconsul said: 'You are the bishop of these sacrilegious persons?' 'I am.' 'The most sacred emperors have ordered you to sacrifice to the gods.' 'I shall not do so.' 'Reflect upon your conduct.' 'Do what you are ordered; in a thing so right, I have no occasion to deliberate.' Galerius Maximus, after taking the advice of his council, expressed himself as follows: 'You have long held sacrilegious opinions; you have brought many men into this impious conspiracy, thus placing yourselves in hostility towards the gods of Rome and the laws of religion; and the pious and most sacred emperors Valerianus and Gallienus, Augusti, and the very illustrious Valerianus Cæsar, have not been able to bring you back to the observance of their religious ceremonies. For this reason you, being the author of the most infamous crimes, and the standard-bearer of the sect, shall serve as an example to those whom you have led astray by your criminal machinations;

of Egypt, he had made S. Paul's famous reply (*Acts*, v. 29), which Polycrates of Ephesus had also repeated (*Hist. eccl.*, v. 24), and by which the social bond may always be broken: "We must obey God rather than men," that is to say, a man's own ideas, which he believes to come from divine revelation or inspiration rather than the common law. In the case of the Christians the state was in the wrong, and their resistance was legitimate, but the formula was dangerous, for it has not always been employed to protect rights of conscience only, which ought to be protected.

¹ S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 82, *ad Successum*. The edict of Valerian is given there.

your blood shall be the sanction of the law.' Having said this, he took his tablets and wrote the sentence which he had uttered aloud: 'We condemn Thascius Cyprianus to be beheaded.' The bishop said: 'God be praised!'"¹ The guards then led him away. Arriving at the place of execution, Cyprian took off his outer garment, knelt and prayed some time. Then he gave his dalmatic to the deacons, bandaged his own eyes, and directed his followers after his death to give to the executioner twenty-five gold pieces.



Pope Sixtus and the Deacon Laurence, on a Gilded Glass from the Catacombs.²

The brethren held strips of cloth around him to collect the martyr's blood. The executioner trembled when he struck the mortal blow. All the pagans must have trembled also when they witnessed these triumphant deaths (14th September, 258).¹

Cyprian was among the favoured ones: his was the easiest death; others were burned alive, like the bishop of Tarragona, or thrown to the wild beasts. Rome paid largely the debt of blood. Pope Sixtus II. was one of the first to perish. Being surprised in the catacombs while celebrating the holy mysteries, he was

¹ Freppel, *Saint Cyprien*, pp. 490-1, from the proconsular reports.

² Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxvii. No. 2. Upon the legend, PIE ZESES, see above, p. 157.

beheaded; and his deacon S. Laurence was burned at a slow fire. Wherever Christian communities existed, many priests, deacons, believers, and even women, perished. Novatian, who brought into the Church all the severity of his earlier master, the Stoic Zeno, was one of the victims, and possibly also S. Dionysius, who evangelized the north of Gaul, and Polyeuctes, whom Corneille has made famous.¹

The Empire was tearing itself with its own hands, as if for its ruin, famine, pestilence, and the barbarians who seemed to the Christians "to be let loose by God for this day of wrath,"² were not enough.

Gallienus had one merit: he understood that this persecution was unjust as well as useless, and as soon as he was sole master he ordered that their cemeteries, their possessions, and the freedom of their worship should be restored to the Christians (260).³ This was one war the less in the Empire. Unhappily, many others still remained.

At the time when the imprudence of Valerian had given Syria over to the Persians there were in the East two men famous for their military talent: Macrianus, the principal lieutenant of the captive emperor, and Balista, who had formerly held the office of prætorian prefect. They collected the remnant of the army of Edessa, and sought at Samosata, in the narrow angle formed by Mount Amanus and the Euphrates, a retreat which it would be easy to defend.⁴ By slow degrees courage returned to the Romans. Balista reached the coasts of the sea of Cyprus, collected a flotilla on which he embarked a few soldiers, and made successful descents here and there in Cilicia. As the Persians, in the pride of their victory, disdained all prudence, he frequently surprised their detachments and killed many.

But the best assistance came from a side whence the Empire

¹ For details of this persecution, see Tillemont, iii. pp. 415-440. The Acts of the martyrdom of S. Dionysius, compiled in the seventh or eighth century, are not authentic.

² Orosius, vii. 22.

³ Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 13. Gallienus seems to have been a man of gentle temper. A dealer having sold false gems to the Empress Salonina, he condemned him to be eaten by a lion, and let loose against him a capon. Everybody laughed, and the emperor cried: "We have deceived the deceiver!" (*Hist. Aug. Gall.*, 12.)

⁴ *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 193 (Didot).

expected nothing. We have frequently spoken in this history of Palmyra, its riches, its numerous population, and of a family who had taken the first rank there, the Odenathi.¹ The Palmyrenes, for their commerce, had need of the friendship of Sapor. They sent him ambassadors with rich presents to solicit his goodwill. The king threw the gifts into the river, tore up the letters that the envoys had given him, and demanded an absolute submission.² Palmyra had at this time as chief or prince of its senate an able and determined man, very rich and very influential, Septimius Odenathus. In critical periods superior men naturally take their place. Odenathus persuaded his countrymen that there was no answer but war to insults which were a distinct threat against their independence, and he made preparations for it in a suitable manner. The caravans had made Palmyra's fortune. To guide them, the city had been obliged to employ the Arabs of the Syrian desert, who all, from the Orontes to the Pasitigris, were in her interests. Odenathus reminded their sheiks of the destruction of Atræ, the Arab city, by Sapor; he convinced them that their liberty and their wealth would be lost if the haughty king should drive the Romans out of Asia. The Arab of the present day has two passions, religion and traffic. Mahomet had not yet given them the former, but the latter had been extraordinarily fostered by the profits which the interchange of commodities between the two empires left in the hands of the carriers. They gathered in crowds around the "prince of Palmyra," and we shall see them establish an Arab empire for the first time.

Palmyra had a permanent Roman garrison, and this detachment served as a nucleus for the new army. The Roman fugitives scattered throughout Syria rallied about it, and Odenathus added his Arabs. The successes of Balista had compromised the situation



Odenathus, Husband of Zenobia.
(Uncertain.)³

¹ Vol. v. p. 76, and in the present volume, pp. 81 *et seq.* In April, 258, Odenathus had already received the consular ornaments. (Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, No. 2,602.)

² Peter Patricius, *Excerpta de Legat.*, 2.

³ Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France* (15 millim. by 13), No. 1,309.

of the Persians in Syria, their line of retreat was threatened on the south by the armaments of Palmyra and on the north by the garrison of Edessa, which the troops of Samosata had probably



Silver Vase of Persian Workmanship of the Period of the Sassanids.²

joined at this time, and upon this too Roman soil they began to be uneasy. Sapor led them back towards the Euphrates, leaving behind him many of his own troops, surprised by a sudden attack of Odenathus. Arriving on the right bank of the river the Persians congratulated one another, believing they were safe; but they were obliged still further, says Zonaras, to buy their passage, by giving up to the army of Edessa all that was left to them of Syrian gold.¹ In these deserts avalanches of men appeared. Drawn by the lure of carnage and booty, the nomads rushed thither from all quarters of the horizon, and powerful armies emerged from the waste. Odenathus, whom Balista had now joined, found himself strong enough to undertake the conquest of Mesopotamia, and to venture on following in the track of Trajan and Septimius Severus³ as far as Ctesiphon itself. In a battle he captured part of the treasures and some of the wives of Sapor. This was the sharp reply of the Palmyrenes to the great king.

¹ Peter Patricius, *Excerpta de Legat.*, 10.

² *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,880. This monument of Persian art, under the Sassanids, is ornamented with two groups of lions, separated by the sacred tree, *Hom.* The figures are in *repoussé* on a gold ground. This vase had a handle, which is now missing. Cf. Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, p. 467, and Lenormant, in vol. iii. of the *Musée d'archéol.* of Fathers Martin and Cahier.

³ Eutropius, ix. 10, 11; Malalas, xii. p. 227; Zonaras, xii. 23.

Odenathus had not been able to set Valerian at liberty, but he sent captive satraps to Rome, and Gallienus, forgetting his father, celebrated with a triumph this victory which the legions had permitted the Bedouins to gain for them.

From this expedition Odenathus returned too great to remain longer a private individual. The Arabs proclaimed him king, and Gallienus, to attach to himself so useful a servant, appointed him chief of the imperial forces in that part of the East, *αὐτοκράτωρ*, or *imperator* (beginning of 262). Later, after further services, he gave Odenathus the title of Augustus, and the son of the clients of Severus took rank among the emperors of Rome.¹

III.—THE PROVINCIAL EMPERORS (249–268); GALLIENUS.

Those who have been called, in imitation of Athens, the Thirty Tyrants, were neither thirty nor tyrants. From the captivity of Valerian to the death of his son, we count eighteen generals who were proclaimed emperor² by their troops, as had been all since the Antonines, and they lacked only success to take their place legally among the masters of the Roman world. One only, Calpurnius Piso, was of the highest rank;⁴ another, Tetricus, of senatorial dignity; the rest of obscure origin. Moreover these so-called usurpers were neither worse nor better than the emperors raised to the official list; many manifested ability and did service; all finally were as legitimate as



Coin of Tetricus.³

¹ M. de Vogüé (*Inscr. élm.*, pp. 29 *et seq.*) does not believe that Odenathus ever had the title of Augustus. But, as M. Waddington remarks (*Inscr. de Syrie*, p. 601), "at Palmyra it was not of particular importance to translate exactly the names of Roman dignities," and as Zenobia is called in an inscription *σεβαστή*, or *Augusta*, it would appear that this title was given her as widow of a *σεβαστός*.

² We shall have twenty-nine Cæsars, or Augusti, murdered in less than twelve years if we include sons of emperors to whom their fathers gave the purple.

³ IMP. C. TETRICVS PIVS AVG. and the laurelled head of the emperor. On the reverse: VIRTVS AVG.; Tetricus, in a military costume, standing; at his feet a captive. (Gold coin in the British Museum. Cf. de Witte, *op. laud.* TETRICUS the Elder, pl. xl. No. 162.)

⁴ At least, he was so considered, but it cannot be proved that he was of that illustrious family of Pisos whom Horace calls *Pompilius sanguis* (*Ars poet.*, 292), because they claimed descent from Numa. Nor is it even certain that Piso assumed the purple.

was Septimius Severus. The Empire, that is to say, union for the common defence, seemed no longer to exist, since one of the



Coin of Pacatianus, Emperor in Pannonia or in Rhetia.¹

emperors was captive in Ctesiphon, the other wholly lost in pleasure, and the barbarians overrunning the provinces at their will. Under stress of necessity, patriotism re-awakened, and since nothing could be expected from Rome, men looked to themselves for their preservation. The



Young Roman, supposed to be Saloninus. (Marble of the Museum of the Louvre.)

legions formed the permanent garrison of the provinces, and remained very long in the same places, for example, the Third Augustan occupied Numidia for three centuries. From this resulted intimate relations between the army and the country. The soldier married there, the legion was recruited thence, and the troops borrowed the manners and beliefs of the region in which they lived. We have had occasion more than once to show that the differences between the armies of Gaul and of Syria corresponded to the differences between the two countries. By degrees these multiplied bonds had made the legionaries, as it were, the representatives of those whom it was their duty to protect, and during the eclipse of the universal Empire the provincial interest

¹ IMP. TI. CL. MAR. PACATIANUS AVG. and the radiate head of the provincial emperor. On the reverse: ROMAE AETERNAE ANNO MILLESIMO ET PRIMO (the year 1001 of Rome, 248 A.D.); in the centre, Rome seated. (Silver coin.)

personified itself in provincial emperors. Almost simultaneously Gaul, Illyria, Mœsia, Pannonia, Greece, and Thessaly proclaimed



Triumphal Arch of Gallienus at Rome.

their respective governors, and the provinces were so much in sympathy with the soldiers that they shared their fortunes. In a province where Gallienus had been able to overthrow one of

his rivals, civilians suffered as much as soldiers; the legions were decimated, but the cities were as full of carnage as were the camps.¹

The most remarkable of these emperors is Postumus.² He was a man of low condition,³ but of great courage, and extremely popular in the Gallic provinces where he was born, and of which he had been the protector. When Gallienus quitted the country in 258 he left his son Saloninus at Cologne, with the title of Caesar, under the care not of Postumus, the governor of Gaul, but under that of the tribune Silvanus, and Postumus was wounded at this mark of distrust. On one occasion, when the latter had divided among the troops a rich booty recaptured from the Franks, Silvanus claimed the spoils as



Saloninus Caesar.
(Bronze Medallion.)

belonging to the Caesar. When Postumus made known this order, the soldiers, rather than give back what they had received, tore from their standards the effigies of Gallienus and Saloninus, and proclaimed their general (258). He led them to Cologne, obtained the surrender, after a long siege, of the Caesar and his adviser, and put them both to death.⁴ The nations and armies of the Gallic provinces, Britain, and Spain took oath to the new Augustus.⁵ It was not the establishment of a Gallic, Spanish, or British Empire: no one at this time thought of breaking with Rome;

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 8. This awakening of provincial patriotism is manifested by two things: many cities, in Gaul, for example, abandon in the third century their Roman name to take that of their own people, and when the emperors dismember a former government to form new provinces, they usually give the latter the limits that these territories had in the time of their independence.

² M. Cassianus Latinus Postumus (*C. I. L.*, ii. No. 4,943).

³ *Obscurissime natus* (Eutrop., ix. 9).

⁴ Eckhel (vol. vii. pp. 391 and 438) places the surrender of Cologne in 259. The *Augustan History* (*Tyr. trig.*, 3) represents Postumus as having a son whom Valerian had appointed tribune of the Vocontii, and whom his father had taken as colleague; but, although we possess a great quantity of medals of Postumus, no one of them gives us ground to believe that this son, who had only literary tastes, was made Caesar and afterwards Augustus, and the adoption of Victorinus confirms these doubts. (Eckhel, vol. vii. 447, and de Witte, *Revue de numism.*, vol. iv. 1859.)

⁵ Bréquigny, *Hist. de Post.*, p. 356, in vol. xxx. of the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.* This opinion rests, it is true, upon two doubtful readings of legends on coins, which appear to belong to another period; but probability favours it. (Eckhel, vol. vii. 442.)

it was only breaking with Gallienus, and for protection uniting together under a famous soldier. Trèves was his capital; here he gathered a senate which decreed him all the titles attributed to emperors on the banks of the Tiber; but, upon his coins, the sole history of him which we have,¹ he preserved the image of the Eternal City, *Roma Aeterna*.



Coin of Postumus, bearing on the Reverse, Rome Eternal.²

Under the purple he kept his military

tunic. He prevented the Alemanni from entering Gaul, drove back the Franks by constructing on the right bank of the Rhine strong forts commanding the fords, and his fleet freed the British waters from Saxon pirates. On one of his medals, *Neptuno reduci* indicates that he led this expedition in person;³ another attests his efforts to free from pestilence the troops and the provinces.⁴ Successes of which we know nothing gave him those imperatorial salutations unknown on coins since the time of Caracalla, and the surname *Germanicus Maximus*.⁵ Coins of the year 262 give him these titles for the fifth time, and represent, some of them, a Victory crowning the Gallic emperor, and others a trophy raised between two prostrate captives. After making his power felt among the Franks he sought to draw them into an alliance; an auxiliary corps which he recruited among them gave him soldiers and also a pledge of the fidelity of these people.

The usurper therefore fulfilled all the duties of a legitimate prince; security reigned in the provinces, and commerce re-appeared



NEPTVNO REDVCI. (Reverse of a Coin of Copper Alloy of Postumus.)

¹ M. de Witte has collected them in a learned volume. The senate of Postumus, like the Roman senate, struck bronze coins with the stamp SC.

² Gold coin, in an open setting and loop. Cf. de Witte, *op. cit.*, pl. xvii. No. 265.

³ Mionnet, ii. 61, 68.

⁴ *Salus exercitus* (*ibid.*, 64).

⁵ The figure V. following this title appears to Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 439) to signify a fifth victory gained over the Germans. Another coin confirming this one bears IMP. V.

on the roads and rivers.¹ To show whence came this security, Postumus caused the Rhine to be represented tranquilly leaning upon his urn, with the symbols of peace, an anchor, a reed, and following with his gaze the peaceful current of his stream. The legend was expressive. *Salus provinciarum*.²

The Rhine.³

In 262 Postumus celebrated the fifth year of his reign. Originally this solemnity had occurred only at the decennalia; but at the period of which we write a ruler esteemed himself fortunate if he had lived half that time, and five years was the *grande ævi spatium* which an emperor rarely exceeded.

Another distinguished general, Ingenuus, had been made emperor by the troops of Pannonia (258),⁴ and the population of that province had pronounced with ardour in favour of the man who had many times repulsed or driven into the Danube the Goths and Sarmatians. Gallienus, however, defeated him near Mursa by a skilful manœuvre of one of the imperial lieutenants, Aureolus, who with a furious cavalry charge broke the enemy's line. Ingenuus killed himself, or caused his attendant to kill him. The province was deluged with blood;⁶ it remembered this cruelty, and we shall see that Pannonia soon made a new emperor, Regalianus.

For the moment Gallienus, conqueror of the rebels of Pannonia and also of the Alemanni whom he had just now driven out of Italy, seemed in a position to wage successful war with

Coin of Macrianus.⁵

¹ This is probably the meaning of the two medals which bear the unusual legends: *Mercurio felici* and *Minerva faulrix*. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 445.)

² The bronzes of Postumus are very defective, but his gold pieces equal the finest of the preceding emperors, and his silver coins still contain a little pure metal, while those of Gallienus have none whatever. To judge by the pieces found in collections of buried money of this date, it appears that Gallic coin was not received in Italy nor the coins of Gallienus in Gaul. (Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monn. rom.*, vol. ii. p. 124.)

³ The Rhine seated, leaning upon an urn and laying one hand on a vessel. Reverse of a copper coin of Postumus, with the legend: *SALUS PROVINCIA*.

⁴ Cf. *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 194 (Didot). It is possible that this revolt of Ingenuus was anterior to the Alemannic invasion of Italy.

⁵ IMP. C. FVL. MACRIANVS P. F. AVG. Radiate head of the emperor. On the reverse: MARTI PROPVGNATORI and the god Mars. (Coin of copper alloy.)

⁶ See the letter of Gallienus to Verianus Celer. (Treb. Pollio, *Ingen.*)

Postumus; but bad news came from Asia; Valerian was a captive, and Balista had induced Macrianus to assume the purple. This Macrianus,¹ a soldier of fortune, had risen from the lowest ranks in the army to the first positions of the state. His marriage and the liberality of Valerian, who trusted him, had made him rich enough to be able out of his private fortune to pay on the spot the *donativum* to the troops. He is represented by ecclesiastical writers as having employed magical arts to induce Valerian to undertake the great persecution of 258. The emperor was impelled thereto by reasons no more valid, but in his eyes more serious. Pagan authors, on their part, reproach him with having urged his master to that fatal conference whence the emperor never returned. These accusations, which emerge from obscurity, should be left there. Moreover, this man is not important, and his reign was very brief. He required, as a condition of accepting the Empire, that his two sons, Macrianus and Quietus, should be made Augusti. Egypt acknowledged him (260 or 261).



The Younger Macrianus. (Gold Coin.)



Quietus. (Medium Bronze.)

Through the energy of Odenathus the East was delivered from the Persians; but it was needful to restore tranquillity to men's minds, discipline to the army, and a sense of security to the population. The task was one which might occupy a ruler during many years. Macrianus never thought of it at all; his design was to extend his power rather than to consolidate it. Leaving Quietus and Balista in Asia, he crossed over into Europe with his other son, Macrianus, and 30,000 men to overthrow Gallienus. He sent before him one of his generals, Piso, who was to rid him of Valens, the proconsul of Achaia, whose talents the newly-made emperor dreaded. Valens, feeling himself menaced, assumed the purple in Greece: it is said that Piso did the same in Thessaly,² where he took refuge; but these two aspirants had but few troops, and probably but little money, and they were to be placed between

¹ Fulvius Macrianus. See in Treb. Pollio (*Tyr. trig.*, 12) the curious appeal of Balista to Macrianus.

² The eulogium upon Piso, pronounced by the prince of the senate, and the *senatus-consultum* which decreed him a triumphal statue (Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 20), prevent us from believing that Piso assumed the purple.

the two immense armies of Macrianus and Gallienus; their soldiers, therefore, killed them.¹

Aureolus had been rewarded for his services in defeating Ingenuus by the post of Master of the Cavalry and the government of the Illyrian provinces. He was the son of a Dacian shepherd: a new proof that the highest grades were recruited from a very low stratum. Being sent to arrest the Syrian invasion, he was easily successful; a part of the army came over to him, and Macrianus perished with his son.² Thus the situation became simpler.



The Temple of Ephesus.⁴

At the news of this success, Odenathus besieged in Emesa Quietus, the second son of Macrianus, put him to death, and shortly after caused the assassination of Balista, the only man who could be an obstacle to himself.³ The Palmyrene remained sole master of the Roman East, and Gallienus and Postumus divided between them the West.

These domestic strifes were not adapted to arrest the incursions of the Goths and Sarmatians in Thrace and Asia. On the coast of Asia Minor they burned the famous temple of Ephesus, which, with its twenty-seven columns of precious marble, each sixty feet high, the sculptures of Scopas, and the gifts of kings and nations heaped up within its walls, was esteemed one of the wonders of the world.⁵ In Mæsia they took Nicopolis, which had arrested the advance of Kniva, and in Macedon they besieged Thessalonica, the key to that province. Their bands, increased by escaped slaves, many of whom were of barbaric origin, went as far as Greece, where they found small plunder and many mountains, which

¹ It is possible that Piso was killed by the emissaries or by the troops of Valens, who assumed the surname of *Thessalicus*. (*Ibid.*)

² In the ninth year of the reign of Gallienus, that is to say, before the 29th of August, 262, probably at the close of 261.

³ According to other accounts, Odenathus spared Balista, who lived in retirement on an estate which he possessed near Daphne.

⁴ ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. The statue of Diana within the temple. (Reverse of a large bronze of Hadrian.)

⁵ The temple was 425 feet long and 220 wide. (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxxvi. 21.) The Roman foot was 11·655 inches. [Cf. now the remarkable explorations and restoration of this temple in Mr. Wood's *Ephesus*.—*Ed.*]

rendered resistance easy, and they appear to have suffered a defeat there.¹ Jordanes speaks of the childish delight of the Goths when they found themselves at the foot of the Balkans, near the hot springs of Anchialos (262-3).²

Byzantium, the bulwark of the Empire in these regions, had a numerous garrison, which, without doubt on account of some delay in receiving pay, revolted and pillaged the city. Gallienus hastened thither, and, as his custom was, showed himself very severe in his punishment. He remained there some months to intimidate the barbarians who had reappeared in Cappadocia, and to restore the provinces to order, rebuilding the fortifications of many of the cities. At the same time he carried on negotiations with Odenathus, which resulted in his accepting the Arab chief as his colleague in the Empire (264). On his return to Rome he celebrated with all the magnificence that the precarious state of his finances permitted the tenth year of his sad reign.



Reverse of a Coin of Gallienus.³

In the spring of 264 he at last prepared to avenge his son and recover the Gallic provinces.⁴ It is said⁵ that he proposed to Postumus to decide their quarrel by single combat; to which the Gallic emperor replied that he was not a gladiator. Aureolus commanded the troops of Gallienus; he either would not, or could not, take advantage of a victory of some importance to overwhelm Postumus, and the war was protracted. Notwithstanding the defection of a general of the Italian Cæsar, Victorinus,⁶ who with several legions went over to the side of the Gallic Cæsar, and was by the latter associated with himself in the imperial power (265),⁷



Victorinus wearing the Radiate Crown. (Coin of Copper Alloy.)

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 5.

² The *aque calide* were fifteen miles to the north of this city, which stood on the shore of the Black Sea, and they had a great reputation, *inter reliqua totius mundi thermorum innumerabilium loca omnino præcipue ad sanitatem infirmorum efficacissima* (Jordanes, 20).

³ LEG. XXX. VLP(ia) VIP (*sextum pia*) VI F (*sextum fidelis*). Neptune standing. (Copper alloy.)

⁴ Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 238) believes that there had been hostilities between Gallienus and Postumus since the year 260.

⁵ *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 194.

⁶ At least the coins of Victorinus bear the names of legions that are known to have been in the army of Gallienus. (Cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. pp. 402 and 451.)

⁷ This is the well-authorized opinion of M. de Witte, *Revue de num.*, new series, vol. vi. 1861.

Postumus was obliged to take refuge in a fortified town, where the imperial troops besieged him. Gallienus was wounded with an arrow during the siege, and the wound, together with his



Victorinus crowned with Laurel.¹

disgust at the prolonged duration of the war, decided him to leave his expedition incomplete. He came back into Italy, leaving Aureolus to guard the Alpine passes, a precaution which proves that the expedition into Gaul had not ended well.



Reverse of a Gold Coin of Victorinus.²

Postumus, how-

ever, half victorious, half vanquished, lost in this war the prestige he had obtained in his successful encounters with the barbarians.



Laelianus crowned with Laurel. (Gold Coin.)

A competitor, Laelianus,³ appeared against him; he defeated this general, but having refused his troops the pillage of Mayence, the principal seat of the rebellion, a tumult broke out, in which he and his son were killed (267). The Germans took advantage of these disturbances to recommence their predatory expeditions, and burned several Gallic cities.

Laelianus, respited by the death of Postumus, obtained some advantages over them, attested by his coins,⁴ and rebuilt the forts on the right bank which they had destroyed. The soldiers, disgusted by the labours which he required of them, murdered him.

Victorinus had doubtless instigated this tragedy, which relieved him from a competitor; but another immediately came forward, Marius, formerly a blacksmith. The *Augustan History* assigns to

¹ Gold medallion in an open setting. (Collection of the Hague; J. de Witte, *Recherches*, etc., pl. xxvi. No. 24.)

² *INDVLGENTIA AVG(usta)*. The emperor standing, assisting a kneeling figure to rise.

³ *Revue de num.*, vol. iv. 1859.

⁴ Cohen, v. 60. One coin of Laelianus represents Spain, where he certainly never was in command, but he included it in his government. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 449.)

this person only three days' reign, in order to say that on the first day he was made emperor, on the second he reigned, and on the third he was dethroned. It is probable, however, that the time was somewhat longer; an old comrade whose hand he would not touch, struck him with a sword which, as the story went, they had forged together.¹



Coin of Marius.²

The former colleague of Postumus, Victorinus,³ had remained during these catastrophes the emperor of the Gallic provinces. He was born of a rich family, and one of his kindred, Tetricus, governed Aquitaine. These ties of relationship consolidated his power, making him a national ruler in the eyes of the Gauls; and he appeared so formidable to Gallienus that the latter, instead of attacking him in Gaul, feared lest he should come to seek the empire of Italy as well. But habits of the grossest debauchery tarnished the merits of Victorinus, and he was assassinated at Cologne by one of his own officers whose wife he had outraged (268).⁵



The Emperor Marius.⁴

The true ruler during this reign had been Victorina, the

¹ We have coins and inscriptions of his which compel us to believe that his reign was not so short. De Boze (*Mém. de l'acad.*, xxvi. 512) gives him a reign of four or five months, from September or October, 267, to January or February, 268.

² *IMP. C. MARIVS AVG.*, around the radiate head of the Gallic emperor. On the reverse, *SAEC(uli) FELICITAS*, and Felicity standing. (Coin of copper alloy.)

³ Marcus Piavonius Victorinus (Or.-Henzen, No. 5,548; Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 450).

⁴ Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France* (20 millimètres by 17), No. 2,105 of the Catalogue.

⁵ In the beginning of this year, and again in March, the senate begs Claudius to overthrow Tetricus. Coins of Victorinus have lately been found in England.

emperor's mother, a woman of masculine courage, the Zenobia of the West, who, by her largesses, exercised great influence over the army. The soldiers called her the "mother of the camps," and a medal (the authenticity, however, is doubtful) gives her the title of empress. If she did not take it, she at least disposed of it, causing the army to acknowledge Tetricus her kinsman,¹ a prudent man, whose shoulders the purple galled, and who wished to keep at a distance from camps, where rulers were made and unmade so quickly. He established himself at Bordeaux under the protection of the goddess Tutela; and we leave him, therefore, tranquilly awaiting Aurelian and the termination of an imperial power which he had not desired.

A Dacian, Regalianus, believed to be a descendant of the famous Decebalus, had the government of Pannonia and Mœsia. He had shown himself an able general, and could boast of several victories over the Sarmatians. This was enough to determine soldiers and provincials to make emperor a man who gave to the former booty and to the latter security, especially while the memory of



Altar of Tutela found at Bordeaux.²

¹ C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus (Borghesi, vol. vii. page 430, n. 4). He was proclaimed at Bordeaux before March, 268. De Witte, *Revue de numism.*, vol. vi. 1861, and *Recherches sur les empereurs qui ont régné dans les Gaules au troisième siècle*.

² This pedestal doubtless bore a statue of Tutela; the personified protecting power of the gods, a divinity much honoured at Bordeaux. The inscription is of the year 224. Cf. Ch. Robert, *Culte de Tutela*, in the *Mémoires de la Soc. arch. de Bordeaux*.

the cruelties of Gallienus in that province were still fresh in the minds of all. Regalianus was therefore invested with the purple. This was a reconstruction of the Pannonian kingdom, after the manner in which the Gallic and Oriental kingdoms had been re-established, and for the same reasons, namely, the defence of the territory committed to the worthiest, because the official emperor failed to make it secure. Regalianus came to a violent end, according to some, by a revolt among his own people;¹ according to others by an attack from Gallienus.



Coin of Regalianus.²

Seeing the Empire thus parcelled out, there was no man too insignificant not to desire to have his share. Of Antoninus, Memor, and Cærops, we know only the names; of Saturninus we have only this saying to his soldiers: "Comrades, you lose a good general, and you make a worthless emperor;" of Celsus, this anecdote, that his partisans not finding the purple mantle indispensable for the consecration of an emperor, covered him with the robe of the *dea cælestis* of Carthage. The great goddess was scandalized no doubt at this impiety, for he was killed almost immediately. His body was thrown to the dogs, which devoured it, and his picture nailed to the cross on which criminals suffered, that the infamy of this unfortunate man might be made eternal who had reigned seven days.



Æmilianus Laurellé.
(Large Bronze.)

Æmilianus, on the banks of the Nile, enjoyed his ephemeral dignity a little while longer, until Gallienus, who had need of the Egyptian wheat, sent against him Theodotus, whose services and fidelity had already been proved in Gaul. Being defeated and taken prisoner, Æmilianus was strangled in his dungeon. Still further among the number of usurpers we find one Trebellianus, a chief of those Isaurian mountaineers whom Rome had never civilized or disciplined. A bandit by trade, a pirate, he took

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 10.

² IMP. C. P. C. REGALIANVS AVG.; radiate head of Regalianus. On the reverse: LIBER(a)L(it)AS AVG.; Liberty standing, holding a freedman's cap and a sceptre. (Silver coin.)

advantage of the universal disorganization to extend his predatory expeditions. A brother of Theodotus defeated and slew him. This is the perpetually recurring termination of all these narratives. Local



Emilianus before his Accession (Probable).¹

patriotism was keen enough for men to yield to the desire of having a national chief; it was not persevering enough long to support these provincial emperors, who, owing their elevation to disorder and public calamity, became in their turn its victims. Revolts continued because they had begun, and men killed because they had killed.

One alone of these *parvenus* so quickly overthrown interests us—the king of Palmyra, founder of a half Arab state, who, if he could have established his power, would have

changed the face of the East. For this, it was needful that Odenathus should live, but, like all the rest, he was assassinated. We shall again refer to this murder and to this kingdom in the history of Aurelian.

What was Gallienus doing in the midst of these catastrophes? One of the old authors loads him with all maledictions;² another represents him working diligently to overcome the public misfortunes.³

¹ Bust of the Museum of Lyons. (Comarmond, *Descr. des Antiques*, etc., pl. 9, No. 152.)

² Treb. Pollio, in the *Augustan History*. This author wrote in the time of the Cæsar Constantius, a descendant of Claudius II. (*Gall.*, 14), and Claudius caused the murder of Gallienus. Pollio, therefore, regarded Gallienus as a criminal.

³ Zosimus, i. 30-45.

When news came of the defection of the Gauls and of Egypt, Pollio represents him as saying: "Can we not live, then, without Egyptian linen and tapestry?" At the same time, he was not destitute of courage; he loved poetry, eloquence, the arts; and he was on the point of giving Plotinus, at the request of the empress Salonina, a district in Campania (to be called Platonopolis), that the philosopher might try the experiment of Plato's Republic. But of what value are these mental endowments, the splendid and beautiful adornment of more prosperous reigns? At such a time as this the Empire needed, not a maker of Greek and Latin verses, but a soldier. Gallienus might have reigned as Aurelian, Probus, and Diocletian were to reign. If he did not do this, it was because of his incapacity, and we may leave him with his poor reputation.

In 267, Aureolus, once a Dacian shepherd,¹ but a brave soldier, the conqueror of Macrianus in Thrace, and the adversary of Postumus in Gaul, was left to guard with an army the passes of the western Alps against Victorinus, while Gallienus went to drive out of Illyria the barbarians who had unexpectedly appeared there. These invaders came from afar; from the sea of Azof had come 500 vessels, in which no strength was wasted, for they carried a multitude of warriors,² who at sea were rowers and on land were fighting men. They crossed the Bosphorus, the Propontis, and the Hellespont, killing and pillaging. When Mithridates besieged Cyzicus, four centuries earlier, that city had three arsenals filled with weapons, grain, machines of war, and, in its harbour, 200 galleys. Notwithstanding the many formidable warnings given these populations within the last thirty years, the Goths found no preparations for defence. They pillaged the city, and Lemnos and Scyros shared the same fate. The Peloponnesus and Epirus were ravaged, and one of their bands surprised Athens, whence the population fled. A monk of the twelfth century relates that the Goths having collected in a heap all the books found in the city, were about to give to the flames these products of a

¹ Zonaras, xii. 24.

² Gibbon says 15,000, taking for authority a text of Strabo, which allows from twenty-five to thirty men as a crew for the vessels of the Euxine. But we have no proof that, three centuries later than Strabo, these vessels were no larger.

civilization which they despised, when one of their chiefs deterred them: "Let us leave to the Greeks," he said, "these books which render them so effeminate and unwarlike." Montaigne¹ repeats this whim of the monk, and Rousseau quotes it after him. An Athenian, however, proved to them that a man could be both a scholar and a soldier: Cleodemos, says Zonaras, rallied the fugitives, armed a few vessels, and killed a great number of marauders; the rest fled.² Zonaras is wrong as to the author of this bold stroke: the last of the Athenian heroes was the historian Dexippos. The city having been taken by surprise, 2,000 Athenians took shelter on a wooded hill, and there resisted all attacks. Other Greeks gathered in this "camp of refuge;" successful sorties were made, and some imperial galleys coming up, destroyed the vessels of the barbarians. The latter were unmindful of the disaster, and made their way overland to their companions, who were pillaging the Peloponnesus and Bœotia; they entered Acarnania by way of Epirus, and formed the bold designs of returning home through Illyricum. This was the invasion which Gallienus set out to repel. He destroyed some of their bands, bought over others, and made one of their chiefs consul. We are tempted to believe that he put the consular toga upon the shoulders of this Herulan with the same feelings that we experience in giving a plumed hat to some negro king on the African coast. But the son-in-law of the Marcomanni, who was so much under the influence of Pipa, his young barbaric wife,³ wished to give this ceremony all possible official grandeur, and the fact is more important than it at first appears. We know already that the barbarians, admitted into the auxiliary troops, and then made citizens, now filled the legions. We now see them pass, without change, from barbarism to the consulship. The invasion was going on in the lower ranks; it will be seen also in the upper,⁴ and in consequence of this slow but continuous infiltration it was really completed on the day

¹ *Essais*, i. 24. This was the classic souvenir of the words quoted by Cicero in the *De Senectute*, 13, in speaking of the doctrines of Epicurus.

² Zonaras, xii. 26.

³ . . . *quam is perdit dilexerit*. To please her he covered his black locks with gold powder, and would have his friends do the same. *Gallienus cum suis semper flavo crinem condit* (Trebell. Pollio, *Salon. Gall.*, 3).

⁴ See, p. 372, what lieutenants Valerian gave to Aurelian.

when it appears to begin with the furious attack of 405. For this reason all will go on declining for two centuries in this empire, still Roman on the surface, but in reality more and more permeated every day with Germanic elements.¹

While Gallienus was fighting in Illyria, Aureolus found the occasion propitious to stir up revolt in Italy and seize upon Rome. The emperor defeated him at Pontirolo (Pons Aureoli) upon the Adda, and held him besieged in Milan. But in the imperial camp, Aurelian, Heraclius, and Claudius, the most important generals in the army, conspired again the violent and feeble ruler under whom the Empire had fallen so low. One day, when at the news of a sortie attempted by Aureolus, Gallienus had flung himself unarmed upon a horse, a conspirator pierced him with an arrow (March 22, 268). His brother Valerianus was also killed; this young man was of amiable character and brilliant talents, and dying at an age when many hopes centred in him, left a much-loved memory. Claudius had ordered his death for reasons of state; but he erected to him a monument on which these words were engraven, wherein we seem to read a half-stifled regret: *Valerianus, imperator*.²

We have had opportunity to remark that the entire defence in this reign stops at the Danube and the Rhine; this signifies that the Decumatian lands and Dacia, where the early Empire kept barbarism in check, were lost.³ Nor were the Roman troops able any longer to guard the line of the two rivers, which armed bands incessantly crossed in the intervals of the great invasions, so that disquietude prevailed everywhere. It was a condition similar to that of France at the time of the Norman incursions. Consequently (as later was done in the beginning of feudal times and

¹ A medal of this year commemorates a naval victory over the Goths, who, returning from Asia laden with spoils, were scattered by a tempest upon the Euxine and later by a Roman flotilla. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 394, and Trebell. Pollio, *Gall.*, 12.)

² Trebell. Pollio, *Valeriani duo*, 8. He was the son of Valerian's second wife. Eckhel (vol. vii. pp. 427-435) believes that he was neither Cæsar nor Augustus, notwithstanding the positive assertion of Trebellius Pollio. The word *imperator* would be then merely the military title; but this title had for many years been given only to sovereigns. Zonaras says that a second son of Gallienus was put to death by order of the senate.

³ Aur. Victor, Eutropius, and Orosius (vii. 22) place the loss of Dacia in this reign. The series of coins of Odessus (near Varna), which begin with Trajan and end with Salonina, the wife of Gallienus, prove that this part of Mœsia (where the Goths had destroyed Istria) was in process of being detached from the Empire.

for the same reasons) the provinces were covered with fortified castles, and the walls of cities were made strong again. Gallienus rebuilt those of Verona, the gate of Italy,¹ and employed two Byzantine engineers to fortify the towns of Mœsia;² Claudius II. later reconstructed the walls of Nicæa;³ Aurelian and Probus undoubtedly continued these defensive works; and, as the barbarians penetrated far into the provinces, the cities of the interior, as well as those of the frontiers, surrounded themselves with ramparts.⁴ The emperors of the first two centuries of the Christian era had not required so much prudence, for the reason that they had made the Empire one great city, peaceful and industrious, only needing to be protected by outposts, which good discipline rendered perfectly inaccessible. The two periods are characterized by their monuments; in one, the works of peace, strength, and security; in the other, the works of war, weakness, and alarm.

¹ Accordingly Verona took his name: *Colonia Augusta Verona Nova Gallieniana*, inscription over the gate of Verona, now called *de' Borsari*. (*C. I. L.*, v. 3,329.)

² Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 13: . . . *instaurandis urbibus muniendisque prefecit*. One of these engineers was named Athenæus, and we have, from an author of this name, in the *Mathematici veteres*, 1693, a treatise on machines of war.

³ Letronne, *Journal des Savants*, 1827.

⁴ See above, p. 391.

THIRTEENTH PERIOD.

THE ILLYRIAN EMPERORS: THE EMPIRE STRENGTHENED.

CHAPTER XCVII.

CLAUDIUS AND AURELIAN (268-275 A.D.).

I.—CLAUDIUS II. (268-270); THE FIRST INVASION REPULSED.

THE conspirators of the camp of Milan resembled in nothing the prætorians who had formerly put the Empire up to auction. They were valiant soldiers, determined to put an end to the disgrace of Rome by the re-establishment of discipline and a vigorous prosecution of the war against the barbarians. They selected for emperor the man who seemed to them most experienced, and who was the most conspicuous, Claudius the Dalmatian.¹ The flatterers of Constantius Chlorus, his grand-nephew, gave him for ancestor the Trojan Dardanus; but he had made his own rank. Decius had declared him indispensable to the state; Valerian held him in high esteem, and Gallienus dreaded his judgment.

Under Valerian, Claudius had held the government of Illyricum and the command of the troops posted from the Alps to the Euxine, with the appointment of prefect of Egypt, the honours of the proconsul of Africa, and a suite as numerous as that

¹ Marcus Aurelius Claudius. Trebellius Pollio (*in Claudio*, ?) gives him the *nomen gentilicium* of Flavius, which passed to all his posterity. Zosimus and Zonaras say that he was a member of the conspiracy, and this is doubtless the fact, although Julian, his kinsman, denies it. He had two brothers, Quintillus, of whom we shall speak later, and Crispus, whose daughter Claudia, married to Eutropius, was the mother of Constantius Chlorus.

of the emperor;¹ in which we see that the luxury of Oriental courts had invaded that of Rome, and was transforming, even in these times of disaster, the simple *comitatus* of the early proconsuls into a royal state ruinous to the public finances. The weakness of Gallienus irritated him; something of this came to the emperor's ears, who made haste to write to one of his officers a humble



Gold Bracelet adorned with a Coin of Claudius Gothicus.²

letter, in which is revealed the miserable condition of these Augusti, who knew neither how to command nor how to make themselves obeyed:

"I learn with the deepest regret by your report that Claudius, our kinsman and friend, is greatly offended with me on account of rumours, mostly untrue, which have been brought him. I beg you, my dear Venustus, if you are willing to show me your devotion, that you will employ Gratus and Herennianus to appease

him. But let it all be done secretly, lest the Dacian soldiers, already discontented, should proceed to some dangerous extremity. I send him presents; get him to receive them courteously; but let him not suspect that I know his sentiments towards me, for if he believed me to have cause of resentment against him he might take violent action."³

¹ *Salarii quantum habet Aegypti praefectura, tantum vestium quantum proconsulatu Africano detulimus, tantum argenti quantum accipit curator Illyrici* (Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 15).

² Cabinet of Vienna. Cf. Arneth, *Gold und Silb.*, pl. vi. 11. This bracelet (about twice the size of the figure) bears four coins enmeshed: Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla, Gordian III., and Claudius II., and proves, like the collar of Naix and many aurei which we have already given, the taste of the Romans for jewels of this kind.

³ These gifts, which the emperor enumerates in his letter, were as follows: "Two cups of three pounds weight, adorned with precious stones; two gold cups of three pounds, enriched with gems; a basin of chased silver of twenty pounds; a silver dish with chasing of vine leaves of thirty pounds; another great silver dish with ivy leaves of twenty-three pounds; a silver basin of twenty pounds weight, whereon is engraved a fish; two silver pitchers inlaid with gold of six pounds weight, and some small silver vases, weighing collectively twenty-five pounds; ten Egyptian cups of divers workmanship; two cloaks of brilliant colour with purple borders; sixteen garments of various kinds; a white tunic, half silk; a linen garment with silk bands embroidered with gold, of the weight of three ounces; three pairs of our boots of Persian leather; ten Dalmatian belts; a Dardanian chlamys in the form of a mantle; an Illyrian cloak for bad

Gallienus hoped to pay his ransom in this way; but probably Claudius only despised him the more for it. When the conspirators had proclaimed him emperor, the soldiers showed some discontent, in order to make their price higher. Twenty pieces of gold distributed to each man removed all scruples. They declared Gallienus a tyrant; and the senate, with more genuine eagerness, did the same. They ordered off to the Gemoniae the servants of the man who disliked any trace of patriotism in the senators,¹ and it is related that in the curia itself one of the officers of the treasury had his eyes put out,² a shameful cruelty, announcing the degenerate days of the later Empire. Claudius put a stop to these executions, and the Conscript Fathers, repenting, placed Gallienus among the *divi*, which was equivalent to the maintenance of his acts.

When they heard of the election of Claudius they confirmed it by those repeated acclamations which seem to us so contrary to senatorial gravity, but were at that time a surprise to no one: "Augustus Claudius, the gods grant you to our prayers (repeated sixty times); Claudius Augustus, it is you, or a ruler resembling you, whom we have ever desired (forty times); Claudius Augustus, the wishes of the state call you to the throne (forty times); Claudius Augustus, you are the model of brothers, fathers, friends, senators, and rulers (eighty times); Claudius Augustus, deliver us from Aureolus (five times); Claudius Augustus, deliver us from the Palmyrenes (five times); Claudius Augustus, deliver us from Zenobia and Victorina (seven times); Claudius Augustus, may Tetricus be nought (seven times)."³

Claudius, in fact, found himself in the presence of three adversaries. With better judgment than the senate possessed, he neglected two of them who were far away at the extremities of the Empire, rapidly disposed of the third, whom a judgment of the soldiers condemned to death, and occupied himself with preparing for a great war against the barbarians. "The matter of Tetricus,"

weather; an over-garment with a hood; two furred hoods; four pieces of Phœnician stuffs; 150 gold Valerians and 300 *trientes salonienses*."

¹ See p. 335.

² "... *patronoque fisci in curiam perducto effossos oculos pendisse satis constat* (Aur. Victor, *Ces.*, 33).

³ Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 4.

he said to the senate, "concerns myself only, that of the Goths is of importance to the state."¹

For the last thirty years these barbarians had been ravaging the Roman frontiers; when booty became rare, they formed the idea of establishing themselves as a nation in the interior of the Empire, whose climate they knew to be milder than that of the Scythian plains, where extremes of cold and heat made life hard. Messengers were sent from the banks of the Dniester to those of the Morava (March); councils were held among the Tervingæ or Eastern Goths, among the Gepidæ, the Heruli, the Peucinii, and a vast coalition was formed to second the invasion of the Eastern Goths by a series of attacks upon the middle Danube. The Scordisci, of Celtic origin, entered the league; the Alemanni and their neighbours, the Juthungi,² doubtless informed as to these projects, promised themselves to derive advantage from them in their raids into the rich valley of the Po. They even were the first to be ready; and, without waiting for their allies, they rushed through the defiles of the Alps, which they had often before traversed, and came down in the year 268 upon the shores of the Lago di Garda (Benacus). Claudius met them there with an army which he had already been able to discipline thoroughly to his authority, and half of the barbarians fell under the sword of the legionaries. It was a good omen for the more serious strife to come.

During the winter of 268 the hatchet rung incessantly through the Sarmatian forests; the felled trees were rolled to the river banks, and in the spring these streams were covered with 2,000 vessels,³ whereon tried warriors were embarked. The horde itself, consisting of 320,000 fighting men,⁴ not to mention the

¹ He, however, took some precautions to close Italy against the Gallic emperor, and to threaten his provinces. An inscription recently discovered at Grenoble gives Claudius the title of *Germanicus Maximus*, which he took after his victories over the Alemanni, and reveals a fact unknown to the historians, namely, his making ready for a campaign against Tetricus. This inscription is engraved at the base of a statue raised to Claudius by an army corps posted in Narbonensis, in which were some of the imperial guard, *protectores*, and whose commander was the *perfectissimus*, Julius Placidianus, prefect of the watch. (L. Renier, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, July 18th, 1879.)

² Amm. Marcellinus (xvii. 6) says of the Juthungi: *Alemannorum pars*.

³ Zosimus (i. 42) says 6,000.

⁴ This is the statement of Claudius in his letter to the senate.

women and children and slaves, set out on its march westward with innumerable flocks,¹ and great wagons which were made to



Roman Trooper trampling a German under his Horse's Feet.²

serve as protection to their camps.³ The army and the fleet

¹ The barbarians were accustomed to be followed by their flocks to secure their subsistence. We read in the *Augustan History* that, under Valerian, that is to say, before the great invasion, Aurelian took from some bands in Thrace oxen and horses enough to supply the province, and that he was able also to send to one of the emperor's villas 2,000 cows, 1,000 mares, 10,000 sheep, and 15,000 goats. This was the booty to be obtained from the barbarians. Accordingly, Treb. Pollio (*Claud.*, 9) exclaims, after the emperor's great victory: *Quid boum barbarorum nostri videre majores, quid ovium, quid equarum?*

² Monument found near Zahlbach. (Museum of Mayence.) The barbarian is recognizable by his long hair and his curved sword. (L. Stracke, *op. cit.*, p. 59.)

³ This use was so well known to the Romans that they invented a new word to express

Margus (the Morava of the south), being well aware that they could not establish themselves peacefully on the right bank of the Danube until after they had destroyed the imperial army. Never, since the Gauls and Hannibal, had Rome been in so great danger. Claudius wrote to the senate: "I must tell you the truth, Conscrip't Fathers: 300,000 barbarians have invaded Roman territory. If I am successful, you will acknowledge that we have deserved well of our country. If I am not victorious, remember whom I follow. The state is exhausted, and we fight after Valerian, after Ingenius, after Regalianus, after Lælianus, after Postumus, after Celsus, after many others whom the contempt inspired by Gallienus detached from the state. We are deficient in bucklers and swords and javelins. Tetricus is master of the Gallic and Spanish provinces, which are the strength of the Empire, and, I am ashamed to say it, our archers are all serving under Zenobia. Whatever little we may do, our successes will be as great as you have a right to expect."¹



Quintillus, Brother
of Claudius II.
(Small Bronze.)

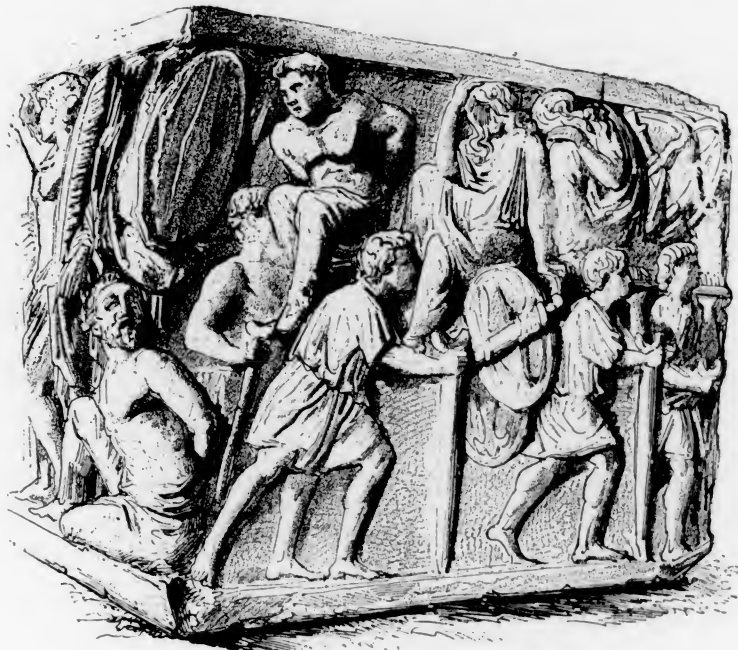
Claudius acted with discretion. He did not advance directly upon this enormous mass. Leaving his brother Quintillus at the head of a considerable army in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, to keep secure this gate into Italy, he himself traversed Illyria, entered Macedon by the pass of Seupi, and halted in the upper valley of the Axius. He thus placed himself between the fleet of the Goths and their land army. Protected against the latter by Mount Orbelos, he could by the Axius, which falls into the extremity of the Thermaic gulf, keep watch over that side. If the siege-machines, which the barbarians had caused to be constructed by Roman fugitives, should overcome the resistance of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, the emperor was able to hinder the victors from passing over into Macedon and effecting a junction with their brethren. This position permitted him therefore to wait his time for striking a decisive blow.

But the Goths were not able to storm a well-defended city, and they had not the patience to reduce it by famine.² At the

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 7.

² To preserve the memory of the brave resistance made by Thessalonica, a bronze medal was struck in honour of the god Cabirus, *Deo Cabiro*, the protecting divinity of the city, who

news of the approach of Claudius they marched boldly to meet him; Aurelian, whom the emperor had appointed chief of the cavalry, arrested them by an engagement in which the Dalmatian horse distinguished themselves. Three thousand Goths were killed, many more were taken prisoners, and Claudius, now set free to move



Goths (Men, Women, and Children) led into Slavery.¹

northward by the discomfiture of the southern enemy, went across the mountains in search of the great army in the valley of the Margus. The battle took place near Naïssus (Nissa); it was long and sanguinary. A corps, which was able to advance through an unguarded road, turned the enemy's flank, and fell upon their rear. This movement was fatal to the barbarians: 50,000 remained upon field (269),² and the others, cut off from the valley of the

doubtless came thither from Samothrace, the sanctuary of the Cabiri. (Cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 472.)

¹ Bas-relief from a sarcophagus of the third century. (Vatican.)

² We have medals of Claudius of this year which represent him with the radiate crown. (Cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 471.)

Danube, fell in scattered bands upon Macedon and Thrace. The legions separated to pursue them; the war was broken into fragments, and it became impossible to repeat the blow struck at Naïssus. From time to time the barbarians halted behind the wall of their wagons, a movable fortification, whence more than



Roman Auxiliary Horseman. (Museum of Mayence.)

once they made successful sorties against those of the Romans who ventured in too small force into their neighbourhood. Nevertheless, wasted by continual attacks, by hunger, and by disease, they perished in multitudes. A somewhat numerous troop succeeded in taking refuge in the Balkans. The Romans followed them thither, and occupied all means of egress from the mountain, where during the severe winter provisions were lacking, and to complete their destruction Claudius entered the defiles and put them to the sword (270).

The emperor prepared his bulletin of victory with an emphasis not unpardonable: "We have destroyed 120,000 Goths, and sunk 2,000 vessels. The water of the river is concealed under the bucklers that it bears along with it, the banks under broken swords and lances, the fields under the bones of the dead. The roads are all choked with the enormous baggage they have left behind them."¹

The imperial fleet had also been successful in destroying what remained of the vessels that had come from the Dniester;² so that, of this vast multitude, but very few returned to the regions they had left a year before so full of hope and courage. Those who had not perished were sent to cultivate as slaves or colonists the lands of the conquerors, and their wives were distributed among the Roman soldiers. A certain number of their young men were enrolled in the cohorts, and others sent to Rome to fight in the amphitheatres. The capital doubtless was not the only city honoured with "a present of gladiators." Claudius would naturally grant the same favour to many; all Italy might see serving its pleasures those Goths who, during an entire generation, had inspired it with so much alarm.⁴

This immense drain upon the Gothic nation was to secure a century of repose to Moesia.⁵ But the ruler who had repulsed this first and formidable invasion fell amid his triumph. A pestilence had aided him in setting free the provinces, but it carried him off at Sirmium (April, 270). He was but fifty-four, and his strong maturity promised the Empire a reparatory reign, for he loved justice, he desired discipline, and he was of those who knew how to maintain it. In the midst of the ambitious surnames which so many emperors have received—some for real, but more



Reverse of a Coin of Claudius II., bearing: IV-VENTVS AVGVSTVS. (Small Bronze.)³

¹ *Epistola ad Jun. Brocchum Illyricum tuentem* (Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 8).

² Zonaras, xii. 26.

³ This coin, with the effigy of Hercules, makes allusion to the green old age of the emperor, as Virgil says (*Aeneid*, vi. 304):

Jam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.

⁴ Treb. Pollio (*Claud.*, 8-9): "... impleta barbaris servis Romanae provinciae: factus colonus ex Gotho, nec ulla fuit regio quae Gothum servum non haberet. He speaks also of immense droves of oxen and sheep and *equarum quas fama nobilitat Celticarum*. (Cf. Zosimus, i. 46.)

⁵ "... pulsi per longa saecula siluerunt immobiles (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 5).

for problematic victories—history should give most honourable mention to that of Claudius Gothicus. The nations long remembered him. Under Constantine, Eumenes still said: "Why did he not longer remain the protector of men and become later the companion of the gods?"¹

At news of the death of Claudius the legions of Aquileia proclaimed his brother, M. Aurelius Quintillus, whom the senate hastened to recognize. The soldiers of Pannonia, however, had made a better choice in naming Aurelian,² whom, according to some accounts, Claudius himself had designated as his successor. Such was the fame of this general that his rival did not even attempt to contend against him. After a reign of three weeks, according to some, of several months according to others,⁴ Quintillus killed himself, or was put to death by soldiers whom his severity had incensed.



Quintillus.³

II.—AURELIAN (270-275).⁵

"After the ceremonies of the festival of Cybele," says Vopiscus, "the prefect of the city, Junius Tiberianus, took me in his chariot from the Palatine to the gardens of Varus, and we talked, among other things, of the history of the emperors. When we came to the temple of the Sun dedicated by Aurelian, Tiberianus, who was attached to the family of this emperor, asked me if any one had written his life: 'Certain Greeks have done it,' I said; 'but no Latins.' 'What!' exclaimed this upright man, 'a Thersites, a Sinon, and all the monsters of antiquity are known to us, posterity will also know them, and Aurelian, this valiant emperor who has restored its world to Rome, will be to our descendants a stranger!'"

¹ *Panegy. Constantini*, 2.

² This is the statement of Zonaras; Zosimus does not give Aurelian the imperial dignity until after the death of Quintillus.

³ IMP. C. M. AVR. CL. QVINTILLVS AVGVSTVS around the radiate head of the Augustus. (Bronze coin.)

⁴ This is the statement of Zosimus. The number of coins of Quintillus that we possess (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 478; Cohen, vol. v. pp. 112-120) compel us to adopt the second opinion, which, moreover, agrees better with the early facts of Aurelian's reign.

⁵ L. Domitius Aurelianus.

⁶ Vopiscus says (*Aur.*, 1) *sanctus*, using the word in its ancient sense.

Meanwhile we have his *Ephemerides* in which he ordered to be registered his acts day by day.¹ I will cause these books, which are in the Ulpian library, to be given you, that you may represent Aurelian as he really was.²



Bust of Cybele.³

These were rich materials which the highest magistrate of Rome offered to the historian. Vopiscus, a man of small mind and little literary skill, knew not how to avail himself of them. But the official documents which he drew from the archives are in many ways interesting; we have used some of them already and shall use others hereafter.

Claudius had destroyed the great Gothic army, with the exception of some few bands which had found shelter here and there among the mountains, and later reappeared for a moment in the neighbourhood of Anchialos and Nicopolis, where the country people proved strong enough to disperse them.²

But, following the plan marked out, there was to be a second invasion from Pannonia; the Vandals, the Juthungi, and the Alemanni were in motion. To arrest these new assailants, Claudius had turned northward and

¹ *Ephemeridas . . . libris linteis (ibid.)*. The scene related in this passage has been placed about 291, or sixteen years after the death of Aurelian. Junius Tiberianus in this year held his second consulship, but not the urban prefecture. Many passages in chaps. xlii. and xliii. prove that Vopiscus wrote his book after the accession of Constantius Chlorus (305). The father of Vopiscus had been among the intimate friends of Diocletian, and we have seen that the son was the companion of the urban prefect. These relations with the highest society in Rome placed him in a position to take advantage of the reminiscences of Aurelian's early companions in arms; but his feeble literary merit proves that this society was not very exacting in respect to mental gifts.

² This fact explains certain medals of Quintillus.

³ Roman work of the first century, found near Abbeville. (Marble in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,918.)

encamped his troops at Sirmium, a strong place not far from the point where the Save falls into the Danube, and the defensive centre of the entire region.

Aurelian was at this spot when the death of Claudius gave him the Empire. He was born in 214,¹ in the environs of Sirmium, the son of a colonist of the senator Aurelius, whose name, according to usage, had been assumed by his freedman, and the latter had charge of a little farm belonging to his patron.² His mother had been a priestess of the Sun in the village where she dwelt, and he always preserved a special veneration for that divinity. We know his courage, his exploits, and the high offices which he had filled. Loaded with honours by Valerian, he had been, at the suggestion of that emperor, adopted as son or son-in-law by Ulpian Crinitus, one of the great personages of the Empire, who claimed to belong to the family of Trajan; and the son of a Pannonian peasant became the heir to the household gods, the name, and the wealth of the most illustrious house in Rome.³

Very severe as to discipline, very exacting for the service, Aurelian however exercised great sway over the troops, for the reason that they had often seen their general fighting like a common soldier, a circumstance which, in the ancient wars, added great prestige to a chief. There was talk of many enemies whom he had slain, and he was known in the camps as "the iron-handed Aurelian."⁴ Being the bravest, it was permitted him to be the most severe. A soldier had offered insult to the wife of the man with whom he was quartered: Aurelian ordered him to be bound

¹ Malalas (xii. p. 301) makes him sixty-one years of age at the time of his death, and consequently born in 214; Tillemont and Wietersheim place his birth in 212. The *Alexandrian Chronicle* makes him seventy-five at his death; but the facts of his reign, medals, and other considerations do not permit us to attribute to him this advanced age.

² *Colonus*, says the author of the *Epitome*, 35.

³ Vopiscus speaks, following documents which he gives as official, of a formal adoption; but as Aurelian did not take the name of Ulpian Crinitus, which he would have done according to usage had he been adopted, we feel obliged to doubt the authenticity of the act. On the other hand, both inscriptions (Orelli, Nos. 1,032 and 5,552) and coins (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 487) give him as a wife Ulpia Severina. If this Ulpia was the daughter of Crinitus, the marriage would have secured to Aurelian the same advantages as an adoption, while had he been the adopted son of Ulpian Crinitus he could not have married her who had thus become legally his sister. Many ancient rules had, however, fallen into desuetude, and it is possible that both the adoption and the marriage did take place.

⁴ This is rather a mediæval equivalent than an exact translation of the Latin: *manu ad ferrum* (*Aur.*, 6), "Aurelian, sword in hand."

between two trees bent together, which tore him asunder as they sprung back into their place. On one occasion he wrote to an officer: "If you desire to be a tribune, if you wish even to live, restrain the soldier. Let no man steal a fowl or a sheep, or so much as a bunch of grapes, or demand oil, salt, or wood. Each must be content with his rations: what the state provides is enough; booty must be taken from the enemy, and must not cost tears to the provinces. See to it that weapons, clothing, and shoes are always in good condition; the pack-horses well groomed, the company's mule¹ cared for by each soldier in his turn, and all the forage used, so that none be sold. See that the soldiers be attended gratuitously by the surgeons, and prevent them from wasting their money in taverns or upon soothsayers; require them to conduct themselves decently in quarters, and let brawlers be beaten." Septimius Severus had been wont to speak thus, and this firmness had given him an illustrious reign; it had the same results in the case of Aurelian.

Like the great African, Aurelian was a man of strict morality and disdainful of pleasure; like him also, Aurelian did not hasten to receive the foolish acclamations of the senate. He defeated the Juthungi who threatened Rhaetia, and regulated the affairs of this frontier, which occupied several months. When he at last made the journey to Rome, he spoke haughtily in the senate: "I have gold for my friends," he said; "and I have steel for my foes."² It will soon be seen that these foes were not always on the frontiers. To have no cause to fear in Italy the old troops of Quintillus, he had returned from Pannonia well attended. The Juthungi and Vandals deemed the occasion propitious to invade that province. Aurelian returned thither in all haste, sending before him the order to collect the grain and cattle within the fortresses. The shock was severe, and the victory indecisive. When night came, however, the enemy fell back; and Aurelian was able to cut off their route to the Danube. Menaced by famine in a desolated country, the barbarians opened negotiations. Their envoys concealed fear under a show of arrogance, and the emperor postponed their

¹ *Mulum centuriatum*, the ordinance mule.

² There exists uncertainty in regard to the order of events in the first months of Aurelian's reign. I have followed the account which seems to harmonize best with the known facts.

audience until the following day. He then received them seated upon his tribunal surrounded by a threatening military display; on each side, his principal officers on horseback; behind him, the



Aurelian. (Bust of the Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, No. 122.)

golden eagles of the legions, the effigies of the emperors, the silver pikes which bore in gilt letters the names of the different corps; then the army, as if ready to engage, ranged in a semi-circle upon an eminence which brought it into full view.¹ Less

¹ Ἡ δὲ συμπαντα ἀνατεταμένα προῦφαινετο . . . (Dexippos, *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, iii. p. 682; Peter Patricius, *Excerpta de legationibus*, p. 126).

skilful in concealing their feelings than were the Indians of North America, the Juthungi stood for awhile abashed in the presence of this imposing spectacle; but their audacity soon returned to them: "We do not ask peace as those who have been conquered," said their interpreter, "but as former friends of the Romans, and as men who know that a battle lost by a surprise may be followed by a victory. Our nation alone numbers 40,000 cavalry and twice as many foot; and Italy, which we have almost completely overrun, knows well our valour. In alliance with us you will have no enemy to fear; give us, therefore, the usual presents, the subsidies that we were receiving before the war, and let peace be made." Dexippos, who relates the scene, is a contemporary, but he puts in the mouth of Aurelian a very lengthy reply; we shall give only the concluding words: "Since you have violated the treaties and pillaged our territory, you have no right to ask any favours, and it is your place to accept the conqueror's law. You know what became of the 300,000 Goths who invaded the Empire; the same fate awaits you. It is my intention to cross the Danube and punish you in your own homes for your broken faith." The Juthungi, at last intimidated, promised to return into their country. A few months later came another invasion of the Vandals and the Jazyges, and another victory on the part of Aurelian, who, to render their retreat more speedy, gave them provisions. They gave up as hostages the sons of their chiefs, and 2,000 cavaliers, who were included among the auxiliaries of the legions.¹ Aurelian, making a sacrifice on his part which must have cost his pride a pang, although it cost the Empire nothing, ceded Dacia to them, offering lands on the south of the Danube to those Roman colonists who were unwilling longer to remain in the province. This relinquishment was necessary, for Dacia, overrun from both sides and invaded to its very centre, was no longer tenable. If there yet remained Romans in the province, and there were enough certainly to form a brave and noble population, there remained no Roman administration except in Transylvania, where a few cohorts defended doubtless the gold

¹ Five hundred, who had spread themselves abroad in order to plunder, were massacred by the commandant of the auxiliaries, and the Vandal king had their chief shot by his bowmen. (*Ibid.*, p. 686.)

mines of that country, which had been worked by the Romans for a century and a half. To produce the impression that nothing had been lost a new Dacia was constructed out of a part of Mœsia, and the name of Trajan's conquest remained on the official list of



Roman Cavalier. (Museum of Naples.)

the provinces. But, instead of the Dacia of the mountains, a fortress which would have been impregnable if it had been possible to close its gates on the lower Danube, it was the Dacia of the shore, *Dacia Ripensis*,¹ which no longer protected anything. At last the god Terminus fell back. For a victor the condition was

¹ Between Upper and Lower Mœsia. It was at first called Dacia Aureliani (Vopiseus, *Aur.*, 39); it was afterwards divided into Dacia Ripensis, with the capital Ratiaria (Arzar Palanka), and Dacia Mediterranea, with the capital Sardica (Triaditza). Dexippos does not mention (at least in the fragments which remain to us) the abandonment of Dacia, and the narrative of Eutropius (ix. 15) gives us no means of fixing the date of this event, which comes naturally after the double treaty with the Juthungi and the Vandals.

hard; Aurelian seems to have felt the need of protecting himself by the consent of his troops, as representatives of the Roman people. At least he consulted the army on the question of peace with the Vandals,¹ and the withdrawal of the Dacian garrisons must have been the tacitly accepted consequence of the terms of a treaty which the army approved. In the state of the Empire and of the barbaric world the Danube appeared to be the best frontier, and the great successes of Claudius, and those even of Aurelian, prove that if the river by no means forbade invaders a passage, it at least made their return difficult.

We shall not, as easily as the emperor, say adieu to this valiant Roman population of Trajan Dacia. Worthy of its origin, and of him who gave it its first cities, it played in the Carpathians the rôle of Pelagius and his companions in the Asturias; braving all invasions from the height of this impregnable fortress; regaining foot by foot, as the waves retreated towards the west and south, the lost ground, and reconstituting, after sixteen centuries of fighting, a new Italy, *Tzarea Roumanesca*, whose advent into the rank of free nations is saluted by all the peoples of the Latin race.²

Aurelian had resigned himself to this blot upon his name on account of a fresh invasion of Italy by the Alemanni and Juthungi. In the hope of exterminating the horde or capturing it wholly, he proposed to imitate the plan of Claudius at Naïssus, namely, to have an attack made from the front upon the invaders by the larger part of the Roman army in the plain of the Po, while he himself, the prætorians, and auxiliaries, should cut off their retreat. This division of the forces occasioned a disaster. The barbarians emerging in the evening from dense woods in which they had concealed themselves, surprised near Placentia the Romans, who were not keeping careful watch. Many of the legionaries perished, and a part of Cisalpine Gaul fell a prey to the most frightful devastation. From the Alps to the Straits of Messina

¹ Dexippos (*Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 685): . . . ἐρομένον βασιλέως, ὅ τι σφίσι περὶ τῶν παρόντων λόγον εἶναι δοκεῖ.

² I cannot accept the opinion of Hoesler (*Dacier und Rumänen*, Wien, 1866), which makes the Wallachians return into Dacia in the beginning of the thirteenth century, any more than that which maintains that among these millions of men who speak a language of Latin derivation there are not numerous descendants of Trajan's colonists.

there was a moment of terror as lately there had been in the peninsula of the Balkans at the approach of the great Gothic army.

To calm these terrors recourse was had to religious expiations. Aurelian, who knew what good use could be made, in leading the crowd, of the intervention of the gods and all the paraphernalia of old superstitions, wrote to the senate the following letter, which the urban prætor read aloud in the curia: "I am surprised, revered Fathers, that you have so long delayed to open the Sibylline books; you conduct yourselves like men met in a church of Christians rather than in a temple of the gods. Act, now at least, and by the sacredness of pontiffs and the solemnities of religion, aid the ruler who is in a position of such difficulty. It is never a disgrace to have the assistance of the gods in conquering an enemy. It is thus that our ancestors undertook and terminated so many wars."

Before the arrival of this letter a similar proposition had been made in the senate, but the sceptical and the emperor's courtiers had turned it into ridicule, averring that Aurelian stood in need of no supernatural assistance. The imperial message, however, changed these sentiments, and the first senator who was called upon by the consul in charge reproached the Conscript Fathers with being so inconsiderate in regard to the safety of the state, and so slow in having recourse to the books of destiny and taking advantage of the favours of Apollo.¹ "Go then," he said, "holy pontiffs, you who are pure, irreproachable, and sacred; go in sacred attire and in a pious frame of mind; go up to the temple and prepare there seats wreathed with laurel; open with your respected hands the books of religion; seek therein the eternal destinies of the state; teach to children whose parents are living the hymn which they are to sing. We will decide upon the expense necessary for this ceremony; we will order the preparations for the sacrifices and fix the day for the lustration of the fields."² (Session of January 10th, 271.)

The city was solemnly purified, sacred hymns were sung, a

¹ The Sibylline oracles were believed to have been inspired by Apollo.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 19.

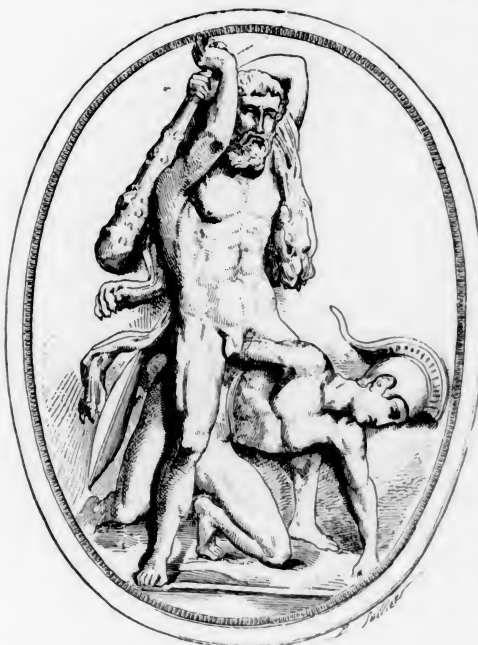


Aurelian crowned
with Laurel.
(Gold Coin.)

procession went through the streets; lastly, sacrifices were offered in places indicated by the sacred books to prevent the barbarians from passing over them.¹ Vopiscus does not say that these expiations were human sacrifices; but Aurelian had offered captives of every nation,² and this could have been no other than the ancient custom of burying alive men whose offended shades would arrest

the march of their compatriots.

At the same time that Aurelian took measures to propitiate the gods, he also prepared his campaign against the barbarians. The latter, who entered upon war rather for the sake of plunder than of gaining territory, had divided in order to extend their depredations. They seem to have advanced as far as the Metaurus, which would announce an intention of marching upon Rome, the supreme ambition of all



Hercules killing Diomedes.³

these marauders. At least, there exists an inscription⁴ in which the cities of Pesaro and Fano return thanks to "Hercules Augustus, colleague of the invincible Aurelian," doubtless for some exploit of war achieved in their neighbourhood. Aurelian pursued these bands, destroying them one after another; near Pavia he encountered the main body of the barbarian army, and inflicted upon it a great defeat. And again of these invaders but few ever

¹ *In certis locis sacrificia fierent quæ barbari transire non possent* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 18).

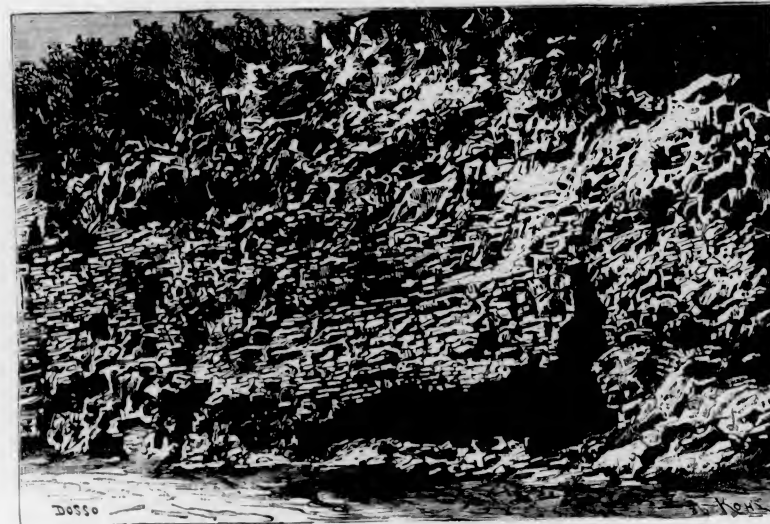
² . . . *cujuslibet gentis captos* (*ibid.*, 20).

³ Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France* (cornelian of 19 millim. by 15), No. 1,771 of the Catalogue.

⁴ Orelli, Nos. 1,031 and 1,535.

again beheld the paternal hut concealed in the vast forests of the Neckar and the Main.

What went on at Rome during this campaign? No doubt there was much ridicule of the Pannonian who suffered the sovereign people to experience so great anxiety. It is possible that his statues may have been overthrown, and some of his people or his soldiers slain. Certain it is there were great riots,



Remains of Aurelian's Wall. (From a Photograph by Parker.)

for Vopiscus speaks of violent seditions.¹ The valiant soldier who had passed his life fighting for the Empire regarded this tumult as treasonable, and severely punished those who were guilty, and even senators were put to death.²

Long ago, Rome, in the security which her fortune and her sway gave her, had gone beyond her boundaries, and the wall of Servius was disappearing under the houses and gardens which covered the vast embankment and the base of the *agger*.³ The enemy approaching, Aurelian resolved to return to the precautions

¹ *Romam petit vindictæ cupidus, quam seditionum asperitas suggererat* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 18 and 21; cf. *Amm. Marcellinus*, xxx. 8).

² Zosimus speaks of conspiracies and of conspirators justly punished, among whom he mentions three senators.

³ Accordingly Zosimus says (i. 19) of the Rome of that day that it was *ἀνεχιστοῦς*.

of earlier days. It was a humiliating but necessary avowal. He gave Rome a second wall outside of the first, which was completed by Probus; this was about eleven miles in circumference (271).¹ This new line of fortifications is further marked by the wall of Honorius, so called because of the repairs made by that emperor.

The barbarians being repulsed, and Rome placed in safety from a sudden attack, Aurelian turned his attention to the two competitors who kept the eastern and western parts of the Empire outside of his control, Zenobia and Tetricus. The latter was the nearer, but he appeared the less dangerous of the two, and Aurelian had private reasons for feeling no dread of him;² the emperor therefore made his first attack upon the queen of Palmyra.

Odenathus, victorious over Sapor, whose capital he had twice insulted by planting his arrows in the gates of Ctesiphon, had been invested by Gallienus with the command of all the Roman forces in the East, and had even been associated in the Empire. He was making ready to deliver Asia Minor from the Goths, when, in 266-7, he fell a victim to one of those tragedies so frequent in the royal houses of the East.³ One day, in a royal hunt, his nephew Mæonios shot the first arrow and killed the game. It was contrary to etiquette, which reserved this to the king, and Odenathus angrily reproved the young man. Mæonios paid no attention to the reproof. Ambition to be considered the most skilful hunter in the desert took away all prudence from him; twice again his arrows anticipated those of the king. The insult was public; Odenathus deprived him of his horse, which was equivalent to depriving him of his rank, and when the violent youth broke forth in threats he caused him to be thrown into prison. Being set free at the entreaty of Herodes, the king's eldest son, the Arab cherished in his heart a bitter animosity,

¹ I follow Piale's correction (*delle Mura Aureliane*), which, in the text of Vopiscus (*Aur.*, 39), *quinquaginta prope millia*, understands *pedum* and not *passuum*: 50,000 Roman feet making about eleven miles.

² Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 456) thinks even that the negotiation of which we shall shortly speak had been begun under Claudius. Coins exist in which are represented Claudius and Tetricus, one on either side. (De Boze, *Mém. de l'Acad. des insc.*, vol. xxvi. p. 515.)

³ The date of the death of Odenathus is determined by the Alexandrian coins; it occurred between the 20th of August, 266, and the 28th of August, 267.

and, with the aid of some accomplices, assassinated, during a banquet, both Odenathus and Herodes.¹

Zenobia had shared in the power and in the labours of her husband.² She claimed descent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, which made her the woman of highest rank in the East; she was called also the most beautiful, and she was the most virtuous.³ Ambition and love of fame had stifled in her the vices which the harem nourishes. She knew all the languages spoken from Palmyra to Athens and from Athens to Memphis, even Latin;⁴ she read Homer and Plato; with Longinus—whose claims as author of the treatise on the Sublime are questionable, but who knew how to die bravely—she discussed questions of philosophy and literature, with the famous archbishop of Antioch, Paulus of Samosata, questions of theology; and she gave her two elder sons such able instructors that it was said of one of them, Timolaos, that had he lived longer he would have placed his name with those of the great Latin orators. The desert had, like Athens and Rome, its academy of learned men; but Palmyra had not all the tastes of the western world, for we find there no trace of those amphitheatres which all truly Roman cities made haste to build.



Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, wearing the Diadem. (Small Bronze.)

Zenobia accompanied her husband in war and the chase; she aided him in conquering the Persians and essayed without him to conquer Egypt. Some accuse her of having been in the conspiracy which cost the Caesar of Palmyra his life; but we have reason to doubt this. She had a son by a former marriage, to whom Herodes barred the way to power, and whom the latter's death would make heir to the kingdom. Doubtless the mother thought of this: it may be she hoped for it; but to share in a plot against Odenathus would have been to conspire against herself. Mæonios

¹ Zenaras, xii. 24.

² M. de Vogüé (*Inscr. sem.*, p. 29) translates the Semitic name of Zenobia, Batzebinah, by *mercatoris filia*. But it may also be said that Zenobia is a Greek name, which the queen assumed on account of her kinship with the Zenobios, who were very numerous at Palmyra, and also to gratify her Greek subjects.

³ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 30. This author adds that Zenobia had read a history of Rome written in Greek, doubtless that of Dion Cassius, and that she had composed an abstract of the history of Alexander and of the East.

had assassinated his uncle through revenge, and with the design of taking his place, not of leaving it to Zenobia; neither had it been necessary to urge him to rid himself of Herodes, whom Odenathus had associated with himself in the supreme power;¹ the first crime had made the second necessary, and we admit that the young prince's step-mother must have seen without regret this death, which freed her son from a rival. The tragedy being accomplished, she aroused against the murderer the very soldiers who had proclaimed him king, and who now, doubtless for a little money, laid his head at Zenobia's feet, after which they saluted her eldest son, Waballath, with the title of Augustus and the two others as Cæsar.² She presented them to the people and to the army clad in the Roman purple, while she kept for herself the real power with the title *basilissa*, queen, equivalent doubtless in the minds of the Palmyrenes to the title of *augusta*.



Waballath
Augustus, Son of
Zenobia.
(Bronze.)

In the midst of the confusion which had prevailed for nearly forty years, no one was surprised at all these Cæsars emerging from an Arab city. But what did seem strange was this—to see these children of the desert who had always held women in subjection, thus quietly accepting the sway of this firm and gentle hand. The East, it is true, had so many goddesses reigning in heaven that it might easily, without too great a sacrifice, allow women to reign upon earth,³ and its legends always spoke of Semiramis, the mighty sovereign of Babylon; of Dido, the renowned Carthaginian; and of that Queen of Sheba who had wished to look upon the glory of Solomon, the founder of Tadmor. Zenobia took pleasure in remembering Cleopatra, whom she equalled in beauty and in power, but whose masculine resolution at the last hour she did not, perhaps, possess.⁴ Her court

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 14, 15.

² The Latin legend of the coins of Waballath is V. C. R. I. D. R., which M. de Sallet reads: *vir consularis, rex, imperator, dux Romanorum*. At Palmyra he did, in fact, bear the title of king, and in Lower Egypt was called βασιλεύς, king. In the fifth year of his reign (August 29th, 270, to August 28th, 271) he took the title of Augustus.

³ The great goddess of Byblos was considered superior in power to the male gods, her father and brothers, for example. (Halévy, *Inscr. de Byblos*, a paper read before the Academy of Inscriptions [Paris], May 3rd, 1878.)

⁴ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 30. We say perhaps, for Cleopatra had the opportunity for

was modelled after that of the emperors, with Oriental adulations borrowed from Persia, which Diocletian later imitated, and the diadem which he assumed. With bare arms and helmeted head she harangued her troops in a loud and musical voice, going along with them, usually

on horseback, but sometimes even on foot, and shared in the prolonged banquetings of her generals, though never forgetting her rank and dignity. Aurelian does her justice: "Those who say," he writes, "that I have only conquered a woman, have no idea what this woman was, how wise in council, resolute in carrying out her plans, firm with her soldiers, and, according to the situation, peaceable or severe. Through her aid Odenathus



Zenobia.¹

conquered the Persians, and through fear of her arms, the Arabs, the Saracens, and the Armenians have been kept in tranquillity."²

Zenobia was a formidable adversary. She had formed the design of adding to her territory in the East two countries which would be its outposts and bulwarks: Egypt, whither she sent an

suicide, which Zenobia, who was very carefully guarded, probably did not have. (See later.)

¹ Bust of the Vatican. (Museo Chiaramonti, No. 263.)

² Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 30.

army which seized Alexandria, and Asia Minor, whose peoples "knew not how to say no," accepted her sway. The Bithynians alone refused, and this refusal compromised the whole plan; for Bithynia, lying between the Propontis and the Bosphorus, was the great highway for armies passing from Europe into Asia, and this highway remained open to Aurelian.

The Egyptian affair began brilliantly. The historian Zosimus speaks of an army of 70,000 men which seized upon the country, or at least upon the northern provinces.



Waballath and Aurelian.⁴

A general of the name of Probus¹ had been sent against the pirates, who, taking advantage of the disorders produced by the great Gothic invasion, were now infesting the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria; he landed with

what troops he had in the Delta, where the Palmyrenes had left only a garrison of 5,000 men, increased his small army by some volunteers, and would have got the better of Zenobia's troops, when he was surprised near Memphis. Falling into the enemy's hands he took his own life,³ and the queen remained mistress of Lower Egypt.

Alexandrian coins bear the heads of Aurelian and Zenobia's son, as if they had been colleagues, and the latest of them, belonging to the seventh year of the reign of Waballath, show that this situation lasted till into the year 272.⁴

¹ Or Probus (Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 11).

² VABALATHVS V. C. R. IM. D. R., and the laurelled head of Zenobia's son. On the reverse: IMP. C. AVRELIANVS AVG., and the radiate head of Aurelian. (Bronze coin.)

³ *pugnauit temere ut pene caperetur* (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 9). Zonaras says even that he was taken *Ζηνοβίαν* *Πρόβον ἰλαῖσαν* (xii. 27). According to M. de Sallet (*die Fürsten von Palmyra*, p. 44), Probus was an usurper who attempted to seize Egypt while Claudius was fighting against the Goths; Zenobia overthrew him, after which the Egyptians acknowledged the authority of the *imperator Romanus*, that is to say, Waballath swearing fidelity to the Roman Augustus, Claudius. In respect to this individual we have followed the story of Zosimus, who seems to have been well-informed as to the affairs of the Palmyrenes. (See Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 595.)

⁴ Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 496. So long as Zenobia ruled Egypt in the name of Claudius, the name of this emperor appears alone on the Alexandrian coins; upon the death of Claudius she caused to be struck, in Alexandria, coins bearing the effigy of Aurelian and that of Waballath, and also others with the head of Aurelian alone. After the rupture, in 271-2, the head of Aurelian disappears from the Alexandrian coins, and the name of Waballath is followed by the title *αὐγούστης*, Augustus. (De Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 32.)



Angora (Angora), from Perrot's *Explor. archéol. de la Galatie*, etc.

In the spring of this year Aurelian left Italy with a numerous army for the purpose of regulating the affairs of Asia. On the way he set free Illyria, Thrace, and Mœsia from the Gothic bands who still lingered there or had returned thither; he pursued one of them across the Danube, and compelled them to give him as hostages a number of young girls of noble family, whom he placed at Perinthus. He wrote to the legate of Thrace to furnish for their maintenance a certain sum, but to keep them in communities of seven, so that the expense to the state should be less while the young girls should be able to live in comfort. We have seen¹ how these hostages served the imperial policy: one of them, we are told, married a Roman general, and doubtless others did the same, and the emperor furnished the dowry.

In Bithynia Aurelian was welcomed as a liberator; hostilities began with the Galatians, where it was necessary to take Ancyra by storm. One of the chief cities of Cappadocia, Tyana, which covered the Cilician pass into Mount Taurus, would have made a long resistance if one of its richest citizens had not indicated an ill-fortified and ill-guarded point. Aurelian put the traitor to death, without, however, confiscating his property, a virtue rare among the monarchs of that time. The soldiers expected to plunder this wealthy city, but Aurelian forbade them to do it. Apollonius of Tyana still had his admirers; the biographer of Aurelian is one of them, and he maintains that an apparition of the hero prevented the emperor from destroying that city. Policy counselled this moderation, and Aurelian understood that in those troublous times indulgence was due to those who did not know on which side the right lay and where obedience was due.² When he gave out that Apollonius had prohibited the sack of his native city, the soldiery, who might have refused obedience to their emperor, dared not refuse it to "the divine man," and a well-told lie saved a great city.

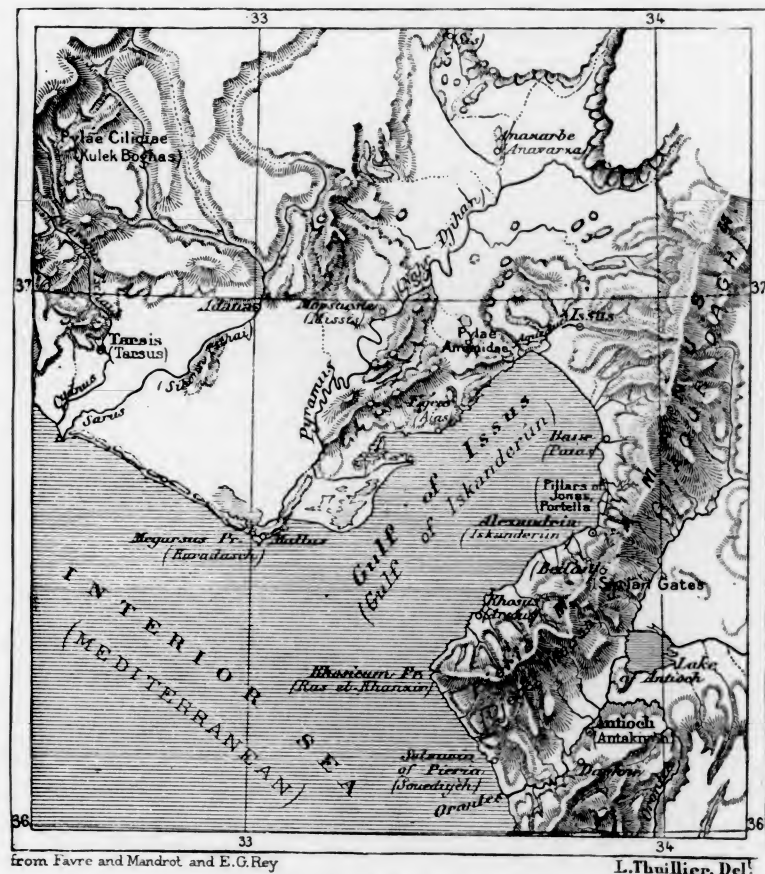
The passes of the Taurus were not at all guarded,³ and the

¹ p. 372.

² See later the amnesty that he granted.

³ The Taurus, or *Bulghar-Dagh*, has, on this side, peaks which rise to a height of 11,500 feet, but the pass is only 3,170 feet. Thence, by way of Adana and Mopsuesta, Aurelian could reach the road which crossed a spur of the Amanus (*Pylæ Amanides*), then turn at Alexandretta to the point where the Amanus, which runs parallel to the coast at a height of about 6,560 feet,

legions came down into Cilicia, turned the Gulf of Issus, and arriving at the Syrian Gates saw beneath them the Lake of Antioch, the city itself luxuriously reposing on the bank of the



The Passes of Mount Amanus.

Orontes, and Daphne, the sanctuary of licentious rites. Zenobia was there with a portion of her cavalry. An action, which does not seem to have been very sanguinary,¹ gave the city into the

leaves between it and the sea only those two famous defiles called the Cilician and the Syrian Gates, at 2,625 and 2,950 feet above the sea. (See in the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr.*, January, 1878, the map of Messrs. Favre and Mandrot.)

¹ . . . *brevi apud Dafnem certamine* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 25). Zosimus (i. 51) represents it as more severe; but it was only a cavalry engagement and a skirmish of outposts.

power of the Romans; they entered it, while the Palmyrenes fell back towards Chalcis. Aurelian continued his system of clemency. Many inhabitants of Antioch, fearing that they should be treated as partisans of the queen, had escaped from the city with the Arab army, but a proclamation guaranteed them life and property, and almost all returned.

In another affair which has been made very conspicuous he showed the same spirit of conciliation. Paul of Samosata enjoyed at Antioch both the office of bishop and that of *procurator duce-narius*, or steward of Zenobia's finances. The city contained many Jews and Christians; among the latter were men who, while accepting the Gospel, rejected the divinity of Christ, or at least understood it otherwise than the Church did. According to them, Jesus was but a man in whom the Spirit of God, the *Logos*, resided as formerly in Moses and the Prophets.¹ They recognized the union of the Divine Word with humanity in Christ, and acknowledged that he deserved to be called God. But this attempt at a rational explanation ruined the doctrine of God made man, and diminished the religious fruitfulness of Christianity. Paul thought as they did. In 264 his faith had already become an object of suspicion; at the same time a numerous synod of bishops, priests, and deacons, assembled to examine into his views, had found them not heretical. Five years later his adversaries convoked another assembly, whither came seventy-six bishops, and he was cut off from the Church. A synodal letter addressed "to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, to all the bishops, priests, and deacons forming the Church under the heavens," announced to them the deposition of the bishop of Antioch. Paul, supported by Zenobia, however, did not relinquish the episcopal throne. The case was brought before Aurelian, who, with a good sense which we must admire, refused to give a decision, and still less to call to mind in these circumstances that there existed imperial edicts against the Christians. "These concern bishops," he said; "let him retain the episcopal palace with whom the bishops of Rome and Italy are in fellowship." The brother of Seneca, the tribune at Jerusalem, had also made answer on the subject of S. Paul, accused

¹ At the same time admitting his miraculous birth, *ἐκ παρθένου*. (S. Athan., *Contra Apollin.*, i. 3.)

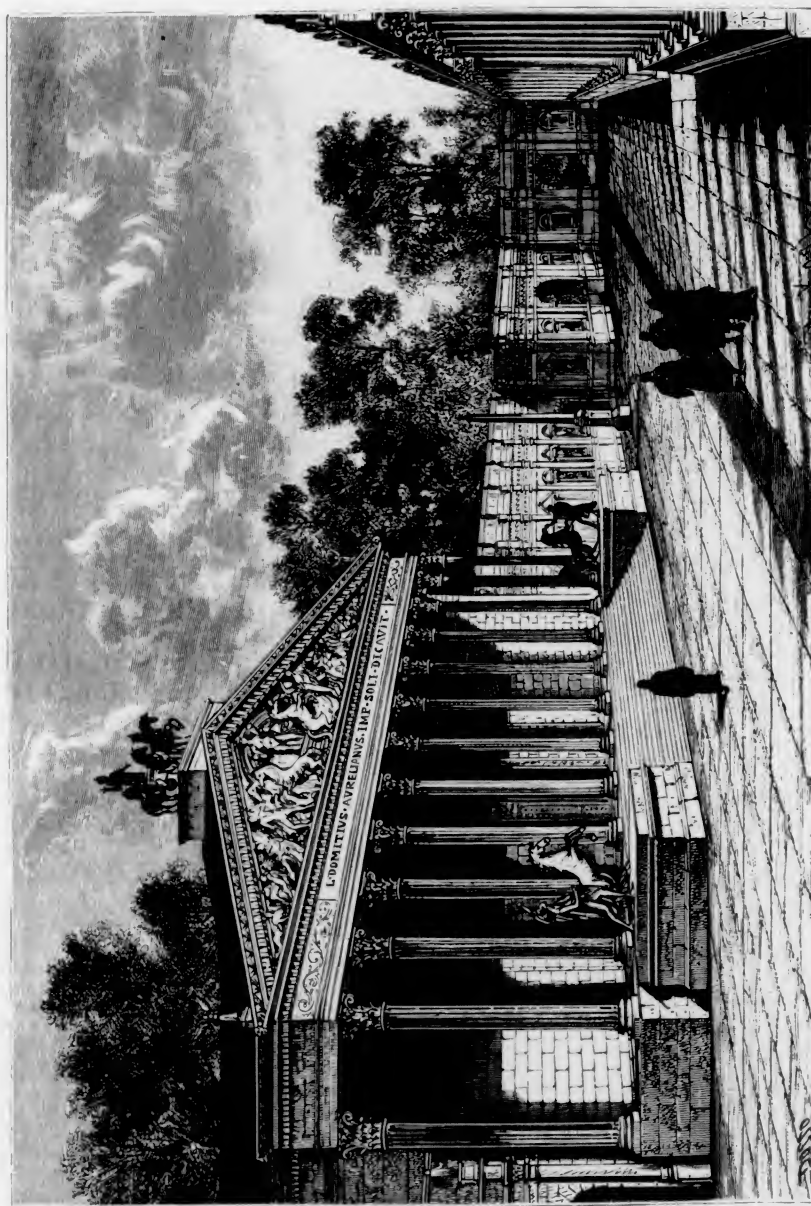
by the Jews: "I am not a judge of these matters."¹ The brave and honest soldier whose history we write had discovered for himself this admirable truth, which so many emperors have despised and still despise.² He at once reaped the fruit of it. The bishop's friends had been, like Paul himself, the queen's partisans; Aurelian punished them indirectly, and at the same time he conciliated the Christian community, numerous in that great city.

An attempt has been made to see in the response of the emperor an acknowledgment of the primacy of the Roman See. It was natural that Aurelian, having to decide a point of doctrine between Christians, should address himself to the metropolitan bishops, and should constitute the heads of the Christian communities of Italy arbitrators of the dispute, without attaching other importance to the affair. His judgment, nevertheless, constituted an extremely useful precedent for the pontifical authority.

Affairs being regulated at Antioch, Aurelian set out in pursuit of the enemy. He came up with their rear-guard not far from Chalcis, and dislodged it from a height where it had been posted. The Palmyrenes made no further halt till they came under the walls of Emesa; here Zenobia had gathered 70,000 men, resting on a securely fortified place, and having in front of them a wide plain suited for cavalry movements. The battle this time was desperate. In the one army, the ancient renown of Rome, in the other, the new fame of Palmyra, fired the hearts of all. For a moment Aurelian had reason to fear that his soldiers might give way before the shock; his cavalry was almost destroyed, but a vigorous charge, which he led in person against the centre of the too extended line of the enemy, decided the victory. It had been so dearly bought, however, that the Romans were not in a condition to pursue the vanquished. In the heat of the combat Aurelian had vowed a temple to the Sun, and it was related afterwards that the god himself had been seen in the midst of the legions, restoring their disordered lines. The Sun was the great divinity of Palmyra, he had therefore abandoned his people;

¹ See vol. iv. p. 57.

² Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 27 and 29. The synodal letter is quoted by Eusebius. It contains, as was customary, many recriminations, true or false, against the bishop on the subject of his morals. Hefele (*Conciliengeschichte*, vol. i. 109-117) enumerates three synods of Antioch on this affair, but he is unable to give the date of the second, and we do not mention it.



The Temple of the Sun at Rome. Restoration by Gerhard, *École des Beaux-Arts*.

but the gods are always on the side of the heavy battalions, and, with a sentiment made up both of pride and humility, the victors took pleasure in transforming into divine assistance the aid which they had found in their own courage.¹

In a council of war held by Zenobia at Emesa it had been decided to fall back upon Palmyra. It was confidently believed that the heavy Roman army could not traverse "the thirsty land," or at least that it would live there with difficulty, exposed as it would be to attacks from the nomads. The "Syrian robbers," as Vopiscus calls them, did, in fact, much harm to the Romans, but did not hinder them from arriving before the desert capital. It was surrounded by a deep moat and a wall covered with innumerable machines of war, which sent off an incessant shower of arrows, darts, and flames.² The emperor had not expected a defence so determined. On arriving in sight of the city, he wrote to the queen: "Aurelian, emperor of the Roman world, and conqueror of the East, to Zenobia and those who are engaged in her cause. You ought to have done willingly that which I order in this letter. I command you to surrender, and I promise to spare your lives. You, Zenobia, will withdraw with your family into a place which I shall indicate to you, by the advice of the honourable senate. You will surrender to the Roman treasury all that you possess of precious stones, gold, silver, silk, horses, and camels. The Palmyrenes will preserve their rights."³

The reply was no less proud: "Zenobia, queen of the East. No person has ever dared to demand what your letter asks. You wish me to surrender myself, as if you did not know that queen Cleopatra preferred to die rather than owe her life to a master. I am momentarily expecting assistance from the Persians; the Saracens and Armenians are on my side. The Syrian robbers have defeated your army, Aurelian; what then will be the case when we have received the reinforcements which are coming to us from all sides? You will then cease this proud tone with which you demand my submission, as if your arms were everywhere victorious."⁴

¹ See in Zosimus (i. 57-8) the numerous oracles made to speak in all the temples of Syria.

² Doubtless employing the bitumen with which the region abounds.

³ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

After this interchange of haughty language it only remained to storm the city or to reduce it by famine. The Roman army invested the place. Zenobia counted on Persia, but Persia had changed rulers three times in as many years, amidst conspiracies of the nobles and religious quarrels agitating the people. Sapor, the conqueror of Valerian, had died in 271. His son Hormisdas, devoted to peace, reigned fourteen months, and his successor, Bahram Varanes, less than four years. Of Hormisdas is related an anecdote worthy of the *Arabian Nights*. Being suspected of entering into some conspiracy with the satraps, who were dis-

Coin of Bahram or Varahran I.¹

contented at the protracted duration of Sapor's reign (thirty years), the prince cut off his hand and sent it to his father as a sign of his fidelity. It was contrary to custom that a person in any way mutilated should succeed to the throne, but Sapor, to honour his son's heroism, bequeathed to him the royal authority. This legend has preserved to us the memory of Hormisdas: at Ram Hoormuz, which he built, the Persians still show an orange tree which is said to have been planted by him, and is an object of veneration to them.²

Bahram was on the Persian throne when Aurelian appeared before Palmyra. But the kingdom was agitated by the preaching of Manes, who sought to blend in one the religions of Christ and of Zoroaster. The people, and even the court, were divided between the old and the new doctrines. Sapor had banished the sectary; Hormisdas favoured him. The magi, anxious for their authority, succeeded in re-establishing their influence over the mind of Bahram, who condemned Manes to be flayed alive, and was shortly after himself assassinated by a partisan of the reformer. This double tragedy came later than the siege of Palmyra; but these domestic dissensions explain the reserved attitude of those

¹ Legend: *The worshipper of Ormuzd, the excellent Varahran, king of kings, of Iran and Turan, celestial germ of the gods, around the head of the king.* On the reverse: *The divine Varahran; in the centre, a pyre; on the left, Varahran, standing; at the right, another figure.* (Silver coin.)

² Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 100.

who had but recently held a Roman emperor in captivity. They contented themselves with sending some slight reinforcements to Palmyra, which were, however, intercepted on the way. In respect to Armenia, we have already indicated the reasons which made the friendship of Rome indispensable; as for the Arabs and the Saracens, they were either bought or intimidated, and but little gold and little strength was needed for either.

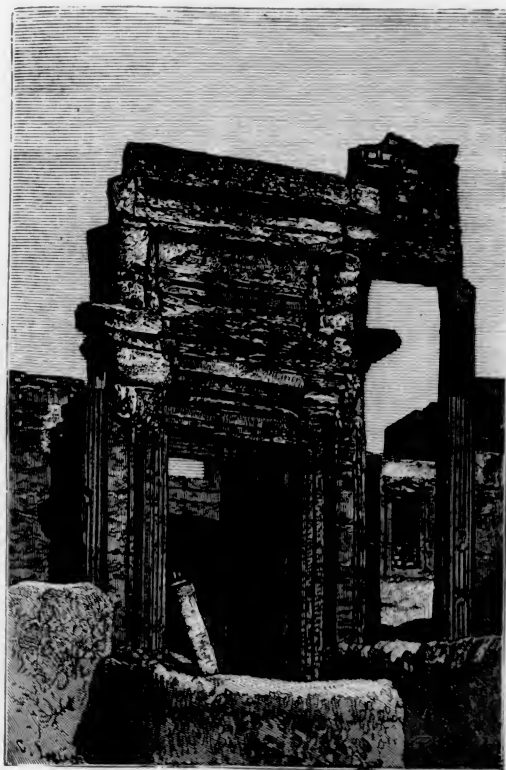
Zenobia, then, stood alone. When she knew that she could no longer count on those whom she believed her allies, and when



Ruins of the Temple of Diana at Palmyra.

she saw her provisions rapidly decreasing, she resolved to escape to the Persians and endeavour to persuade them to make a vigorous effort while her warriors still held out. Mounted on a rapid dromedary, she made her way to the Euphrates, and was nearly at its bank when the horsemen who had been sent in her pursuit came up with her. This sad news caused great confusion in Palmyra. Some were disposed to prolong the defence, but the larger number threw down their arms and opened the gates. Aurelian made no change in the terms he had offered at first; he treated the city with mildness, left it in undisturbed possession of its rights, and contented himself with taking the treasures of Zenobia.

Returning to Emesa, where, from the resources of a rich province the troops could compensate themselves for the privations they had lately suffered, the emperor constituted a tribunal to judge Zenobia and her ministers. In her first interview with Aurelian, she asserted herself as proudly as ever. "How dared



Gate of Zenobia's Palace. (Actual Condition.)

you," he said, "insult the majesty of the Roman emperors?" And she replied: "I acknowledge you as an emperor, since you are able to conquer; but the Gallieni, the Aureoli, and the rest, were not emperors." The compliment was not excessive. It is said, however, that before the tribunal she basely threw upon her councillors the responsibility of the war. This is probably a calumny of the victors or a clever invention of Aurelian. The soldiers were eager for blood, and he had determined not to put

the queen to death, for he proposed to have this second Cleopatra as an ornament to his triumph. The judges made it their plan to find only the ministers guilty, and these persons were put to death, among them Longinus, who met his fate with the serenity of a sage (273).

The fall of the queen of the East produced a great impression; and the desertion of all her allies proved the fear which the resuscitated Empire inspired. Aurelian therefore had quitted Syria with a mind freed from anxiety, and had traversed Asia



Ruins of the Temple of the Sun at Palmyra.

Minor, and even a portion of Thrace, when the news came to him that the Palmyrenes were again in arms, that the Roman garrison and its commander Sandarion had been murdered, and that, finally, one Antiochus had been proclaimed emperor.¹ Palmyra had not been willing to submit to falling back from her rank as an imperial city to the condition of a mere trading mart. She had for a moment drunk of the cup of grandeur, and was intoxicated by it still, and in her dreams there returned perpetually the image of her caravan leaders made Roman Cæsars. The act of folly which she had just now committed was cruelly expiated. Aurelian's anger was terrible; his severity in Rome had been already manifested, and at Palmyra, as he had been more element,

¹ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 31: cf. Zosimus, i. 60-61.

he was now even more pitiless. We know nothing of the expedition to which he committed his vengeance, but a letter shows that it was, as it were, the execution of an entire people. "Aurelian Augustus to Ceionius Bassus. Let the soldiers use their swords no longer: enough Palmyrenes have been killed. We have not even



The Dragon Bearer.
(Bas-relief of the Trajan Column.)

spared mothers; we have slain children and old men, and put to death the inhabitants of the country. To whom shall we now leave the country and the city? It is proper to spare the few who remain, and believe them corrected by the sight of so much punishment. I desire that the temple of the Sun, pillaged by the eagle-bearer of the tenth legion, by the standard-bearers, by the dragon-bearer,¹ and by the trumpeters, be restored as it was. You have in the treasures of Zenobia 300 pounds weight of gold; you have also 1,800 pounds of silver, obtained from the possessions of the Palmyrenes, and you have also the royal jewels. Employ all this in the ornamentation of the temple; you will thus do a thing agreeable to the immortal gods and to me. I will write to the senate to send a pontiff to make the dedication of the temple."²

Palmyra never rose after this blow. The families who had made her fortune doubtless perished in the massacre, and of the

¹ The soldier who bore the standard representing a dragon's head, terminated by a red streamer, which in the wind resembled the tortuous folds of the serpent. Cf. Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 8, and Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 12: . . . *purpureum signum draconis summitati haster longioris aptatum*. It seems to have resembled a Chinese flag.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 31.

inhabitants who survived none were able to take their place. Commerce became used to other routes; the sand invaded this depopulated oasis, and for ten centuries the world knew not even the place where the queen of the East had built her palaces of marble; but a spring which still flows has preserved, perhaps, through the ages the name of him who made this vast desolation.¹

After the tragedy of Emesa, Aurelian had hastened his



Ruins of the Palace of Zenobia.

return to Europe without stopping in Egypt, whence a man as valiant as himself had expelled the Palmyrenes. Believing this country pacified, he had not thought it advisable to appear there; but when it was understood that he was on his way to Gaul, a merchant enriched by traffic in the papyrus of Egypt and the commodities of India, Firmus, a Greek, whom the political fortunes of the sheiks of Palmyra had dazzled, undertook to play their rôle. He secured the aid of Blemyes and of the Saracens, stirred up Alexandria, ever ready for riots, and detained the corn-bearing fleet, which was a serious matter. He had assumed the purple at the moment when Palmyra revolted, whence it may be concluded

¹ The *Ain Ourmus*, to be seen near Palmyra. It has been conjectured that *Ourmus* is an altered abbreviation of Aurelianus. (*Recit. de Fatalla Sayeghri*, discovered by Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*, ii. 382.)

that the two movements were concerted.¹ Aurelian had no difficulty in confining the usurper within one of the four quarters of Alexandria, the Bruchium, which was separated by a wall from the rest of the city, and where Cæsar so long braved all the forces of Egypt. There stood the palace of the Ptolemies, the museum, which a long portico, made of the most precious marble, connected with the royal residence, and the palace of the Cæsars, built in the place where once stood the two obelisks called Cleopatra's Needles.² Aurelian did not undertake to storm this peculiar position; but famine eventually delivered Firmus into his hands, and he caused the rebel to be crucified. He then dismantled the Bruchium, the palace of the kings, and all that could serve as protection in case of a new disturbance—so he sought not to leave the provisioning of Rome at the mercy of this seditious city.³ This time at least his anger was directed towards the city itself rather than its inhabitants;⁴ but he augmented by one-twelfth the frumentary tax of Egypt, and laid upon the country a new annual tribute, namely, the sending to Rome of a certain quantity of glass, papyrus, linen, hemp, and other products of the country.⁵

Zenobia being a captive, "the robber Firmus" having been crucified, and the populace of Alexandria restrained by a Roman garrison, order began to be restored throughout the East, which had twice within a few months been overrun by a great and victorious army. From every side came in embassies, protestations of friendship, and presents, among other things, as a gift from

¹ The *Augustan History* does not say this, but the narrative of Vopiscus is extremely confused. I give what is probable, but not certain. A few words in the letter of Aurelian to the senate and the Roman people after the defeat of Firmus would lead us to suppose that the subjection of Egypt had been preceded by that of the Gauls: . . . *pacato toto orbe terrarum* (Vopiscus, *Firm.*, 5); but other information furnished by the *Augustan History*, by Zosimus (i. 61), by medals, and by the course of events, is contrary to this view. There are coins of the fifth year of the reign of Tetricus, that is to say, 272-3.

² In respect to this temple of the Cæsars, constructed in the time of Augustus, see *Bull. de corresp. hellén.*, 1878, p. 175.

³ Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 16. See vol. v. p. 521, the letter written by Aurelian to the senate and the Roman people after the fall of Firmus.

⁴ He permitted the women and children and the old men to go out of the Bruchium. At least, Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, vii. 32) relates this fact on the authority of Anatolius, an eye-witness, who later was the bishop of Laodicea, but he does not name Aurelian, and as he represents Anatolius as after this attending the Council of Antioch, held to examine Paul of Samosata, we perhaps ought to place this event in the time of Claudius, when Probus expelled the Palmyrenes from Alexandria and the Delta.

⁵ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 44.

the king of Persia, a purple mantle which seems to have been the predecessor of our Indian cashmeres.¹ Nothing therefore detained Aurelian longer in this part of the Empire, and he was at liberty to turn his attention at last towards the Western provinces, where Tetricus had been reigning for more than five years.²

Victorina, "the mother of the camps," was dead,³ and her resolute soul no longer sustained the courage of the gentle senator whom she had made emperor of Gaul. Established at Bordeaux, so that he need not be disturbed by the noise on the frontier and the outcries of the legions, he waited till Aurelian should come to relieve him of his imperial functions. Medals represent him wearing, not the cuirass, but the toga, and bearing in one hand a sceptre and in the other a cornucopia. When, in receiving their pay the soldiers beheld the emperor represented on the coin with the attributes of peace and a legend signifying that moderation in success makes a ruler great, they must have considered this peaceful personage as unworthy to have the command of men. They retained him, however; their pride was gratified in maintaining this Gallic empire which they had created. They and their chiefs had their entire lives and all their interests in these provinces, and they said to each other that Tetricus would never disturb their tranquil existence by leading them to the opposite end of the Empire to fight with Persians or Blemyes. Moreover, Gaul was their domain also; they conducted themselves as masters there with all the insolence of a soldiery commanding its officers. To resist their demands, Autun closed its gates; they besieged the city for seven months, and Tetricus made no attempt to end this strange war. Claudius, to whom Autun appealed, was too much occupied by the Goths to listen to these far off complaints; the unhappy city was sacked,⁴ and many of its citizens perished (269). One of them

¹ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 29.

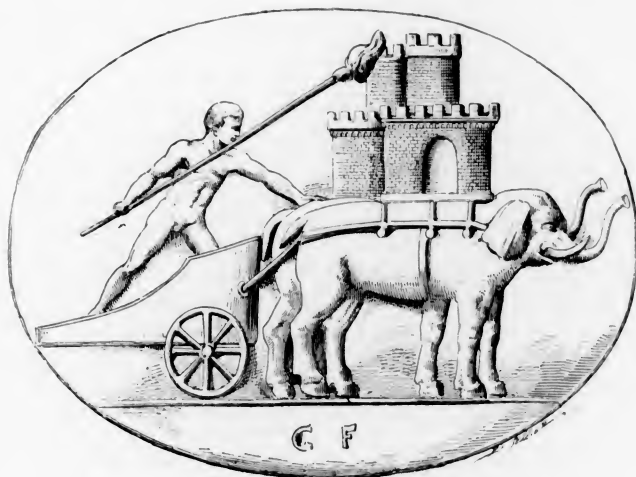
² See de Boze, *Tetricus*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des insér.*, vol. xxvi. pp. 515 *et seq.* Numerous medals of this emperor bear the words: *ubertas, letitia, felicitas publica*, and milestones prove that he repaired the roads in Gaul in order to facilitate commerce.

³ Certain accounts represent her as having been put to death by Tetricus, which is improbable. He instituted solemn funeral ceremonies in her honour and decreed her apotheosis, *consecratio*.

⁴ Eumenes (*Pan. vet.*, vii. 4: *Gratiarum actio Constantino*, and *pro Restaur. scholis*, 14) represents certain Bagaudes or insurgent peasants as mingled with these soldiers, *latrocinium Bagaudicæ rebellionis*.

fled as far as to the foot of the Pyrenees, to Tarbes, "which the Adour traverses, and it hears afar the roar of angry Ocean;" the fugitive married there, and was the ancestor of the poet Ausonius, one of the last literary reputations of the Empire.¹ Other cities were of the same mind with Autun; an inscription at Barcelona attests the fidelity of this city to Claudius and to the Empire.²

The selfish devotion of the Gallic legions did not at all re-assure their emperor. We have reason to believe that he sought



Elephants attached to a Chariot and bearing a Tower.³

the confidence of Claudius by secret messages,⁴ and we know that, quoting Virgil, he wrote to Aurelian: "Invincible hero, deliver me from these miscreants."⁵ An understanding was readily established between two men, one of whom had no wish for a colleague, while the other was eager to be again a subject. When the armies met near Châlons-sur-Marne, Tetricus communicated his order of battle to Aurelian, and at the moment when the action began, deserted his troops, who at once disbanded.⁶ The whole Empire

¹ Auson., *Parent.*, 4. The poet states this flight as occurring under Victorinus.

² Orelli, No. 1,020.

³ Engraved stone. (La Chausse, *Recueil*, etc., ii, pl. 129.)

⁴ See p. 474.

⁵ *Eripe me his, invicte, malis* (words of Palinurus in the *Aeneid*, vi. 265).

⁶ Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 35.

was united again under a single chief (274); it was now twenty-one years since this had been the situation.

Aurelian celebrated the great event by a triumph, where he assayed to surpass in magnificence those ancient solemnities which Rome had not for a long time seen.¹ Slowly there passed under the eyes of the dazzled crowd the innumerable wreaths of gold offered by the Roman cities; twenty elephants and giraffes, tamed animals; the chariot of a Gothic king drawn by four stags, that of the queen of Palmyra made of chased gold and silver and gleaming with a thousand gems; pictures representing the battles won, the cities taken, and representations of conquered nations.

Then followed the senate, the magistrates, and the pontiffs; the people in white togas, and the colleges or corporations, preceded by their banners; the army with its standards; the *cataphractarii* with their heavy armour, and the soldiers with their military decorations;



The Elder Tetricus
on Horseback.
(Gold Coin.)



The Younger Tetricus.²

lastly, 800 pair of gladiators, followed by the crowd of captives of all nations adjacent to the Empire, some in chains, others bearing the captured spoils, and among them women of Gothic race who had been taken fighting among their fathers and husbands. But all eyes were fixed upon Tetricus and his son, who walked clad in the scarlet chlamys and wearing the Gallic braceæ, that all might recognize the emperors of Gaul. Zenobia followed them laden with precious stones, a gold chain on her feet, another on her hands, a third about her neck; and, as a last insult, it was a Persian buffoon who held up these chains—whose weight would have overwhelmed her—to recall to the fallen queen in what a vain hope she had trusted. Aurelian brutally enjoyed his victory. More clement, however, than Marius and Caesar, he did not make

¹ Orosius (vii. 9) enumerates, from Romulus to Vespasian, 320 triumphs, and Pitiscus (*Lexic. Ant.*, s. v. *Triumphus*) has made out only thirty from Vespasian to Belisarius, who celebrated the last of them.

² C. PIVS ESUVIVS TETRICVS CAES. Bust of the young Tetricus, bare-headed, from a bronze medallion found on the banks of the Rhône at Andancette, the ancient *Figline*. (Museum of Grenoble. J. de Witte, *op. cit.*, pl. xiv. No. 4.)

the fatal sign upon the road as he went up to the Capitol, which would have been the order to conduct the captives to the Tullianum, whither Jugurtha had preceded Vercingetorix.¹

The pageant being ended, he gave back to Tetricus his honours, bestowed upon him a palace on the Caelian Mount, and appointed him governor of Lucania,² telling him it was better to rule an Italian province than to reign on the other side of the Alps, which the ex-Augustus did not contradict. The emperor often called Tetricus his colleague, sometimes his comrade-in-arms, and even imperator, and these distinctions authorized the senate after the death of Aurelian to place Tetricus among the *divi*.³ Vercingetorix ended otherwise; but he had lived differently.

To Zenobia Aurelian also gave a villa near Tibur, in the neighbourhood of that of Hadrian. She lived there like a Roman lady of rank; her daughters married into the most illustrious houses, and 200 years later some of the nobles of Rome called themselves descendants of the queen of Palmyra; among them we know of one who was a contemporary of S. Ambrose, S. Zenobius, bishop of Florence.⁴

The triumph had been the festival of the ruler; later the people had theirs: scenic representations, great hunts, mock sea-fights, combats between gladiators, and gratuitous distributions. Aurelian decided that, for the future, citizens should receive every day a loaf of wheat bread and a piece of pork. All distributions were increased by an ounce, that is to say, a twelfth. He even formed the design of buying lands in Etruria and establishing a vast vineyard, so that he could give the people a measure of wine,

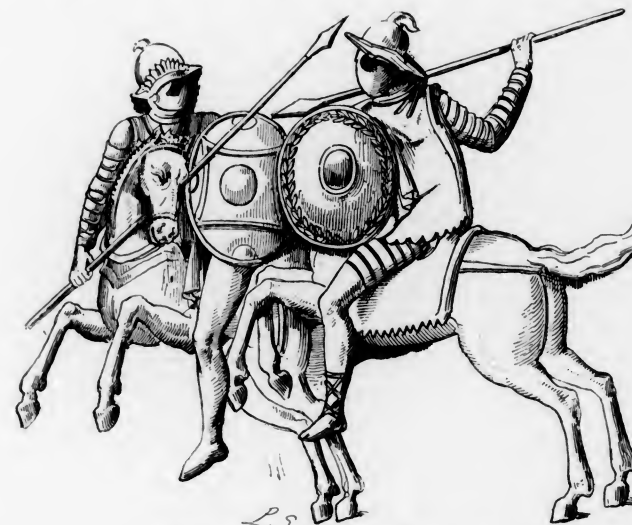
¹ It has been asserted that the arch of triumph whose remains are seen at Besançon was erected on occasion of this pageant.

² Treb. Pollio (*Tyr. trig.*, 23) says "of all peninsular Italy." It is probable that we ought to read *corrector Italiae regionis Lucaniae*, as in the case of Postumius Titianus, consul in 301, who was *corrector Italiae regionis Transpadanae* (*C. I. L.*, vi. 1,418, 1,419). Borghesi (*Œuvres*, ii. 416) formed out of the eleven *regiones* of Augustus in Italy eight provinces, which Diocletian retained.

³ This at least seems to be inferable from the coins of Tetricus bearing the word *consecratio*. (Cohen, v. 171.) Cf. de Boze, *Hist. de Tétricus*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxvi. p. 521. Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 457) differs from this opinion.

⁴ Zosimus mentions only a son of Zenobia, brought with her to Rome, but does not give his name, and says that the other captives were drowned in the Bosphorus. What was the end of Waballath is not known. Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 493) supposes that Aurelian gave him a principality in Syria.

as he did a measure of oil, daily. A counsellor, wiser than the emperor, opposed this project. "After this," said the praetorian prefect, "we should be obliged to give them also chickens and geese." Aurelian yielded, but he caused the treasury to offer wine at reduced price, a measure of political economy almost equally objectionable. After food, clothes: he distributed tunics



Gladiators on Horseback. (Pompeii.)

of African linen, and long strips of cloth, "which they might use in the circus, waving them to indicate their approbation."¹

We have to remark here that these largesses to the populace were not an act of base adulation to win their favour. The strength of Aurelian lay in the armies; it did not depend upon Rome, and in spite of his liberality towards the Romans he was very indifferent as to their good or ill will.

At Emesa Aurelian had come upon his mother's god, and he had attributed his victory to the Sun. The extravagances of Elagabalus had not brought this divinity into disfavour; it was held in great honour, and this was natural, for, as the pagan world

¹ . . . quibus uteretur populus ad favorem (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 47). Formerly it had been a corner of the toga that was waved in sign of applause. After Aurelian's time the distribution of mere corn was certainly resumed. Theodoric gave 120,000 modii annually. Cf. Hirschfeld, pp. 20-21.

was tending more and more to a belief in the divine unity, the Sun, shedding light, heat, and life through all nature, seemed the author of these gifts.¹ Aurelian had offered stately sacrifices to the Sun in Emesa, and he created at Rome a new priesthood in the honour of this deity,² building a temple which was esteemed by contemporaries the most splendid in Rome, and was so

The Sun.³

especially on account of the vast wealth deposited in it, a great quantity of gems and 15,000 pounds weight of gold; but for fear of the jealousy of the other gods, Aurelian offered gifts in the temple of each.

So many prodigalities, not to speak of the money given to the people and the soldiers, or of the expense for the fortifications of Rome, for the cleansing of the Tiber, for the quays which he constructed at

certain points along the river, for the construction of thermæ along the right bank, for that of a forum at Ostia, for the increase of the flotilla bringing to Rome the corn of the frumentary provinces, compel us to admit that the successful wars which he had carried on placed great resources in his hands. Historians tell us only of the pillage of Palmyra; but Alexandria must have furnished large booty, Antioch, Ancyra, Tyana, the cities of Syria, at that time so prosperous, large ransoms; and Gaul, like Egypt, certainly paid for its return into the Empire by an increase in the taxes.

¹ This was Pliny's faith (*Hist. nat.*, ii. 4), a philosopher who did not believe in many things.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 35.

³ Marble medallion representing in relief the masque of the Sun, according to the type of the Rhodian coins. (Roman Sculpture in the Museum of the Louvre; Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpt. ant.*, etc., No. 421.)

Aurelian's economy procured him other resources. He lived simply, and required this of the persons around him. He obliged his slaves to keep the modest habits they had before his accession, and the empress to superintend the affairs of the palace; he refused her a silk mantle because at this time that material was worth its weight in gold; and he made his friends presents which gave them comfort but not wealth, that envy might not be excited against them.¹ He himself never had a silver vase weighing over thirty pounds; the gods came into possession of the presents that were made him: all the magnificent objects displayed at his triumph were carried

The Empress Severina, Wife of Aurelian.²

Silver Vase from the Hildesheim Treasure. (Reproduction in the Museum of Cluny.)

into the temples, as in the old days of republican virtue, to serve as resources in case of extreme peril.

Sumptuary laws were a Roman malady, and Aurelian did not fail to establish many.³ Thus, to guard against a scarcity of the precious metals, he forbade the use of gold on furniture and

¹ . . . *divitiarum invidiam patrimonii moderatione vitarent* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 45).

² SEVERINA AUG(usta). Diademed bust of the empress placed on a crescent. (Coin of copper alloy, Antoninianus of the weight of 4.05.)

³ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 45-6. Cf. Lamprid., *Elagabalus*, 4. He limited the number of eunuchs, etc.

garments. His biographer goes so far as to assert that he renewed the women's senate to whom Elagabalus had given the duty of regulating the matrons' toilettes, a puerility which this soldier would never have copied from the effeminate Syrian. But he had displayed great pomp in religious solemnities, appearing crowned and in garments covered with gold and precious stones. This Oriental luxury was the fashion of the day, reappearing even in the works of art whose

Aurelian.¹Fighting Hero found near Vienne, in Dauphiné.²

decline it marks, and Diocletian carried it much further. These two emperors believed they should be more respected if an imposing ceremonial marked more plainly to the eye the distance between the subject and the ruler.

This luxury, often regarded as necessary, and really so in a certain social condition, has never been able to protect any others than those who protected themselves by their personal valour, or whom the faith of nations enveloped with a sure though invisible protection. From this point of view, Aurelian could

¹ DEO ET DOMINO NATO AVRELIANO. Radiate head of the emperor. (Small bronze.)

² *Gazette archéol.*, 1876. Clarac (*Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 826, No. 2,083 B) has given this statue the name of Deiphobus.

his side; but an absolute ruler is never secure against conspiracies, and one was shortly to be formed among those immediately about him.

The magnificent entertainment which he had just given the Romans preceded his death by only a few months.

He employed this time in consolidating the work of restoration which he had pursued so vigorously for the five years preceding. A sedition in Gaul called him into that country.¹ It is not known what he did there. We hear of a success of Probus over the Franks, near the mouths of the Rhine, and of a victory gained over the Alemanni near Vindonissa (Windisch) by Constantius Chlorus, on the day when his son Constantine was born. Later traditions attribute to him the reconstruction of Dijon and of Genabum, which seems to have taken his name, *Civitas Aurelianorum*. These were two important positions for commerce and war: at Orleans, the geographic centre of Gaul, ended the principal military roads of the country, and Dijon was the great station between the valley of the Rhone and that of the Seine. Forum Julii and the Viennese province owed him perhaps some favour; inscriptions found there celebrate the Restorer of the World.



Reverse of a Coin (Small Bronze) of Aurelian, bearing the Legend: GENIUS ILLYR.

Aurelian doubtless revisited the banks of the Rhine, the theatre of his earliest successes; then he repaired to the Upper Danube, for we find him afterwards in Vindelicia and Illyricum. He wished personally to inspect this frontier lately so disturbed, and where it was well from time to time to exhibit the imperial crown, especially when it was worn by a conqueror. Aurelian had the intention of doing more than this, and was about to go as far as Ctesiphon for the purpose of visiting upon the allies of Zenobia the injuries they had done the Empire, but he was stopped by a conspiracy before reaching Byzantium.

Ecclesiastical authors assert that divine justice put a stop to his evil designs against the Church.² The emperor's conduct in

¹ Zonaras, xii. 27.

² Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 30, and Zonaras, xii. 27. In book viii. chap. iv., Eusebius says that, from the time of Decius and Valerian until the last years of Diocletian, the devil slept,

the affair of Paul of Samosata, the peace which the Christians enjoyed during his reign, forbid us to believe that he was proposing to undertake a persecution, and to explain his death it is not necessary to employ a method which in all ages has been used to explain sudden catastrophes. Following the example of Septimius Severus, whom he seems to have taken for a model, he maintained discipline in the administration as well as in the army; he kept watch over the imperial agents in the provinces, and punished extortioners rigorously, even going so far as to put them to death by crucifixion. Having cause for displeasure against one of his secretaries, Mnestheus, he threatened him with chastisement. The freedman knew that the emperor spoke no idle words; he counterfeited Aurelian's handwriting, prepared a list of persons known to be out of favour, placing his own name on the list to make it the more credible, and exhibited the list to the persons whose names were on it as an order of death which he had discovered and seized. To escape from the punishment which they believed impending over them, these persons conspired and assassinated Aurelian (January or March, 275). He was but sixty-one years of age, and had reigned five years.

During the reign of Aurelian there was a sedition of a peculiar character. We have seen¹ how greatly in these times the gold and silver coins had been altered. The master of the Roman mints, Felicissimus, had formed the idea of sharing in the profits which the emperors believed they were making by this scandalous operation. Very little gold and silver was furnished him for the coin he had to make; he put into it even less, and doubtless associated with himself as sharers in the profits those who were employed under him. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why a sedition should have broken out when Aurelian sought to bring this abuse to an end.² The revolt was formidable; the manufacturers

and Sulpicius Severus, who lived in Gaul, has no knowledge of the great persecution which has been placed in Aurelian's reign.

¹ pp. 385 et seq.

² . . . *monetae opifices qui, quum, auctore Felicissimo rationali, nummariam notam corrosissent, pœne metu bellum fecerant* (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 35). Cf. Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 38. The procurator *monetae* of equestrian rank commanded a whole army of workmen. Upon this organization, see *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. ix. p. 218; Fr. Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, i. 251; and Cuq, the *Examinator per Italiam*, p. 36.

interested in the trade in precious metals, the silversmiths and goldsmiths, the bankers and all who handled silver, threatened with reforms which were likely to unsettle the market, appear to have made common cause with the *employés* of the mint, and the people, as usual, took part in the quarrel, through hatred of the police. A battle actually took place in Rome, on the Cælian hill, and 7,000 soldiers perished in it, which implies great carnage among the rebels.

We are very ignorant in respect to this affair.¹ Was the senate concerned in it? Possibly, for old authors mention the execution of many senators without telling us the cause of it, and the senate lost on that occasion the right it had possessed since the time of Augustus to coin bronze money. At least we find no longer, after the reign of Aurelian, the letters S.C. on coins—a proof that the senatorial mints were united after this time to those of the emperor.² The biographer of Aurelian adds that the emperor afterwards coined better money and withdrew the false from circulation. Aurelian had not time to carry to completion this double work, which Tacitus took up after him,³ and to which their successors devoted much care, without completing it until the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine.

These measures prove the resolution of Aurelian to introduce order everywhere. The same spirit manifests itself in other acts. He ordered to be burned in Trajan's forum, as Hadrian had done before him, the registers containing the accounts of the debtors of the state—bad debts, and for the most part irrecoverable, but holding over a number of private individuals the perpetual fear of a judicial execution. The lodging of information against those violating the fiscal laws was forbidden. The *quadruplatores*, always so numerous at Rome, did not disappear at once, but their odious

¹ The letter of Aurelian to the Roman people, after the defeat of Firmus (see vol. v. p. 521) gives reason to suppose that the senate, the knights, the people, and the prætorians were not harmonious among themselves, since the emperor recommends concord to them all.

² The *triumviri monetales* disappeared at the same time; the last known, with certain date, was consul in 225. (Wilmanus, 1,211.)

³ . . . *cavit* (Tacitus) *ut si quis argento publice privatimque æs miscuisset, si quis auro argentum, si quis æri plumbum, capitale esset cum bonorum proscriptione* (Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 9). From this attempt resulted a little more regularity in the coinage. The Antoniniani of Aurelian, of Tacitus, and of Claudius II. are somewhat more valuable than those of their predecessors. Cf. Mommsen, *Geschichte des röm. Münz.*, iii. p. 496.

trade ceased to be encouraged. It cannot be that to fill his treasury the author of these measures could have put to death senators guilty only of wealth.

Notwithstanding, Aurelian is accused of cruelty, and in the fourth century this reproach already rested upon his memory. Assuredly he was not a mild ruler; but the times were not suited for mild government, and in a monarch responsible for the tranquillity of an empire, indulgence towards the guilty was treason towards the innocent. To confirm the reproaches made against him, we need to have the names and number of the victims, the motives or the pretexts of their condemnation; for we have learned in the course of this history, from more than one instance, how little remains of these vague and often contradictory accusations when examined narrowly. Vopiscus, who had conversed with contemporaries of the emperor whose memoir he writes, dares not affirm anything. "It is said," he relates, "that to rid himself of many senators he imputed to them designs of revolt;" but according to John of Antioch and Suidas some men of rank were condemned on the revelations of Zenobia, which gives us reason to think that during the war in the East plots had been formed at Rome, as in the time of Severus during the war in Gaul.¹ One fact justifies our hesitations. It is certain that a catastrophe took place in the imperial family, one member of it being condemned to death. Who was this person? Some say the niece and others the nephew of Aurelian; a third party maintains that both perished, and still others assert that the person condemned was the daughter-in-law of the emperor.² If this last story be the true one, it would seem that Aurelian, by this execution, vindicated the honour of his house. In any case, it was a domestic tragedy, of which the cause must have been serious, Aurelian not being one of those madmen who, for a caprice, stain their household with blood.

Titus is not our ideal of a ruler, and we shall therefore not reproach Aurelian with having chastised offenders like the accomplices of Felicissimus, or promoters of revolution like those who doubtless intrigued with Zenobia. We shall commend him for

¹ We have also seen that Zosimus speaks of many plots, admitting their existence.

² Suidas, s. v. *Aurel.* But another difficulty arises, for, according to Vopiscus, Aurelian had no other children than one daughter.

having given up his freedmen and slaves to the ordinary judge when they were guilty, for the imperial household must be always held strictly in hand, that they should not pursue the numerous means of doing harm which came within their reach; and we shall accept the judgment of the Emperor Julian, who was not inclined to be favourable towards a ruler whose glory eclipsed that of Claudius, the head of his own house. In the *Cæsars*, when Aurelian appears before the Olympian areopagus to be judged, the Sun takes up his defence: "The accused," he says to the gods, "is even with Justice, or you have forgotten my oracle of Delphi: one ought to suffer the woes one has caused others to endure."¹

This judgment seems even too severe; for, at the side of the strict right, Aurelian often placed clemency for those who had gone astray. We have seen him accord pardon to all the inhabitants of Antioch and to the Palmyrenes; we have seen that even after the second revolt he put a stop to the massacre; and at Alexandria he allowed part of those who were besieged to go out from the Bruchium,² although their departure must have permitted the resistance to be prolonged. His conduct in respect to Tetricus, Zenobia, and Antiochus³ contrasts with that of his predecessors, and he contradicted Roman customs even more evidently when he proclaimed an amnesty for political offences.⁴ It was a worthy completion of the restoration of the Empire thus to efface the traces of twenty years of civil wars, during which many more persons had been unfortunate than criminal.

¹ Vopiscus says nearly the same thing (*Aur.*, 37): *Aurelianus fuit princeps necessarius magis quam bonus.*

² See p. 494, n. 4, which explains that this trait of clemency was not perhaps Aurelian's.

³ Antiochus is that Palmyrene Cæsar "whom he sent away," says Zosimus, "not deigning to punish."

⁴ *Amnestia sub eo delictorum publicorum decreta est* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 39).

CHAPTER XCVIII.

TACITUS, PROBUS, AND CARUS (275-284 A.D.).

I.—AN ATTEMPT AT A SENATORIAL RESTORATION; TACITUS AND FLORIANUS (25TH SEPTEMBER, 275, TO JULY, 276).

THE death of Aurelian was followed by a strange situation: for six months the Empire remained without a head. He had restored order with so vigorous a hand that all things went on as if he were still alive: the magistrates remained in the exercise of their functions; the people in their respective occupations; and, strangest of all, the army in a state of subordination. This peace during a long interregnum—the first and only one that the Empire ever knew—speaks more in praise of Aurelian than all our eulogies. At last men recognized in him the restorer of the Empire, the ruler who had put an end to usurpations, had pacified the provinces, had given back their military honour to the legions and to Rome its grandeur. There was for the moment something like a new birth of public spirit and patriotism. The army, ashamed that it had not been able to preserve its illustrious chief from a vulgar conspiracy, punished itself by refusing to exercise the right which seemed to have become its recognized prerogative, namely, that of electing an emperor, and the senate received with amazement the following communication:¹ “The brave and fortunate legions to the senate and people of Rome. The crime of one man and the inconsiderateness of many have deprived us of our late emperor Aurelian; you, whose paternal cares direct the state, honoured men, deign to place this emperor among the number of the gods, and to designate the successor whom you judge most worthy of the imperial purple; none of those whose crime or whose misfortune has caused our loss shall reign over us.”

¹ By letter (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 41), or by a deputation from the army (*Aur. Victor*).

The Conscrip Father to whom his rank gave the right of expressing his opinion first, an old ex-consul by name Tacitus,¹ believed to be a descendant of the great historian, proposed to gratify the wish of the legions in respect to the honours to be decreed to the dead emperor, and Aurelian was deified upon the spot; but in the matter of the second request, the prudent senator knew that to yield to it would be dangerous for the man whom the senate should choose, perhaps even for the senate itself, since the soldiers would not long maintain this attitude of repentance and humility. The choice was therefore sent back again to the army, but the latter persisted in its determination—a way of commanding under a new form.

A few patriotic generals—to whom, moreover, the number of imperial deaths in so few years made it evident that the purple was likely to change quickly into a shroud—had been the determining agents in this conduct of the army, and now made the soldiery persevere in it. The senators were even less covetous of this perilous honour. The one among them who was most likely to be chosen, by reason of his name, his honours, and his fortune²—Tacitus—had taken shelter, after the session of the senate, in one of his villas in Campania. The consul's order convoking the assembly for the 25th of September drew him reluctantly thence. In his address the consul Gordianus spoke with some discreet doubt of the persevering moderation of the soldiers: “Let us give a leader to the armies,” he said; and he prudently added: “Either they will accept him whom you have chosen or they will name another.” He then called attention to the barbaric world, which lay around the Empire, making new efforts to break into it; Persia, so lately threatened by Aurelian, perhaps meditating an attack; the Syrians, a fickle race, ready to guide her squadrons across the provinces; the Egyptian and Illyrian frontiers endangered; the Rhine crossed by the Franks, and once flourishing Gallic cities now in ashes. “We need an emperor,” he

¹ Upon coins and inscriptions he is called M. Claudius Tacitus.

² It seems impossible to accept the statement in the *Augustan History* with respect to the fortune of Tacitus, *quod habuit in redditibus, sestertium his milies octingentes* (*Tac.*, 10); but we are not able to substitute another. It is certain, from what afterwards occurred, that this fortune was immense.

exclaimed; and turning to Tacitus, with all the other senators, he added: "It is you whom we require." Vainly did the old man of seventy-five plead his age, his enfeebled health, and his pacific tastes. "You need a soldier," he said, "and you choose me, who am hardly able to fill the peaceful office of senator; the very unanimity of your choice will be fatal to me." But the senators would not listen to him; acclamations twenty or thirty times repeated hailed him emperor; and the report of this session of the senate, which, to some, seemed to open a new era, was written according to custom on an ivory tablet, which the new Augustus signed, his soul filled with sad presentiments.¹

No doubt it was an error to give the Empire a chief like this; and since, as a result of the decree of Gallienus,² there could be found in the senate no bold soldier, it would have been the proper course to seek one in the armies. Probus, Carus, Diocletian, had none of them been concerned at all in the murder of Aurelian, and the army would have been grateful to have its momentary disinterestedness applauded without such action on the part of the senate as must cause the soldiery immediately to repent of it. The choice of an eminent soldier made by the senate would have been to seal, at least for a time, a reconciliation between the civil and the military orders. But, living as they did, remote from public affairs, in their idle grandeur and their gilded servitude, the senators had lost their grasp of the actual world, and no man reminded them of the day—which many among them had seen, however—when the soldiers dragged to the Gemoniæ Maximus and Balbinus, and shouted: "These are the senate's emperors!" At first rendered anxious and uneasy by the political rôle which fell to them again, they had ended by resuming their old illusions, and they abandoned themselves to the puerile delight of again grasping a power which they were incapable of retaining.

The ex-consul next in rank to Tacitus, Falconius Nicomachus, reminded the senate of the woes that Rome had suffered under too youthful rulers, which was at once a truth and a flattery; then

¹ Vopiscus (*Tac.*, 5) read this report in the Ulpian library.

² See pp. 337.

addressing himself to Tacitus, whose sons were only boys, Falconius besought him, if the fates should soon snatch him from the state, to choose a successor, not from his own family, but from outside, "for the reason that it would not be right to dispose of the Empire as of a private estate." Falconius meant to say that the electoral power should remain with the senate, and the general opinion was with him. Loud cries of assent were heard from all parts of the senate.

The Conscript Fathers were enraptured at the turn events had taken. In the excess of his joy and of his hopes, one of them wrote to a less enthusiastic colleague: "Emerge from your indolence; come forth from your retreat at Baie or Puteoli. Give yourself back to the city, the senate. Rome flourishes, and with Rome, the whole state. Let us give a thousand thanks to the army, which is a truly Roman army. One just authority, that object of all our desires, is at last re-established. We receive appeals, we appoint emperors, we make kings. Can we not also unmake them? You understand me without further speech; to the wise, a word is enough."¹ This word was repeated by all the writer's colleagues. "I shall rule with and through you," Tacitus had said. When he asked the consulship for his brother Florianus, it was objected that the list was full, and he contented himself with replying: "The senate knows well what ruler it has made." Emperor though he was, the feeble old man was really to the senate only its first member, and it was said openly that the true ruler was now the senate itself.²

Official letters made known this restoration of the Roman Republic to the chief cities of the Empire: Milan, Aquileia, Athens, Corinth, Thessalonica, Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, and Treves. Two of these we have; the following is the one addressed to the capital of Roman Africa:

"The honourable senate of Rome to the decurions of Carthage:



The Emperor Tacitus, laurelled.
(Bronze Medallion.)

¹ Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 6 and 7; *Flor.*, 6.

² . . . *ipsum senatum principem factum* (Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 12).

"Peace and happiness, security and prosperity to the Republic and to the Roman world.

"We have recovered the right of conferring the imperial authority, of appointing the ruler, the Augustus: it is to us, therefore, that you will submit affairs of importance. Appeals from proconsular decisions and from all the tribunals of the Empire will be laid before the urban prefect. Your own authority is restored to its former condition, since in recovering its own rights the first body of the Republic protects the rights of others." And men clothed themselves in holiday attire and immolated white victims to thank the gods for the return of the ancient liberty;¹ medals were struck whereon it was promised to this emperor, who already had one foot in the grave, that in due time the *decennalia*² should be celebrated for him. Alas! the election of Tacitus, these ostentatious messages, and these vain promises were the last political act of the Roman Republic.

The prætorians, the people, and the armies accepted the emperor chosen by Rome's former masters,³ and the inhabitants of the Empire swore fidelity to him. All things seemed to go well. But the Alani, seeing the Empire without a leader and defenceless, had invaded Asia Minor, whither the Goths, encamped in the vicinity of the Palus Mæotis, followed them. Tacitus was obliged to journey in haste to the scene of action. In Thrace he presented himself before Aurelian's army, which must have been astonished to see this feeble old man in the place where they had seen so long the martial figure of the iron-handed hero. Accordingly the prætorian prefect essayed by humble words to prevent discontent. "Most virtuous comrades,"⁴ he said, "you have asked the senate to give you an emperor; the very illustrious assembly has obeyed your will and command. It is not fitting for me to say more in the presence of the emperor who will watch over us. Listen to him with the respect that he merits." Tacitus in his turn was extremely modest; he feigned to consider himself

¹ . . . *antiquitatem sibi redditam* (Vopiscus, *Flor.*, 6).

² Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 498.

³ In addressing the prætorians, Tacitus said: *sanctissimi milites*, and in speaking to the plebeians he called them *sacratissimi Quirites*. Oriental bombast extended to all men. Modern Italy has preserved something of it to this day.

⁴ *Sanctissimi commilitones* (Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 8).

the choice of the soldiers, and spoke in fitting terms on the subject of his age, which did not permit him to imitate the great exploits of his predecessors, but would inspire him with wise counsels. "Trajan also was an old man when he came to the Empire, and was called to it by the choice of one individual. To-day it is first by you, most virtuous comrades, by you, who know how to judge the worth of a ruler, and in the second place by the senate, that I have been judged worthy of this title." It was imprudent to evoke in the midst of these troops the grand figure of the conqueror of the Dacians, the Germans, and the Parthian Empire; but the liberal *donativum* which Tacitus paid with his own money made the address seem eloquent.

The barbarians made pretence that they had been summoned by the late emperor under the title of auxiliaries to give help against Persia. Not receiving the pay promised for an expedition which had not been made, they paid themselves with their own hands by the pillage of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia. Bold predatory bands penetrated even into Cilicia before Aurelian had been many months dead. What never-ceasing vigilance was needful to keep in check those innumerable free-booters who prowled around the Empire, and, under Gallienus, had learned all the roads that led into it! Tacitus negotiated, paid, and sent home a part of these barbarians. Others fell under the sword of his soldiers. But the latter were becoming weary of their good conduct. They murdered one of the emperor's kindred whom Tacitus had intrusted with the government of Syria, and after that, to escape punishment, the emperor himself. A six months' reign, and a colossal fortune dissipated in gratifications to the soldiery or abandoned to the state,¹ were what the senate's election had procured for Tacitus and his family.

He was a man of upright character and religious mind: never did he omit to have served in his house the meat of the sacrifices, a sort of communion with the god to whom the sacrifice had been offered. He punished some of the assassins of his predecessor, and it cannot be denied that his intentions were of the best. His biographer attributes to him many statutes, an easy thing; but he

¹ *Patrimonium suum publicavit* (Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 10).

had neither the ability nor had he the time to bring out good results to the state. We owe him, however, very special gratitude: he caused the works of Tacitus to be placed in all the public libraries and ordered that every year ten copies of them should be made. In multiplying thus the copies of the *Annals* and the



M. ANN(ianus) FLORIANUS,
crowned with Laurel.
(Bronze Medallion.)

Histories he increased our chance that they should be preserved; and while we are not able to say that the one manuscript which has kept this great writer's work alive is due to these copies, it may certainly be the truth that without them we should have lost the tragic history of the Cæsars.¹

Tacitus had appointed as prætorian prefect his brother, M. Annianus Florianus, and the latter now caused the purple to be given him by his soldiers, themselves desirous not to leave the senate time to make a second choice. But the army of the East had at this time as leader a valiant captain whose services had always outrun his



The Emperor Probus,
Laurelled, with Pike and Buckler.
(Bronze Medallion.)

honours. At the news that Tacitus was dead the troops of Probus proclaimed their general emperor, and those of Florianus rid themselves at Tarsus of the man they had just chosen (beginning of July, 276). He had reigned three months. Upon their estate near Interamna was raised to the two brothers a cenotaph and statues thirty feet high. Doubtless to console their descendants, whom these nine months of the imperial dignity had deprived of their family chiefs and reduced to indigence, some friend of the senate put in circulation this prophecy, which Vopiscus hands down to us: "In a thousand years, a mighty prince of the blood of Tacitus, after a glorious reign, will give back to the Conscript Fathers their authority, and, a true son of early Rome, will live submissive to the good old customs of the country." "I do not anticipate," says Vopiscus modestly, "that

¹ There exist two manuscripts, the *Medicei*, each giving us a portion of his works, so that we depend on one MS. for all that we have.

my book will live long enough for men to read this prediction at the time when it will either be seen fulfilled or will be relegated to its place among fables." Vopiscus was deceived: his book has lived much longer, without much deserving it; but the avenger of the senate never appeared.¹

II.—PROBUS (JULY, 276, TO SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER, 282).

The reigns of Tacitus and Florianus had been only a continuation of the interregnum. The real successor of Aurelian was one of his compatriots and his best comrade in arms, M. Aurelius Probus.² We already know him: two letters of Valerian, drawn from the imperial archives, show with what esteem he had been able to inspire this emperor, a relative of whom Probus had with his own hand rescued when about to be carried into captivity by the Quadi: "In accordance with the opinion I have always had of young Probus, and the testimony of the most honourable citizens, who call him the man of his name, I have appointed him tribune, contrary to the ordinance of the divine Hadrian,³ and have intrusted to him six cohorts of Saracens, the Gallie auxiliaries, and the Persian cavalry brought to us by the Syrian Artabasses." Aurelian and Tacitus had like confidence in him. The first wrote to him: "To show you in what esteem I hold your merits, I intrust to you my Tenth legion, which I myself received from Claudius. By a sort of happy accident this corps has never had for leaders others than future emperors;" and the second: "The senate has appointed me emperor; but know this, that the greater part of the burden will rest upon your



Reverse of a Coin
of Probus, of the
type of the She-
Wolf Coins, and
bearing the Legend:
ORIGINI
AVGVSTVS. (Small
Bronze.)

¹ I have followed the rendering some have given to the words *talis historia*, but without certainty whether it be not to the prediction itself that they apply rather than to the book of Vopiscus. It is, however, unimportant.

² Probus was born at Sirmium. (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 3.) Aurelius Victor (*Ep.*, 37) makes him a Dalmatian. His father was a centurion, and later a tribune. One of his coins bears the words *Origini Aug.*, with the she-wolf, *Lupa gemellos lactans*, whence it may be inferred that he claimed to be of Roman origin. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 505.)

³ The one which prohibited the appointment of too youthful tribunes, *sine barba*. Some sentences from the two letters of Valerian are here put together (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 4). The second contains the enumeration, always curious and significant, of the payments granted.

shoulders. We all know your worth. Aid us then in our times of need. I have given you the command of the army in the East,¹ I have increased your emoluments five-fold,² doubled your military decorations, and you will share the consulship of the coming year."

Probus did not desire the Empire. "You make a mistake," he said to the soldiers who saluted him, "for I shall never flatter you." He said the same to the praetorian prefect of Florianus, whom he did not remove from office. "I have not wished for this title, and it is contrary to my desire that it is given me. But I am not at liberty to refuse the burden which the army lays upon me: it is now a question of fulfilling my duty well." He was in the prime of life, forty-four years of age, and to his military abilities he joined uncommon good sense, which preserved him from being dazzled by his imperial destiny. The events which followed the death of Aurelian show that a reaction against the military saturnalia had begun in the minds of the generals themselves.³ Probus was one of those who felt most keenly the necessity of raising the civil order, depressed since the time of Caracalla by the outrageous conduct of the soldiery. The proof of this is in his letter where, while notifying the senate of his accession, he appears to await from it the conferring of authority. "In choosing one of your own number, Conscript Fathers," he wrote, "to succeed the emperor Aurelian, you acted in conformity with your usual rectitude and wisdom; for you are the lawful rulers of the world, and the authority which has come to you from your ancestors will be transmitted by you to your posterity. Would to the gods that Florianus, instead of seizing upon his brother's purple, had waited until your sovereign will had decided either in his favour or for some one else! The legions have done well to punish his rashness; they have offered me the title of Augustus, but I submit to your clemency my claims and my services."

This letter does honour to the statecraft of this soldier. He

¹ *Decreto totius Orientis ducatu* (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 7).

² *Salarium*. According to a letter of Valerian (*id.*, *Prob.*, 4), the *salarium* would include all the material advantages attached to the grade and probably also the pay.

³ It is perhaps another sign of this same reaction in men's minds that the name of Marcus Aurelius was borne by most of the emperors after Claudius Gothicus. Notwithstanding his wars, Marcus Aurelius was eminently the representative of civil order.

knew the weakness of the senate and knew well that he had nothing to fear from it; but this decrepit body had still the grandeur of ancient memories, and Probus deemed it wise to give back in the eyes of the soldiery some splendour to this overclouded majesty, that the army might be made to believe that outside of them, and above them, there existed, if not a power, at least a right.

It is needless to say with what acclamations the senators welcomed this letter. Probus was likened to Alexander and to Trajan; he was endowed with all the virtues of the Antonines, all the talents of Claudius and Aurelian, and he merited these eulogies. What joy again when a second message announced that the senate was to receive appeals, to appoint pro-consuls and their legates, and finally, which was a more important thing, that it was to confirm the imperial decrees!

The claims of the Conscript Fathers had never gone so far as that; Probus granted them more than they themselves had wished to take upon Aurelian's death, and the senatorial restoration seemed complete. In reality no change at all was made. The emperor employed towards the venerable assembly gentle words instead of a displeased mien; the Fathers no longer trembled; they seemed more active in their curule chairs and they praised in good faith the unselfishness of the new emperor. Probus asked nothing better, and he did not feel that he paid too dearly for this harmony at the cost of a few marks of deference. The reality of



Probus. (Marble Bust, Museum of Naples, No. 32 of the Catalogue.)

power remained, where the public weal demanded that it should be, in his hands, and we shall see that he used it well.



Column commemorative of the Victories of Probus over the Alemanni (?), found at Merten, near Metz. (Restoration from the *Revue archéol.*)

under the feet of the invaders, like that of Hadrian in Britain

Aurelian being dead, the barbarians had fallen upon Gaul and had devastated many Gallic cities.¹ Probus went thither with a large army. While his generals were driving back the Franks into the marshes of Batavia and Frisia, he himself forced the Alemanni across the Rhine, pursued them into the valley of the Neckar and over the slopes of the Suabian Alps, retaking their spoils and the captives they were carrying away. In the hope of closing the road against new incursions, he constructed an earthwork covering the Decumatian lands from Ratisbon to Mayence, that is to say, from the Danube to the Rhine.² Like Marius and Hadrian he believed that to occupy the soldiers was the best means of preserving discipline; he caused them to construct or repair a stone wall having great towers at regular intervals, an excellent precaution if a valiant army were always posted behind this rampart, ready to repulse assailants wherever they might attempt to break through,³ but a useless measure when the Empire, assailed on all sides, was able to leave there only detachments too feeble to guard this immense line. The wall, in fact, crumbled

¹ Vopiscus, *Prob.*: in chap. xv. it is said seventy; in chap. xiii., sixty. Vopiscus adds that Probus destroyed 400,000 barbarians; I am disposed to read *quadraginta* instead of *quadringentis*. These 400,000 men killed would suppose a more formidable invasion than that of the Goths in the time of Claudius II., and nothing indicates that this was so.

² On the subject of these works, see vol. iv. p. 707, and the map on p. 361.

³ At the present day the republic of Buenos Ayres adopts the same method of defence

beneath the advancing Piets; but as late as the Middle Ages the Suabian peasant, building his hovel with the stones taken from these ruins, was amazed at the grandeur of the work, crossing valleys and passing over hill-tops, and attributed its construction to demons, and it has always been called the Devil's Wall.

These gigantic works, and the presence of the emperor and his army, intimidated the barbarians; nine tribes sought for peace, and gave hostages and corn, cattle and horses, their sole wealth. Probus received into his army 16,000 of their warriors, scattering them through the legions in small bands that they might be a power and not a danger, and he expressed this in words: "They must be felt, not seen" (277). Thus the Empire, on the side of the Rhine, again assumed a vigorous defensive.

The following year Probus visited Rætia, Illyricum, and Mœsia, where the Alemanni, the Burgundians, the Vandals, the Sarmatians, and the Goths had re-appeared; he drove out these unimportant bands, and once more restored security to these countries where for the last forty years life had been so perilous. On the middle or lower Danube, he encountered a German nation, the Lygians, whom Tacitus represents as having a frightful aspect, which in the hand-to-hand fights of ancient war might well intimidate the adversary: "They blacken their shields, their bodies, their faces, and choose the darkest night to make their attack. The surprise, the horror produced by darkness, the mere aspect of this terrific host which seems to have emerged from the infernal regions, chill with fear the bravest heart, for in battle it is always the eyes which are conquered first."¹ These black warriors did not, however, prevail against Roman discipline. From the time of this collision their name disappears from history, as if they had been utterly destroyed. Probus had promised his soldiers a piece of gold for each head of an enemy brought to him. In the case of the prisoners taken from all these barbarous tribes, he gave them lands in Britain, where they proved faithful to him.

against the Indians of the pampas, and China has done the same for centuries with her great wall. These lines of defence do not always prevent incursions, but they embarrass the return of the invaders.

¹ Tac., *Germania*, 43.

After having appeased in Thrace the disturbances caused by the barbarous tribes of this country, whom the Græco-Roman civilization had not yet been able to transform into inoffensive labourers, he passed over into Asia Minor (279), and put an end to the exploits of Palfurius, a famous brigand, and especially to those of the Isaurians, inveterate free-booters who pillaged on land and sea, and had up to this time been able to resist the Roman power. Probus organized an expedition against them, penetrated into their mountains, searched through all their valleys, and when he withdrew left behind a force of veterans.¹ These he established in the principal haunt of the bandits, and he distributed lands among them on condition that their sons, on attaining the age of eighteen, should serve in the legions. This was like instituting military fiefs. He probably imposed like conditions on the captives whom he had transported into Britain. Severus had set an example of this sort of tenure of land, and the usage increased.



Coin of Bahram II.
or Vararahnes.²

In Syria, Probus received a Persian embassy. Bahram II., who had reigned since 275, had had time to learn the value of the legions led by a brave and able chief. He begged for the friendship of Probus, and sent him presents, which the emperor scornfully refused. "I am surprised," Probus made answer, "that you send me so little, when all that you have will one day belong to me. Keep it until it suits my convenience to come and take it." This was bluster; but it was suited to the Oriental taste, and the condition of the Roman fortresses in Mesopotamia and menacing³ preparations which were going forward decided Bahram not to resent this insolence, and it even appears that a treaty was concluded between the two empires.⁴

Did the emperor then proceed into Egypt, or did he charge

¹ Zosimus, i. 69-70. This author relates at length the desperate resistance made by Lydios, one of the Isaurian chiefs, at Cremna, in Pisidia.

² Busts of Vararahnes or Bahram II. and the queen, with the legend: The worshipper of Ormuzd, the excellent Vararahnes, king of the kings of Iran and Turan, germ of the gods. The reverse bears: The divine Vararahnes, and a pyre between two figures. (Silver coin.)

³ A coin of Probus bears on the reverse: *Exercitus Persicus*. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 504.)

⁴ *Facta pace cum Persis* (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 18).

one of his lieutenants to call to account—for assistance rendered some years before to Firmus—Coptos, Ptolemais, and the Blemyes? This we do not know, but Rome shortly beheld in her streets negro captives who had been taken on the borders of Ethiopia.

Probus had now completed, like Aurelian, Severus, and Hadrian, the review of the frontiers, those of Africa excepted, where all was tranquil. This had become a periodical necessity, since the barbaric world was astir and always ready to fall upon the provinces.

The emperor was recalled into Thrace to effect an important work. The invasions and battles which for half a century had been incessant along the whole line of the Danube had made many parts of these provinces desolate. Probus resolved to call in the barbarians and give them lands, cattle, and farming implements. He had already transported Lygians and Vandals into Britain, and had advised the Alemanni to settle in the Decumatian lands. The hostility of the Goths of Dacia towards the Bastarnæ, who occupied the eastern Carpathians, gave him the occasion to call into the Empire this latter tribe, the remnant of that great mass of Gallic nations whom we have seen, in the time of Alexander and Perseus, established in the valley of the Danube.

A hundred thousand Bastarnæ with their wives and children came down into Thrace, where, happy at escaping from their enemies, they moulded themselves rapidly enough to this new life. Rome rejoiced. "For us the barbarians labour," it was said; "for us they sow."¹ The same attempt was made in the case of the Gepidæ, the Guthunges (Goths), and the Frankish prisoners. It was a dangerous system, for to fill the provinces with foreign elements was equivalent to making the barbarians the warders at the gates of the Empire; the peaceful invasion which the emperor himself organized, far from hindering the other which was made with violence a century later, facilitated it. Ancient Rome had had a different policy: she Latinized conquered regions; Probus Germanized Roman provinces.²

These barbarians introduced into the provinces did not always accept their exile. The Gepidæ and the Guthunges preferred to

¹ *Barbari vobis arant, vobis serunt* (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 15).

² See pp. 364 *et seq.* the paragraph relative to the army.

continue in Thrace their nomadic life; they ranged through the cultivated lands and committed such ravages that it became necessary to kill a great number and adopt rigorous measures against the rest. The Franks did better still: relegated to the lands about the Euxine they seized some vessels, says Zosimus,¹ crossed the Bosphorus, and having ravaged along their way the coasts of Asia Minor and Greece, they passed through the Straits of Hercules, and coasting Spain and Gaul came round to the mouths of the Rhine, where they related to their amazed fellow-countrymen how they had with impunity traversed the whole of the great Empire. This was a fatal revelation, too well understood by the Frisians and Saxons, who from that time began to ravage with their piracies the coasts of the western provinces. Other dangers were to be feared from the barbarians destined for the games of the circus. These men who were so ready to shed their blood did not take kindly to the trade of amusing the populace. Probus had reserved a large number of them for the shows he was obliged to furnish to the city after his victories, but they broke their chains, and a serious combat was necessary before they could be subdued.

About this time the turbulent population of Alexandria proclaimed as emperor Saturninus, an able general valued by Aurelian and Probus, but of volatile mind and restless disposition, like that Gallic race, says the historian, whence he sprang.² At first he suffered the populace to play at making an emperor; then, seized with fear, he fled into Palestine to escape this dangerous honour, and, lastly, believing that there was no longer safety for him in a private station, he took off a purple veil from a statue of Venus and made himself an imperial mantle of it. But he said, weeping, to the soldiers who dragged him to this honour: "Alas, how useful a citizen is lost to the state! I have restored the Gallic provinces, I have taken Africa from the Moors, and I have pacified Spain. To what profit is it all? In one day I lose all that I have gained. In calling me to the imperial power you sentence me to death." Probus would willingly have spared him; the emperor

¹ i. 71.

² . . . oriundo fuit Gallus, ex gente hominum inquietissima et avida semper vel faciendi principis vel imperii (Vopiscus, Saturn., 7). Zosimus and Zonaras consider him a Moor.

wrote friendly letters to Saturninus with promises of pardon; but the soldiers who hoped to profit by his promotion compelled him to persevere in his usurpation. On the arrival of the imperial troops he sought shelter in a fortress, but was captured and put to death.

At Lyons a similar occurrence took place. Since the time that the armies had resumed obedience under the strong hand of their new leaders, the populace of the great cities had seemed to inherit the former's turbulence. The Lyonnese proclaimed Proculus, a rude and coarse man whom Probus had but to touch with his finger to overthrow. Bonosus, another old soldier, revolted to escape the responsibility of a fault; he had suffered the Germans to burn the Roman flotilla on the Rhine, of which he had been left in charge. Defeated by the imperial troops with the aid of the German auxiliaries, he attached a rope to a tree and strangled himself. His body was an object of derision: "This is not a man hanging here," it was said; "but only a skin of wine;"¹ and this funeral oration was merited. Probus had spared the family of Proculus, and he did the same in the case of Bonosus, granting to Hunila his wife a pension for life.

Still further an attempt at revolt was made in Britain. A friend of the emperor had persuaded him to give the government of this province to some individual whose name has not been preserved; learning that the fidelity of his *protégé* was wavering, and fearing to be regarded as his accomplice, the emperor's friend feigned to have fallen into disgrace at court, exiled himself into Britain, and being cordially welcomed by the governor assassinated him.

All these attempts had failed miserably; none the less, however, were they a dangerous symptom. The bad instincts, which had for a moment given way before a feeling of the public disasters, were re-awakening. Probus owed his elevation to war; he wished, however, to occupy himself only with works of public utility, and condemned his soldiers to this. The troops were not unwilling to be employed in repairing military roads and rebuilding

¹ Vopiscus, Bonos., 15. He was a Breton of Spanish origin and his mother a Gaul. His father had been a schoolmaster. In respect to his habits of intoxication, see above, p. 372.

fortifications which had been destroyed, as their predecessors had so often done; but Probus would have them construct temples and porticos, regulate the course of rivers, and drain marshes, break up the ground and plant the vine in Gaul, Pannonia, and Mœsia, where these vineyards, longer of life than the Empire, still exist; and there was current a dangerous saying of his: "The day will come when Rome will no longer need an army." Our sympathy is due to this gallant soldier who did not underrate the share of the civil order in an established community; who, in the midst of arms, was mindful of the labours of peace and employed his legions therein. He was yet young,¹ beloved of the senate, feared by the barbarians, and had he lived would have secured prosperous days to the Empire; but he was not suffered to live. The Roman army was composed of too rough material for ideas of devotion to the public weal taking any other form than that of courage in battles to be comprehensible to these men who were in no respect Romans. One summer day, in a torrid heat which rendered fatigue greater and the mind more excitable, the soldiers employed in draining a marsh in the neighbourhood of Sirmium threw down their implements, seized their swords, and forcing an entrance into a tower where Probus was overlooking the work, they murdered him² (September or October, 282). The deed being done, they wept over the man whom they had just killed, and upon his tomb were inscribed these words: "Here lies the emperor Probus, a truly upright man, who conquered all barbarous nations and all tyrants."³ Carus, whom he had loaded with honours, avenged his death upon the murderers.

¹ Fifty years of age. (Orelli, No. 1,104.)

² This tower was protected with iron, *turris ferrata*, whence it may be inferred that murmurs had already been heard, and that Probus had guarded against a surprise. Zonaras represents this murder as preceded by a revolt of other troops who had constrained Carus to assume the purple and march upon Italy. Cf. Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 21; Aur. Victor, 37; Eutropius, ix. 17; Orosius, vii. 24; the Syncellus, etc. The authority of all these writers not being great, I adopt that version of the story which seems to me most probable.

³ The coins of Probus have for their legend: *Bono imp. C. Probo*, an epithet rare upon imperial coins. An inscription (Wilmanus, 1,048) bears the following: *pietate justitia fortitudine et plane omnium virtutum principi vero Gothico veroque Germanico ac victoriarum omnium nominibus inlustri, M. Aur. Probo*. Mommsen concludes, from the words *vero Gothico veroque Germanico*, that Probus had refused these two titles. It seems to me that the general character of the inscription gives another meaning to these words. The people of Valentia, in engraving these words, wish to contrast the important victories of Probus over the Goths and

We add one title more to those which Aurelian and Probus owe to the esteem of history: these valiant emperors created the great military school whence emerged Carus, Diocletian, his three colleagues, Constantine, Licinius, and the generals who for more than a half-century protected the frontiers from invasion.

III.—CARUS (SEPTEMBER, 282, TO DECEMBER, 283); CARINUS AND NUMERIANUS (DECEMBER, 283, TO APRIL, 285).

M. Aurelius Carus was also an Illyrian,¹ but he had been brought up in the capital, called himself a Roman, and had filled military and civil offices, the proconsulship of Cilicia, and the prætorian prefecture. He was therefore a senator; but he had less consideration for the senate than Probus, and contented himself with announcing to that body his accession, and congratulating them that their emperor was this time one of their own order.



Coin of Carus.²

He had two sons of very different characters and tastes: Carinus, violent and profligate; and Numerianus, of gentle manners and cultivated mind. If we may believe the flatteries of the senate, who caused a statue to be erected to him in the Ulpian library,³ the latter was a great orator, and his verses were compared with those of the most famous poet of his time, Nemesianus. The new emperor appointed his two sons Cæsars, and sharing the Empire with Carinus gave him, perhaps not without hesitation, the government of the western provinces. It is at least asserted that the emperor soon repented of this act, and sought to withdraw the authority from his son in order to bestow it upon Constantius Chlorus.⁴ He himself, resuming the project formed by Probus of striking a heavy blow at Persia,

Germans with the pretended successes of so many other emperors who were anything but real conquerors.

¹ At least born in Illyria; one of his historians represents him as the son of a Carthaginian, *Pennis parentibus* (Vopiscus, *Carus*, 4); Zonaras calls him a Gaul.

² DEO ET DOMINO CARO INVIC. AVG. Radiate busts: facing each other, the Sun and Carus. (Small bronze.)

³ This statue bore the following inscription: *Numeriano Cæsari oratori temporibus suis potentissimo* (Vopiscus, *Num.*, 12).

⁴ Vopiscus, *Carin.*, 16.

the hereditary enemy, directed his steps towards the East, followed by a formidable army; his second son accompanied him (January, 283).



Carus crowned with Laurel.

At the news of the death of Probus the Quadi had crossed the Danube and overrun the whole of Pannonia.¹ Carus killed 16,000 of them, and took a large number of prisoners, among them many women. He then advanced rapidly into Mesopotamia. Bahram II., whose principal army was at that time employed at the opposite extremity of his Empire, essayed by a humble embassy to avert the storm. When the envoys arrived in the camp they were conducted into the presence of an old man who, seated on the ground and clad in a simple woollen tunic, was eating some peas cooked with a little salt meat. This old man said to them that he was the emperor, and that if the Persians did not acknowledge the majesty of Rome he would make their country as bare as his head, upon which, removing his cap, he showed it to them perfectly bald. "Are you



Coin commemorative of Victories over the Quadi.²

¹ Eutropius (ix. 6) places the Quadi in the eastern Carpathians; but this must be an error, for we have always found them in the vicinity of the Marcomanni.

² Intaglio of the *Cabinet de France* (nicolo, 14 millim. by 12), No. 2,106 of the Catalogue; not a likeness: Carus was older and bald, if the words attributed to him are authentic.

³ IMP. NUMERIANUS P. F. AVG.: Laurelléd bust, holding a spear and a globe. On the reverse: TRIVNE VQUADOR.: Carinus and Numerianus in a quadriga. (Bronze medallion, Cohen, No. 19.) But neither the father nor the elder son were ever to return to Rome, and of

hungry?" he then said; "if you are, eat from this dish; otherwise, you may go."¹ A victory gave him the road to Seleucia, and he entered that region without difficulty; he crossed the Tigris, took Ctesiphon, and was making ready to execute his threats, when one day during a storm his tent was seen to be in flames. Aper, his prætorian prefect, declared it to have been set on fire by a flash of lightning, which had also killed the emperor. The lightning was probably not the real culprit. Carus was a hard master, and his soldiers and officers, fatigued by this summer campaign under a burning sun, saw themselves with alarm dragged away by him into the heart of Asia. A prophecy was put in circulation that no Roman emperor could go beyond Ctesiphon, and some one took advantage of the storm to strike the blow. The oracle was fulfilled, and the flames concealed all traces of the crime (end of December, 283). The emperor's secretary wrote to the urban prefect: "Our beloved emperor Carus was ill in his bed, when a furious storm burst over the camp. The sky became so darkened that we could not distinguish each other, and in the general confusion incessant peals of thunder prevented our being aware of what was going on. Immediately after a very heavy burst of thunder the outcry was raised that the emperor was no more; it appeared that, in the transports of their grief, the household officers had set on fire the imperial tent, whence has arisen a report that the emperor had been killed by lightning; but, so far as we have been able to investigate the matter, we believe that his death was caused by the illness from which he was suffering."²



Bahram II. (Vararanes).²

this triumph, all that was ever seen were the coins which bore its emblems. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 512.)

¹ These words have been also attributed to Probus.

² Intaglio of the *Cabinet de France* (sardonyx of 15 millim. by 11), No. 1,357 of the Catalogue. Under the No. 1,359 the same collection possesses an intaglio cut on both sides; the reverse of the head of Bahram II. is a lion surmounted by a scorpion.

³ Vopiscus, *Car.*, 8.

Numerianus inherited the title of Augustus, which his brother Carinus also assumed at Rome, and the army, abandoning its conquests, fell back into the provinces. The young emperor, a man of gentle and contemplative nature, preferred to dream over his verses rather than to add new exploits to those achieved by his



M. Aur. Carinus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 79.)

father. His constitution was delicate; he had not been able to endure the fatigues of this expedition, and the sun and the burning sands of the desert had brought on an affection of the eyes which made it necessary for him to live in darkness. He never left his tent except concealed in a litter, and the soldiers became accustomed to not seeing him. Thus slowly the army crossed

Mesopotamia, the Syrian provinces, and Asia Minor. The prætorian prefect, Aper, father-in-law of Numerianus, was in command. At the beginning of September they reached the shores of the Bosphorus. A part of the army had already crossed the straits when a rumour was put in circulation that Numerianus was dead. The soldiers rushed to the emperor's tent, and found there a dead body from which life had departed some days before. This secret kept so long directed suspicion upon the man whose duty it had been to reveal it instantly; the soldiers surrounded Aper, accused him of being his son-in-law's murderer, loaded him with chains, and the generals, assembled at Chalcedon on the Asiatic side, formed themselves into a tribunal to judge the murderer whose crime no man doubted. Before the decision, they chose one of their number as chief; he was the son of a freedman and himself a soldier of fortune, the captain of the household troops,¹ Diocles by name, a man who must have been an honoured soldier, since without canvassing or the intervention of the soldiery he was the choice of his companions in arms. He ascended the tribunal, and swore by the Sun, the divinity who sees all things, even the secret thoughts of men, that he had in no way been concerned in the murder nor had desired the imperial power; then turning towards Aper he exclaimed: "This man is the assassin;" and plunged his sword into the prefect's heart, as the priest immolates the victim devoted to the infernal gods. As supreme judge he had pronounced sentence; as soldier he executed it (17th September, 284).

¹ *Domesticos regens* (*id.*, *Numer.*, 13). The *domestici*, who are mentioned as early as the time of Caracalla, were companies of the bodyguard: their captains naturally took the rank and authority given them by the confidence of the emperor, whose life was in their hands. An inscription found at Nicomedia mentions a bodyguard of protectors, *protectores divini lateris*, under Aurelian. (*C. I. L.*, iii. 327.) Another mentions an officer of this guard who was consul in 261. (Perrot, *La Galatie*, etc., vol. i. p. 6.) In an inscription of the time of Claudius II. the *protectores* are mentioned. (*Bull. épigr.*, No. 1, p. 5.)

CHAPTER XCIX.

DIOCLETIAN: WARS AND ADMINISTRATION.

I.—DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN, OR THE DYARCHY (284-293).

DIOCLEES, who after his accession gave to his Greek name a Roman and more sonorous form, Diocletianus,¹ was a Dalmatian from the environs of Scutari, whose father had been a slave.



Diocletian.²

Entering the service at an early age, he attracted the notice of his superior officers, less by brilliant achievements than by his acute and penetrating mind, which always found the wisest measure to adopt and the best means of carrying it into execution.² At the time of the death of Claudius Gothicus, Diocletian was twenty-five years old, an age perfectly suited to profit by the lessons of the great military school of

Aurelius and Probus.³ In these stormy times advancement was rapid; he rose quickly to the higher grades in the army, was made consul *suffectus*, governor of Mœsia and commander of the palace guard, a post of confidence which gave him very high rank. To set in circulation the report that in taking the life of Aper he had executed a decree of heaven, Diocletian related that a druidess of Tongres in Belgium had promised him that he should be emperor after he had killed a wild boar. "From that day,"

¹ His name in inscriptions is C. (or M.) Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus. (Wilmanus, 769 and 824.) He was born in 245 at Doclea, in Dalmatia, near Podgoritz, below Montenegro, and was but thirty-nine at the time of his accession.

² Aur. Victor, who lived not long after Diocletian, filling high offices under Julian, says that the former was chosen *ob sapientiam*, and calls him *magnus vir* (Ces., 39).

³ IMP. C(æsar) C(aius) VAL(erius) DIOCLETIANUS P(ius) F(elix) AUG(ustus). Laurellid bust with cuirass and ægis. (Bronze medallion.)

⁴ . . . *usumque bonæ militiæ quanta his Aureliani Probique institutio fuit* (Aur. Victor, 39).

he said, "I sought the wild boar everywhere, and I have killed many, but other men have eaten them." Aurelian, indeed, and then Probus, Tacitus, and Carus ascended the throne, and still Diocletian remained in the ranks. On the 17th of September, 284, the designated wild boar¹ fell at last beneath his blows, and the son of the Dalmatian slave became the emperor of Rome.

The rare documents which we possess in relation to Diocletian do not give those inner details which permit us to penetrate into



Chase of the Wild Boar.²

the genius of the man. However, notwithstanding gaps and obscurities, it is clearly to be seen that he was something more than a soldier of fortune. But he did not come from one of those rich and intellectual communities in which the Antonines had learned the elegancies of the Roman world. Accordingly, not possessing their natural or acquired distinction as a means to keep the crowd at a distance, he surrounded himself with a cold and solemn ceremonial, regulated by the strictest etiquette. In the arts his taste inclined to the massive constructions, the heavy ornamentation of periods of natural decline; and while Hadrian's

¹ *Aper* is the Latin word signifying wild boar. It has been believed that, by this precipitate murder, Diocletian intended to prevent compromising revelations, since he, as commander of the bodyguard must have known what was taking place in the tent of Numerianus. But as father-in-law of the emperor, as well as praetorian prefect, Aper had a superior authority which would have permitted him to send away all persons who might have prevented the carrying out of his designs.

² Bas-relief from a sarcophagus found at Salona, the subject of which is regarded as an allusion to the murder of Aper.

villa at Tivoli has preserved to us a great number of masterpieces, from the palace of Diocletian at Salona, an enormous mass of marble, granite, and porphyry, not one work of art has come down to us.

He seems to have had more appreciation of literature. We know that he gave to Nicomedia a school of higher instruction, to which he called Lactantius, the most eloquent rhetorician of his time;¹ that he excused students, up to their twenty-fifth year, from municipal burdens;² that he took as his model the philosopher Marcus Aurelius,³ a greater man than himself, but not so great a ruler; that finally he caused biographies of the emperors to be written.⁴ Unfortunately the lessons that he learned from history, while revealing to him the points truly important for an administration, did not teach him gentleness. He showed himself pitiless towards armed insurrections, and even towards those that were not armed, and if he had in his retirement much practical philosophy, he appeared never to have had a very lively interest in intellectual matters; at Salona his garden was far more attractive to him than were his books. His religion was that of the peasant: for his infirmities, a healing deity, Æsculapius; for his fortunes, a protecting deity, Jupiter, and the voice of the Oracles, listened to more attentively in certain cases than the utterance of human wisdom.

But he possessed the qualities which make the ruler: a knowledge of men, a comprehension of the needs of the state, and the firm resolve to give incessantly his thoughts and himself

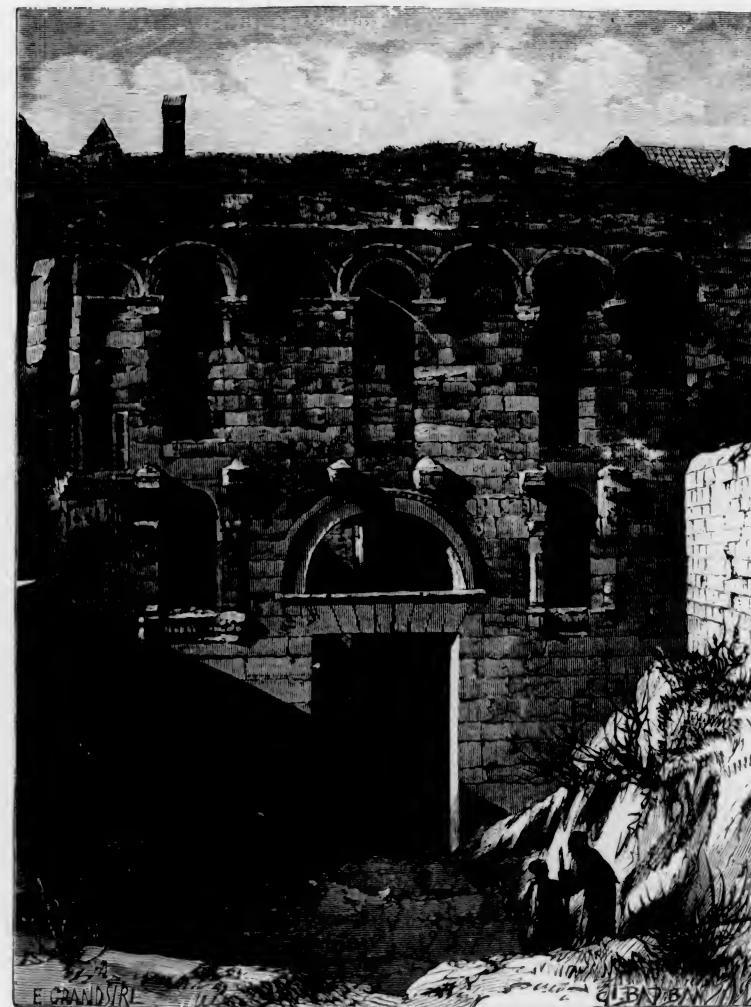
¹ Lactan., *Div. Inst.*, v. 2, and S. Jerome, *de Vir. illustr.*, 80: . . . *Arnobii discipulus, sub Diocletiano principe accitus cum Flavio grammatico*. Another writer, Hierocles, was vicar of the diocese of Bithynia.

² . . . *ut studiis non avocantur* (*Code Just.*, x. 49, 1). See in the reign of Valentinian I. an ordinance concerning the schools of Rome. Diocletian also said: *artem geometriæ discere, atque exercere publice interest* (*Code Just.*, ix. 14, 2).

³ *Augustan History*, *Marc. Ant.*, 19. He blamed the savage temper of Maximian, *asperitatem*, and said of Aurelian that he was better suited to be a general than to be an emperor (*ibid.*, *Aurel.*, 43). Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*) speaks of his moderation: . . . *hanc moderationem tenere conatus est*.

⁴ A part of the *Augustan History*. Cf. Teuffel, *Geschichte der röm. Literatur*. No. 388. Capitolinus says to him (in *Macrinus*, 15, *ad fin.*): . . . *quæ de plurimis collecta Serenitati Tuæ . . . detulimus, quia te cupidum veterum imperatorum esse perspeximus*. The saying of Diocletian that "the best of rulers is in danger of being sold by his courtiers," seems to have been borrowed from letters exchanged between Mnesitheus and Gordian III. (*Hist. Aug. Gordianus III.*, 24-25.)

to the cares of government. We might suppose that this creator of the Byzantine court was an effeminate person, but he manifested,



Gate of the Palace of Diocletian, called the Golden Gate, at Salona.

in respect to provinces, frontiers, and armies, all the masculine energy of a Hadrian. Like that indefatigable traveller he was incessantly on the road throughout the Empire. He weighed his

plans carefully, determined them long in advance, in order to secure their success, and executed with energy what prudence had prepared. His bust in the capitol shows plainly this patient tenacity. By the broad square forehead, the cold and tranquil

face, we recognize a man master of himself, which is the first condition for becoming master of others.

Lactantius accuses him of cowardice and of avarice, strange reproaches to address to the soldier who had gained his promotion on fields of battle, and to the economical ruler who was the most ostentatious of emperors only because he believed this ostentation necessary to the new monarchy he was founding. Nor do we more willingly agree with Lampridius when he calls Diocletian "the Father of the Golden Age,"¹ for the fourth



Esculapius. (Marble in the Museum at Naples.)

century has no right to this title. The history of his reign which, with but a brief exception, gave to the Roman world a long period of domestic peace, and to the Empire forty years of security, will make us know him better than the words of doubtful veracity spoken by his enemies or by his flatterers.

¹ *Aug. Hist., Heliog.*, 34.

The man chosen by the Eastern army had a dangerous competitor in Carinus, who, proud of a brilliant success over the Jazyges, had no idea of abandoning his paternal inheritance. But detested by the senate¹—a thing, it is true, of but little importance,—Carinus was despised for his sensuality by the rough comrades-in-arms of the later emperors, and he was also dreaded by the soldiers on account of his cruelty, and this disaffection of the army was serious for an aspirant to the throne who had to encounter a competitor.

On both sides many months were employed in making ready for the struggle. Carinus first overcame Julian, governor of Venetia, who had assumed the purple, and he gained also some partial advantages over the advanced-guard of Diocletian. In March or April, 285, the armies met for a decisive



Coin of the Usurper Julian.²

engagement at Margus on the Morawa, not far from the confluence of that river with the Danube of Europe. As always, the Asiatic legions gave way before the onset of the legions of Europe; but Carinus was killed by one of his own officers whose wife he had outraged.³

This murder seems to have been a deliverance for every one. On the conqueror's part there were no confiscations, no exiles: each man retained his office, even the urban and praetorian prefects, and Diocletian took one of them for his colleague in the consulship. It is probable an agreement had been entered into before the battle, and that the officers of the Western emperor had sold him to his competitor. Eutropius says that Carinus was betrayed or at least abandoned.⁴ In these days when Rome had only mercenaries for soldiers, the best of all war-engines was a well-filled treasury.

This great commotion had unsettled the Empire, encouraged the barbarians, and diminished the subject nations whom Rome

¹ Carinus had one day said to the Roman populace that the wealth of the aristocracy belonged to them, for the reason that they were the true Roman people. (*Hist. Aug., Carinus*, 1.)

² IMP. C. JULIANUS P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus) and the laurelled bust of Julian. On the reverse: LIBERTAS PVBLICA, surrounding figure of Liberty. (Gold coin.)

³ *Suorum ictu interit quod libidine impatiens, militarium nuptas affectabat . . . sese uli sunt* (Aur. Victor, 39).

⁴ ix. 20.

protected badly and ruined by her exactions. The taxes were heavy in themselves, and increased because of the exhaustion of the sources of production.¹ What has been said² of the hardships which oppressed trade, commerce, and agriculture, of the disappearance of petty landowners, and the desolation of the country, even in its most fertile regions, makes it comprehensible how in the midst of these populations driven wild by suffering, *Gallias efferatas injuriis*,³ insurrections should have broken out. That of the Bagaudæ⁴ was for the moment formidable. Fugitive slaves, husbandmen oppressed by their masters, vagrant peasants, insolvent debtors, became freebooters and at last formed an army, which gave itself two Caesars, Ælianus and Amandus (285). We have coins struck for these peasant-emperors;⁵ on the reverse of one is the word: *Spes*. Using every variety of weapons, they flung themselves with the ardour of savage instincts when unchained upon the villages and unwalled cities, ravaging, burning, and killing.⁶ Autun, lately the pride of Gaul, was a second time devastated.⁷ Brigand chiefs are often popular favourites, the war they make upon the rich seeming to the poor but legitimate reprisal. The Bagaudæ remain in the memory of the people as defenders of the unfortunate. A tradition which took shape in the following centuries even represents this outbreak as a Christian insurrection. It would be no cause for surprise if some Christians were among them, as there were some in the Gothic bands which had ravaged Asia Minor. Were they not also sufferers from oppression, and might not the spirit of

¹ Caesar required from the Gauls only 40,000,000 sesterces (about £400,000). This was a tax which the conqueror knew it for his advantage to render light. Augustus, after reorganizing the pacified Empire, had required from Gaul nearly the same tribute as from Egypt, 12,500 talents (Vell. Patere., ii. 39, and Strabo, XVII. i. 13) or nearly £2,800,000. Savigny believes that in the time of Constantine the tribute had quintupled. (Marquardt, *Handb.*, ii. 288.)

² p. 382.

³ *Paneg. veteres*, vi. 8, edit. of 1676. The word *efferatas* signifies literally "rendered wild or savage."

⁴ According to Ducange, in the Celtic *bagad* signifies a band. Gallic peasants had already mingled in the tumults of the soldiery in the time of Tetricus. (Eumenes, *Paneg. veter.*, vii. 4, and *Pro rest. scholis*, 14.) For twenty years (254-274) Gaul had been a prey to the devastations of the barbarians and to civil war.

⁵ But these coins are either counterfeit or else re-minted.

⁶ . . . *hostem barbarum suorum cultorum rusticus vastator imitatus est* (*Paneg. veter.*, ii. 4). Was it to conceal from these plunderers the wealth of the temple of Mercury that the treasure of Bernay was then buried? See many objects of this collection, vol. ii. p. 226; vol. v. p. 426, and the index.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 4.

vengeance, which was forbidden to the saints, justly arm against a world which crushed them those who had more wrath than resigna-



Diocletian. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 80.)

tion?¹ While Northern Gaul was in a blaze, the Saxons were scouring the North Sea and the British Channel and devastating

¹ In the middle of the second century, Christianity counted in Gaul only the small but fervent community of Lyons. The great mission, organized a century later, founded churches in Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Limoges, Clermont, Tours, and Paris, which prospered after the edict of toleration issued by Gallienus in 260. In respect to the tardy evangelization of the

the coasts; the Franks were astir along the Rhine, other Germans on the Danube, the Moors in Africa, the Persians behind the Tigris: all the line of the frontiers was threatened and the Empire shaken to its foundations. Diocletian spent twelve years in securing the colossus upon its base.

He had seen the most valiant emperors, men who had saved the state, murdered by their soldiers, and others fall victims to the machinations of their generals. Insurrections of the soldiery, treasonable designs on the part of ambitious men, and attacks from without were the triple peril which must be averted. If to arrive at the sovereign power there was only one man to overthrow, many would still make the attempt; but it would be difficult to destroy two emperors at the same moment, and this difficulty would be likely to cause the disaffected to hesitate. In the interests of the Empire and of himself, Diocletian, therefore, had need of a colleague who, having no further ambition himself, would assist the emperor in controlling that of other men, at the same time that he should keep the barbarians in check. From the first century of the Empire this necessity had been recognized. Piso had been adopted by Galba, Trajan by Nerva; in the time of Marcus Aurelius, Severus, the Gordians, Valerian, and Carus,² there had been several emperors at the same time, and the history of the Thirty Tyrants, which Diocletian studied, had shown him that the enfeebled Empire was exposed to too many dangers for one hand to be able to ward off all the blows. This was the solution of the future, the one imposed by geography, which is a mighty force; by the natural division of the Empire into two halves, the one Greek, the other Latin; and lastly by the weakness of a state which, being no longer able to conquer, was reduced to self-defence. Surrounded by barbarians, whom she had not in the days of her strength cared to subjugate and civilize, Rome was now, as it were, a prey in the midst of devouring wolves. The time had come, therefore, to organize a vigorous

Gallie provinces, see the publications of the Abbé de Meissas, who boldly combats the wild assertions of the legendary school.

¹ When Carus appointed his two sons Cæsars, and intrusted to the elder the government of the Western provinces while he took the younger with him into the East, he was already following the system of Diocletian, with this advantage to the latter, that, having no son, he was able to choose his Cæsars from among his ablest officers.

defensive, making, by a division of the power, the imperial action present and effective in all the provinces. As to the rebel legionaries and the usurping generals, it would probably be easier to prevent their revolts by serving the cause of the most ambitious or most able among them.

Diocletian had that clear view of the public needs which in politics denotes the superior man. On the first day of May, 285, he invested with the purple, not one of his own kindred, but a comrade in arms, Maximian; and on this occasion he himself took a new name, Jovius, which may be translated as "devoted to Jupiter." He specially adored this divinity whose name was the beginning of his own;² he placed the figure of Jupiter upon his coins, and the statue of the god upon the column before which he presently invested Galerius with the imperial insignia; he built him a temple in the palace of Salona, and made it his study to appear in public ceremonies with the calm majesty of the father of gods and men. To Maximian, whom he adopted as his son,³ he gave the name of Herculius, in memory of the assistance afforded by the son of Alemene to his divine father during the war of the giants.⁴ These appellations were well chosen to characterize the rôle destined for each of the two men: the one



Diocletian with the Name of Jovius.¹



Maximian Hercules.⁴

¹ IOVIO DIOCLETIANO AUG. (Bronze medallion.)

² *Dios* is the genitive of Zeus, the Greek Jupiter. Diocletian probably regarded this accidental circumstance as a sign, pledging him to the worship of the god.

³ This adoption seems to be proved by the names M. Aurelius Valerius assumed by Maximian. (Wilmanns, 769, 1,060, 1,062.)

⁴ HERCULIO MAXIMIANO AUG. Maximian and Hercules seated; between them, a Victory. Reverse of the same medallion. (Cohen, No. 105.)

⁵ *Eadem auxilii opportunitate, qua tuus Hercules Jovem vestrum quondam Terrigenarum bello laborantem magna victoria parte juxit* (Paneg., ii. 4). The inhabitants of Fano and Pisaurum had already made Hercules the companion and colleague of Aurelian: *Herculi Augusto consorti Domini nostri Aureliani* (Orelli, No. 1,031).

to be the ruling thought, the other the executing strength. Maximian was not proclaimed Augustus; his title of Cæsar marked a subordinate rank, and the surname which he had accepted pledged him to filial obedience.

From the time of Claudius II., Illyricum, the region of the Empire where most fighting was required, had held the right to provide emperors,¹ as Spain, Gaul, Africa, and Syria had done in their turn. Maximian was the son of a Pannonian colonist in the neighbourhood of Sirmium, a brave soldier and experienced general, but of coarse manners and uncultivated mind, to the degree that he, who recaptured Carthage, knew nothing of Hannibal, of Scipio, or of Zama; he felt himself the inferior of Diocletian, and was not irritated at this consciousness. The Augustus had chosen, therefore, not so much a colleague as a docile lieutenant.

Carus had taken Ctesiphon, but the Persians had quickly recovered possession of it, so that Rome only scored an additional victory but not an enemy the less. Retained by the hostile attitude of the Persians, Diocletian despatched the Cæsar to Gaul to restore order there and give security to the western frontiers. The Seine and the Marne at their junction form a peninsula which the Bagaudæ had cut with deep trenches (Saint-Maur-les-Fossés): this was their fortress and camp of refuge; there they collected their booty and they believed themselves secure against attack. But their bands, undisciplined and poorly armed, could not stand before the legions; in a few weeks this Jacquerie, shut up in its camp of Saint-Maur, was smothered there.²

The pacification of Gaul gave to the Cæsar the title of Augustus (286).³ Diocletian had not ventured to incur the risk that the victorious army, giving to their leader the supreme title, should make of him a rebel. But to this elevation he added the condition that Maximian Hercules should lay aside the purple whenever he himself should set the example, and a solemn oath on the altar of Jupiter consecrated this engagement.⁴

¹ *Italia . . . gentium domina glorie vetustate, sed Pannonia virtute* (*Paneg.*, i. 2) . . . *in quibus provinciis omnis vita militaria est* (*ib.*, iii.).

² *Paneg. veteres*, ii. 8: . . . *levibus præliis agrestes domuit* (Eutrop., ix. 20).

³ A rescript of June 21st, 286, gives him that title. As Augustus, he became "the brother of Diocletian" (Wilmanns, 730), a title which modern sovereigns interchange with each other.

⁴ This pledge is mentioned twice, in 307 and in 310, by the authors of the *Paneg. veter.*.

As Cæsar, the new Augustus had been already in possession of the tribunitian and proconsular authority, he now received the title of Pontifex Maximus, which had been shared but once before, namely, by Pupienus and Balbinus. He had his own prætorian prefect, his army, his treasury; and he promulgated decrees which were valid everywhere, although he was intrusted only with the administration of the Western provinces. The unity of command was secured by the deference that Maximian had promised to his colleague; it was manifested to all eyes by the unity in legislation, all edicts being issued in the name of the two emperors, and by that of the coinage, which was the same from the banks of the Euphrates to the Rhine. Inscriptions commemorative of public works executed by either bore the names of both;¹ in a word, the administration was divided, but the government was not, Diocletian alone holding the reins.² In public documents his name preceded that of Maximian, as later Constantius was always mentioned before Galerius. This unvarying order proves that, in the system of Diocletian, a certain pre-eminence was reserved to the first Augustus.

For the expedition against the Bagaudæ, the posts on the Rhine had been stripped of their garrisons; the Germans took advantage of this situation, and the Heruli and Chaviones on the north,³ and the Burgundians and Alemanni on the south, crossed the river. But they arrived too late; Maximian had brought his troops back to Mayence, and from this strong position he kept watch on the movements of the barbarians. The Burgundians and Alemanni seemed too numerous for him to attack in front, and he allowed them to advance into the desolated provinces, where famine and disease soon reduced their numbers, and when their

vi. 9: . . . *consilii olim inter vos placiti constantia et pietate fraterna*, and vii. 15: . . . *illum in Capitolini Jovis templo jurasse*. It is also referred to by Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine*, book i. chap. xviii. The fact is certain, therefore, though not the date. It seems to me probable that it occurred on the day when Maximian could refuse nothing to the man who invested him with the supreme rank.

¹ Orelli, Nos. 1,052, 1,054.

² *Cujus nutu omnia gubernabantur* (Aur. Victor).

³ The Chaviones originally occupied Northern Holstein. The great movement of the Germanic tribes towards the south, of which we have already spoken (pp. 356 *et seq.*), had brought to the Rhine the Chaviones, the Heruli, and some Burgundians, the main body of the latter nation having stopped in the valley of the Saale.

diminished bands came again within his reach he easily got the better of them. The Heruli, less dangerous, had been arrested on their first advance and driven back across the river. These were far from glorious victories, but men cared little what devastation the barbarians might have made; the Roman dignity at that time was satisfied when the emperor could say: "The enemy is no longer within the limits of the Empire."

Trèves had become the Rome of the Gallic provinces. It had a palace for the emperor, arsenals and workshops for the armies, a



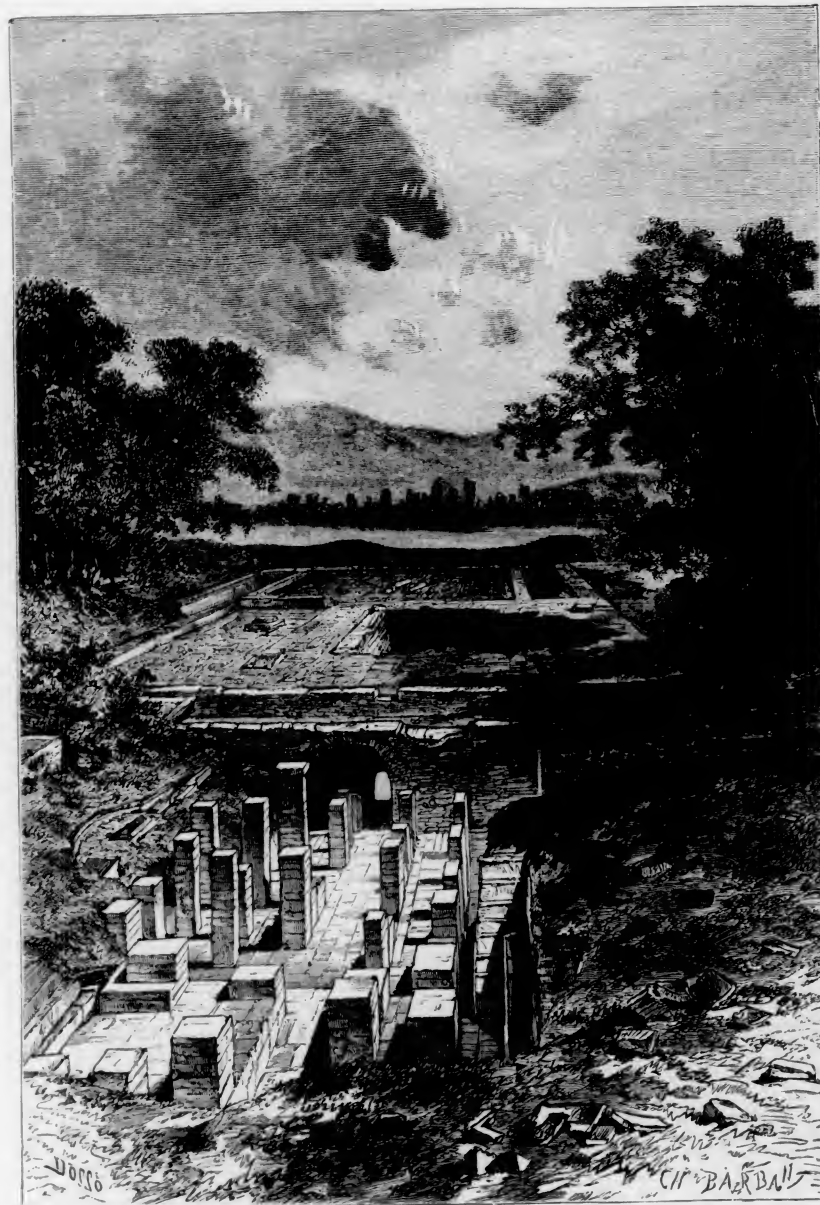
Glass Cup found at Trèves, representing the Great Circus.¹

circus and a forum for the people. On the first of January, 288, a public ceremony had attracted thither vast crowds: Maximian for the second time assumed the consular dignity. According to custom he was about to address the assembly, when a cry was heard from the ramparts: "The barbarians are at the gates!" The emperor threw off the consular toga, put on his cuirass and hastened to meet the foe. It proved to be some German horsemen who had made their way between the outposts and were on a plundering expedition.² Such was life upon this frontier.

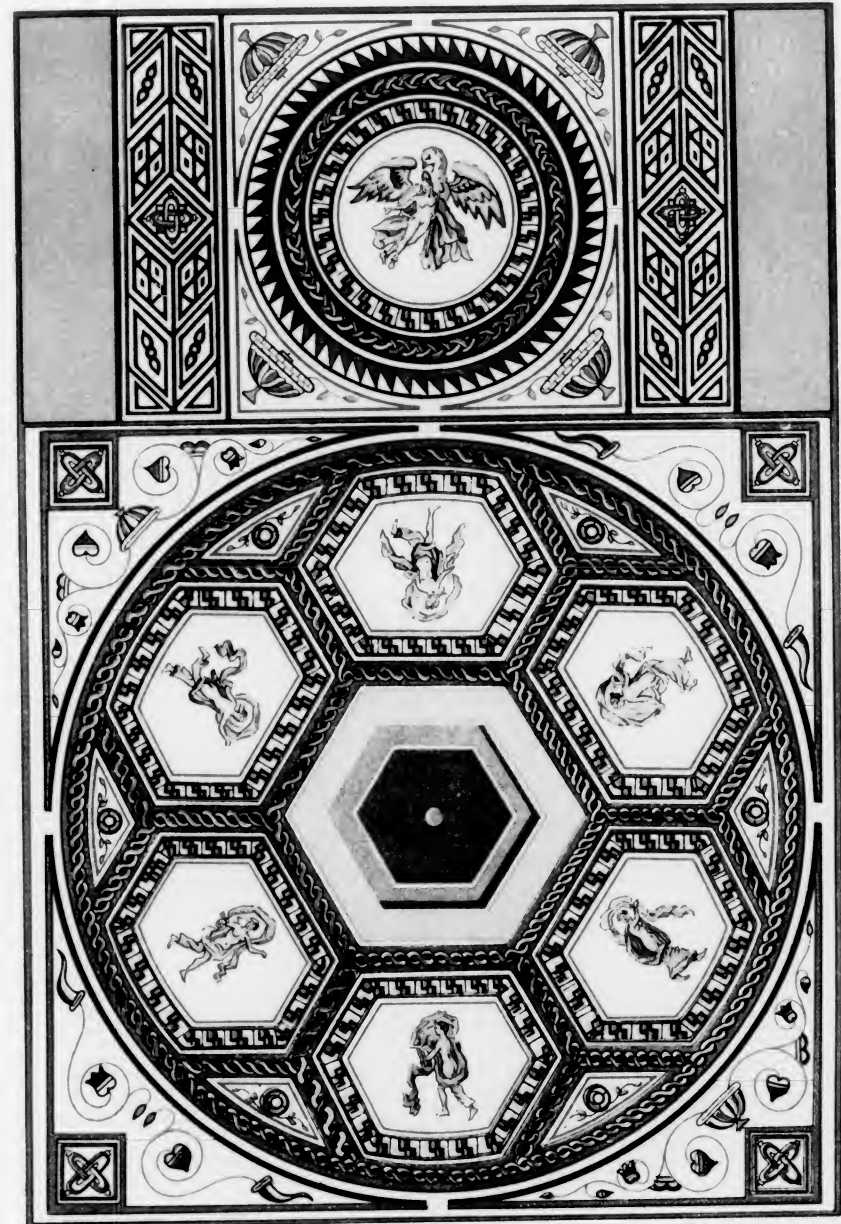
To give chase to the Saxon and Frankish pirates who were ravaging the coasts of Britain and Gaul, Maximian had collected

¹ Wilnowski, *Archæol. Freunde in Trier und Umgegend*, 1873, p. 18, pl. ii., and Fröhner, *La Ferrerie antique*, Descript. of the Coll. Charvet, 1879, p. 96.

² Or some Alemannic band astray after the late invasion who had escaped the soldiers of Maximian. (*Paneg.*, ii. 6.)



Ruins of Hot Baths in a Roman Villa, discovered in 1811 at Bognor, in Sussex (England).
(Lyson's *Reliquiæ Britannicæ Romanæ*, pl. xxv. vol. iii.)



EMELI DEL DOSO pinxit

Imp. Fraillery.

Dawbidgez chromolith.

FRAGMENTS OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT

FOUND IN 1811 IN THE BATH OF A ROMAN VILLA AT BOGNOR, SUSSEX

at Boulogne under Carausius, the Menapian, a fleet designed to close the straits. This Carausius, once a galley slave, had not improved in character with his advance in fortune; he made his plan to plunder the freebooters who were his compatriots. He suffered them to pass freely, but on their return they were detained and compelled to share their booty with the admiral. He in this manner collected money enough to buy his officers and crews, and when Maximian pronounced against him sentence of death no man could be found to execute it. Carausius placed himself out of reach by going over into Britain, where he corrupted the troops and caused himself to be proclaimed Augustus (287). With a remarkable appreciation of the resources offered by the possession of the island, he organized a powerful marine, which caused his standard to be respected as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and his alliance with the Saxons and Franks secured him soldiers and sailors. Many cities on the Gallic sea-coast preserved their old and profitable commercial intercourse with Britain, and Boulogne even remained in his hands. Carausius therefore was master of his island and of the sea, and Maximian could effect nothing against him. The emperor, however, made an attempt to dispute both with him; a fleet was constructed at the mouths of the Gallic rivers, and on the festival of the Palilia (21st of April, 289) the official panegyrist¹ celebrated in Trèves the approaching fall of "the chief of the pirates." The details of the conflict are not in our possession, but we know that the brigand chief came out of it a legitimate emperor, in virtue of a treaty which admitted his title of Augustus and left to him the kingdom of which he had taken possession (290). The British mints issued coins with the figure of Hercules, "preserver of the three Augusti;" and others bear the words: "Carausius and his brothers."



Coin of Carausius, with the Legend: VIRTUS CARAVSII. (Cohen, No. 35.)



Carausius, Diocletian, and Maximian Hercules.²

This treaty was a confession of impotence, but Diocletian

¹ He is known as Mamertinus, but the name is not given by the older manuscripts.

² CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SUI. Radiate head of Carausius, with the bare heads of Diocletian and Maximian Hercules. (Small bronze.)

considered it as an armistice necessary until more propitious days should come. He was not willing that Maximian should divert his attention and his troops from Germany; he himself had been obliged to go into Syria, in order to keep watch upon Egypt, where turbulent Alexandria was causing anxiety, and upon the Persians, whose courage had been revived by the death of Carus. The prolonged sojourn of the emperor and an army so near the Persian frontier, together with a civil war caused by a competitor for the throne, decided king Bahram to avoid all disagreements with the Romans. His envoys came to meet Diocletian as the emperor drew near the Euphrates, bringing presents from their master and soliciting his friendship.

Diocletian for the moment asked nothing more, preoccupied as he was with an affair more important for the security of the Empire than any new victory over cavalry impossible to capture. For the last twenty-seven years Armenia had been a Persian province, and since the time of Augustus, even since that of Pompey, the traditional policy of Rome had been to retain this country under her influence. An heir to the Armenian crown, Tiridates, was now living at the imperial court, and by his amiable deportment had gained the regard of the most important men; also by his courage, his strength, and skill in martial exercise, the esteem and respect of the soldiers. This prince was an invaluable instrument for the execution of a design suggested to the mind of Diocletian by the anarchy prevailing in Persia. Given up to all the woes of a foreign dominion, Armenia had been wounded in her religion and in her patriotism; the statues of her kings had been thrown down, the objects of her worship profaned, and her nobles excluded from public office. A violent hatred brooded in the hearts of all.¹ Everything was ready for a revolution, and the domestic troubles of Persia rendered success probable. Tiridates set out, with the instructions and good wishes of Diocletian, but without ostensible assistance. This was, in fact, not needed, and would moreover have been a violation of the promised friendship lately granted to king Bahram. As soon as the new claimant appeared defections occurred in every direction. Tiridates ascended

¹ See p. 422.

the throne of his fathers and henceforth held in the interest of Rome that great fortress of Armenia which protected against the Persians Asia Minor and a part of the Syrian provinces (287).

This bloodless victory, gained by statecraft, was an important success. To avoid all complaints on the part of the Persian king, Diocletian had quitted Syria before the departure of Tiridates on this expedition. A rescript shows him to have been in Thrace in the middle of October, 286;¹ he then went into Pannonia, which was ravaged by Sarmatian bands, and into Rhætia, where it was needful to show the eagles. Following the example of the great emperors he visited the frontiers, to restore security with the restoration of respect for the name of Rome; and everywhere he repaired the line of defences which had been trodden down under the feet of the barbarians.³

Maximian had come from Gaul to meet his colleague; in their conference doubtless were concerted the measures against



Maximian.

¹ Mommsen, *Ueber die Zeitfolge der in den Rechtsbüchern enthaltenen Verordnungen Diocletians*, in the *Journal of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin*, 1860, pp. 349-447. Tillemont had already begun this work in his learned history, and Godefroy has given a chronology of the laws of the *Theodosian Code*, vol. i. pp. 5-214, edit. of 1737.

² Half figure of marble; fragment of an armed statue found in the capital of Carinthia. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 980, No. 2,526.)

³ . . . *Omnia quæ priorum labe considerant . . . resurgentia, tot urbes diu silvis obsitas . . . instaurari manibus . . . castra toto Rheni et Istri et Euphratis limite restituta* (Eumenes, *Paneg. veter.*, iv. 18). Suidas (s. v. *ισχυριά*) speaks in the same way: ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς λόγον ποιούμενος τῶν πραγμάτων, ψήθη δὲ τὴν δυνάμειν ἀρκούσαις ἰκάστην ἰσχυριῶν ὀχυρώσαι καὶ φρούρια ποιεῖσαι.

Carausius which that skilful usurper was so well able to defeat the following year. The rare and confused documents of this period do not enable us to reconstruct its life;¹ we are reduced to gathering up in the panegyrics or the political pamphlets, two very muddy springs, a few isolated facts, without being able to establish between them that connection of cause and effect which forms the solid texture of history. The rescripts of the emperors show indeed the cities where they were at the time, but give no hint of the interests which had called them thither; these interests can only be conjectured by placing beside the dates inscribed on these decrees the legend of some coin, or a word let fall by the poor writers of the time. Thus we find in February, 291, Maximian at Rheims, at Trèves, and in the country of the Nervii, where, carrying out the disastrous policy of Augustus and Tiberius, he established Frankish prisoners as colonists.² In January, 290, Diocletian is at Sirmium, in February at Adrianopolis, in April at Byzantium, in May at Antioch. He expels from Syria the Saracens who have come in to pillage, and we find him again at Sirmium in the middle of July. This was like the activity of Cæsar.³ It has not been usual to recognize this diligence and this laborious life in the emperor who established that severe etiquette whose supreme expression came to be the immovable majesty of the Byzantine emperors.

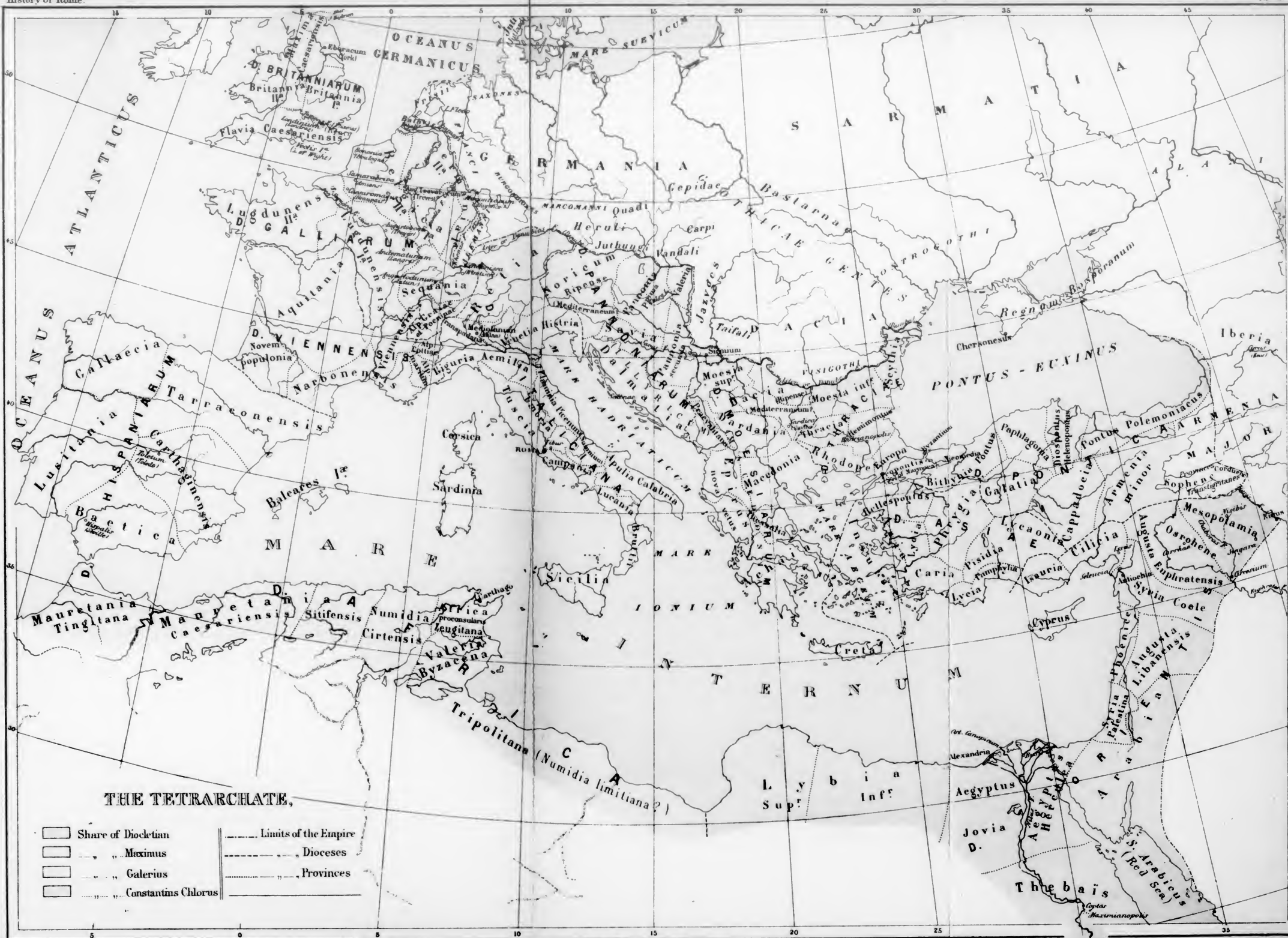
The occurrences which recalled Diocletian in so great haste to the shores of the Danube, where he remained till the close of this year 290, were the great national movements then agitating Germany. Sanguinary encounters were taking place: the Goths were falling upon those of the Burgundians who had followed them in the East, the Taifales and the Thervinges upon the Gepidæ and the Vandals;⁴ it was impossible to say what might arise out of this confusion—possibly a new invasion. But the emperors guarded the frontier and nothing could pass.

¹ Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and Zonaras give each of them but a few lines to Diocletian, and scarcely more can be extracted from the bad rhetoric of the panegyrists or the eloquent invectives of Lactantius. What Zosimus says of Diocletian has been lost.

² Also, possibly, Sarmatian. Ausonius, in his poem on the Moselle, speaks of Sarmatian colonies established near Trèves.

³ . . . illum modo Syria viderat, jam Pannonia susceperat (*Paneg. veter.*, iii. 4).

⁴ *Paneg. veter.*, iii. 16 and 17: *Ruunt omnes in sanguinem suum populi . . . obstinateque feritatis penas, nunc sponte persolvunt.*



II.—THE TETRARCHY.

At the beginning of the year 291 the two Augusti crossed the Alps in the middle of winter to have another conference at Milan.¹ Diocletian was meditating a reorganization of the state. The division of power made in 286 was only partially successful, because the part assigned to each emperor was still too great for the action of the government to be everywhere prompt and effectual. Dangers were increasing. In the East, the pacific Bahram was about to die, and the Persians to become once more a source of danger. In the North, the barbaric world was pushing forward its turbulent tribes towards the Rhine and the Danube. The Chemavi and the Frisones had seized upon Batavia at the mouths of the Rhine, a tract half land, half sea, a domain divided with less certainty between the Germans and the Empire. At this time all the shore of the North sea, from the Meuse to Jutland, was bordered with a population who sailed the seas in search of Gallic merchant vessels. In the interior extensive provinces were becoming detached from the Empire. Egypt was about to proclaim an emperor, Britain had already done it, which signified that both countries were aspiring to independence; and the Moors of Africa were claiming their liberty, sword in hand. Diocletian considered it wise to complete his political system; he decided that the two Augusti should take to themselves, under the title of Cæsars, two lieutenants, their necessary heirs. It was his hope that the Empire would thus be better guarded, the ambition of subalterns more certainly controlled, and the grave question of the succession settled, without giving opportunity in future for the soldiers to intervene with their caprices and their demands. The first day of March, 293, Constantius and Galerius were proclaimed Cæsars.²

Theoretically this conception was a happy one; with Diocletian it could succeed, thanks to the authority which his wisdom, proved by ten years of firm and successful rule, gave him; and it is with

¹ The memory of this occasion was consecrated by coins bearing the words: *Concordia Augg.*

² Orelli, No. 467, and *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 1,439. The two Cæsars were designated consuls for the year 294, and must have been so from the first year which followed their elevation.

good reason that contemporaries have praised the harmony which he knew how to maintain among princes of characters so different. But in this system he did not take into account the rivalries which would inevitably break out after his time from the impatient



Constantius Chlorus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 80.)

ambition of the Cæsars and the mutual jealousy of the Augusti who would succeed the founders of this tetrarchy. This plan had the fate of so many other projects inspired by political sagacity, but sure to fail through passion or contrary circumstances. However, when we add to this reform in the constitution of the government that which Diocletian also made in the administration, we shall be obliged to recognize in this ruler a very high order of intellect and to place him in the first rank of Roman emperors. The

name of Charlemagne has remained great, although his work also failed; it is true that it lasted for a longer time.¹

Galerius was a Dacian who had been a shepherd in his youth,

¹ Charlemagne pursued the same plan as did Diocletian, in giving three of his sons the title of kings, while holding them subject to his superior will. At the division of 817 the sons of Louis le Débonnaire were similarly placed. Charlemagne also organized his army on the Roman principle, that the military service was a charge on property. Again, like the Romans, he laid the keeping up of roads and bridges upon the adjacent landowners, who were bound, moreover, to furnish subsistence for the emperor or his agents when passing over their lands. One of the injunctions of Charlemagne to his counts in respect to their fiscal vigilance is a sentence from two of Justinian's *novellæ* (viii. 8, and xvii. 1), and his bishops were like Constantine's, public functionaries. How many Roman institutions we find in the Middle Ages, if we examine them closely!

and whose family, fleeing before the invasion of the Carpiæ, had taken refuge near Sardica (Sophia) in the Dacia of Aurelian. From a shepherd he became a soldier. He was another Maximian, rude and coarse, but like him again obedient and faithful; illiterate but not without courage; of violent and cruel nature; good in a secondary position if held there, but detestable when in the highest rank.¹ With Constantius, on the contrary, reappeared qualities that had been long unknown in the emperors: gentle and elegant manners, a cultivated mind, an amiable character, and, a thing always of importance in the midst of these parvenus, a noble



GAL. VALERIA
AUGUSTA, Daughter
of Diocletian
and Wife of Galerius.
(Silver Coin.)



FL. MAX. THEO-
DORA AUG.,
Second Wife of
Constantius
Chlorus. (Small
Bronze.)



CONSTANTIUS
ET MAXI-
MIANUS AUG.
Laurelled Heads.
(Medium Bronze.)

lineage, his mother being a niece of Claudius Gothicus and his father descended from an old Macedonian family. Under Aurelian he had distinguished himself by defeating the Alemanni near Windisch (274), and Carus, it is said, had thought of adopting him. The pallor of his countenance had caused him to be called by the Greeks Chlorus, or the Yellow, and to attach themselves to his race, all the emperors, down to Theodosius, took his family name, Flavius;² as Severus and his successors had taken those of the Antonines. Being appointed Cæsar before Galerius, Constantius was to succeed that one of the two Augusti who should first quit the world or the political stage.

Constantius and Galerius were married. They now repudiated their wives, of whom one, Helena, who had been united to

¹ Church writers have accumulated all forms of accusation against Galerius. According to them he was made up entirely of vices and cruelties. Eutropius speaks otherwise of him: *vir et probe moratus et egregius in re militari* (x. 2). As administrator, the Empire owed him a new province, Valeria, which he formed in Pannonia by turning a forest into cultivated land and causing the Danube to flow into Lake Pelso. (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 40.)

² The usurper Maximus gave this *gentilicium* to his son Victor (Wilmanns, 824). Eugenius took it, and Valentinian III. again bore it (*ibid.*, 645).

Constantius by that marriage of the second order which the Romans called concubinage,¹ has remained famous as the mother of Constantine and a zealous Christian. After this sacrifice made to policy, the Cæsars married the daughters of the two Augusti: Galerius, the daughter of Diocletian, whose lieutenant he was; Constantius, the daughter of Maximian, under whose orders he was placed. Each was subordinated to the emperor, whose faults he balanced or whose virtues he complemented by opposite merits; warlike energy was joined with wisdom, mildness with strength. Diocletian took with him the youth Constantine, then nineteen years of age. It was as a pledge of the father's fidelity, a needless precaution in the case of such a man as Constantius, but one long practised at the imperial court.²

Diocletian had reserved to himself the administration of the

¹ Zosimus, Orosius, and the *Alexandrian Chronicle* affirm this; S. Ambrose implies it; the Benedictines, his editors, admit it (note to the *Opera S. Ambrosii*, vol. ii. p. 1,210); and we find no weight in the objections which Tillemont draws from the virtuous character of Constantius Chlorus, and Gibbon from the condition of illegitimacy which would have prevented Constantine from being his father's heir. It has been already explained (p. 25, n. 2) that there was no disgrace attached to marriages of this kind. Many reasons gave cause for them, among others, the inferior condition of the woman, and we know that Helena was an innkeeper's daughter, *stabularia*, says S. Ambrose. Constantine had also, before his elevation, a concubine, Minervina, who was the mother of Crispus (Zosimus, ii. 20; the author of the *Epitome*, 41, and Zonaras, xiii. 2). Concubinage was a real marriage, *conjugium inaequale*, says Theodosius; *licita consuetudo*, says Justinian; and it was as well accepted by the legists and by the Church as is in our days the morganatic marriage of the Germans. The bishop of Seville, S. Isidore, wrote: *Christiano non duas simul habere licitum est, aut uxorem, aut certe loco uxoris concubinam*; and the Fathers of the first Council of Toledo, in 400, think the same in their seventeenth canon: *qui non habet uxorem et pro uxore concubinam habet a communione non repellatur*. Similar decisions were made by the Councils of Mayence, 815, and of Tibur, 895. The condition of the children of these unions was not in civil law the same with that of children born of full legal marriages. Thus Libanius, in his twelfth discourse, asserts that the brothers of Constantine, born of Theodora, had more right than he to the Empire, which would confirm Gibbon's opinion. But Constantius Chlorus and Constantine did not feel themselves bound by these ancient rules. Each of them had a son grown to manhood, capable of succeeding his father and meanwhile of being useful to him, and also children of a second marriage who were still very young. The eldest was useful—necessary, even; the others were not so; and the omnipotence of the two Augusti sanctioned all. Constantine, so severe on "unequal marriages" (law of 337, *Code Just.*, v. 27, 1), made a law giving all the rights of legitimate children to those born while their parents were living in concubinage, if the latter should afterwards contract *justæ nuptiæ* (*ibid.*, v. 27, 5). It would seem as if this law, whose date is unknown, may have been suggested to Constantine by the memory of his mother and of his first wife.

² When Maxentius demanded of the viceroy of Africa that the latter should give him his son as a hostage, he refused to do it (Zosimus, ii. 12). Aur. Victor says of Galerius that he detained Constantine at his court, *ad vicem obsidis* (*Cæs.*, 40). Commodus retained at Rome the sons of the governors of provinces (Herodian, iii. 4). Before the news of his proclamation as emperor arrived at Rome, Severus caused his children to be removed from the city.

East, with Egypt, Libya, the islands, and Thrace; Galerius was to take charge of the Danubian provinces and Illyricum, with Macedon, Greece, and Crete. In the West, Maximian had the government of Italy, Africa, and Spain, and Constantius had Gaul and Britain.¹

The Cæsars, being invested with the tribunitian power² and the military *imperium*, were treated as regal personages, and wore the diadem;³ their names were often placed with those of the Augusti at the head of edicts, but they issued none by their own authority; and in the case of an ordinance made for a part of the Empire governed by a Cæsar, the act bore indeed with the names of the two Augusti that of the Cæsar concerned in its execution, but never the name of the other Cæsar. The legislative power remained undivided between the two Augusti, as it had been between Severus and Caracalla and between Valerian and Gallienus; or rather, it was entirely in the hands of him who was the soul of this government, Diocletian.⁴ The Augusti entered the Cæsarian provinces at their pleasure, and exercised in this a supreme authority. Thus, in the absence of the Gallic Cæsar, Maximian guarded the Rhenish frontier, and Diocletian in residing at Sirmium was not outside his imperial domain; most of his rescripts are dated from Illyricum or from Thrace. The Cæsar received orders and even reprimands from the Augustus. We shall see that Diocletian called Galerius into the East after a defeat which the latter had suffered, and treated him with the severity of early times.⁵ It seems as if there reappeared, under other names and with a great difference in the duration of the authority, the ancient dictator and his master of the horse.

Each one of the four rulers selected a capital. The two Cæsars established themselves on the frontier: Galerius at Sirmium, the central point of defence in the middle valley of the Danube; Constantius by turns at Trèves or at York, to protect Gaul or

¹ Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*, 8) gives Spain to Maximian; referring to the persecution by Diocletian, he says further (chap. xvi.): *Verabatur universa terra, præter Gallias*, where Constantine was in command. Tingitanian Mauretania formed part of the district of Spain.

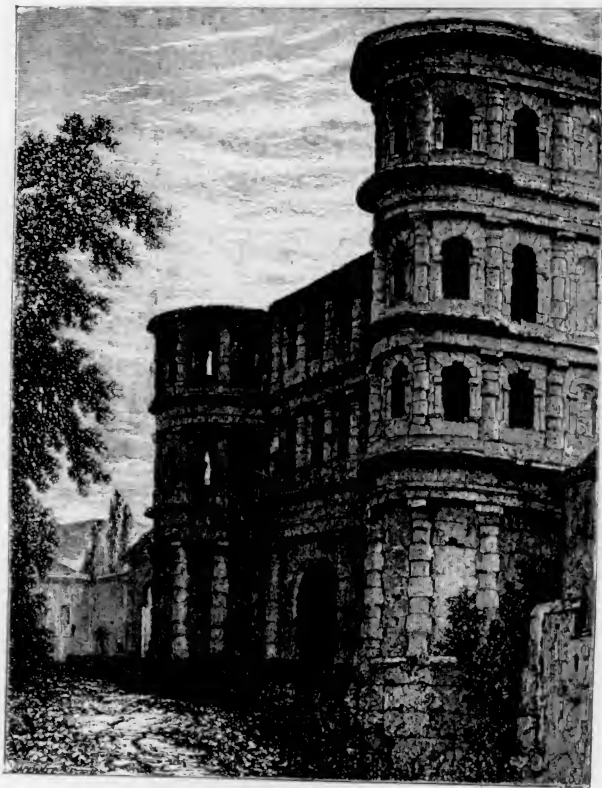
² Wilmanns, 1,061, and *Paneg. veter.*, v. 1: . . . *cum apud majestatem tuam divina virtutum vestrarum miracula prædicarim*. The Cæsars were called *nobilissimi*.

³ Euseb., *Life of Constantine*, i. 18.

⁴ . . . *Valerium ut parentem suspiciebant* (Aur. Victor, 39).

⁵ Under Constantius the Cæsars, Gallus and Julian, were merely lieutenants of the emperor.

Britain. The two Augusti placed themselves in the second line: Maximian at Milan,¹ behind the Alps, but having within reach the Germans who were making an attempt to establish themselves in Rætia and the upper valley of the Rhine; and Diocletian at



Roman Gate, called the Black Gate, at Trèves.

Nicomedia, on the shore of the Sea of Marmora, whence he kept watch at once upon the Tigris, the lower Danube, and the Euxine, by way of which so many dangerous invasions had come in. At the same time no one of them confined himself to the city which

¹ Here Maximian built a palace and baths, of which there remain the sixteen columns which decorate San Lorenzo. The church itself, of octagonal form and surmounted with a cupola, like the so-called temple of Jupiter at Salona, seems also to have been one of the great halls of the palace or of the thermæ of Maximian mentioned by Ausonius in his little poem, *Or. nobilium urbium*.



Milan: the Sixteen Antique Columns of San Lorenzo. (From a Photograph.)

he had made his chief residence; incessantly they were in motion along the frontier, which was well guarded; and if the barbarians did not fall back, at least they no longer advanced.

Constantius had orders to resume against Carausius the expedition which had failed in 289. The treaty signed after the Roman defeat had been violated by the usurper's alliance with the Franks, to whom he promised the islands of the Batavi and all the coast as far as the river Schelde; the plundering of the Gallie coast had doubtless been recommenced.¹ Carausius had a garrison at Boulogne and a squadron in the harbour; Constantius closed the port by a dyke, and both garrison and vessels were obliged to surrender. Before attempting a descent into Britain he made an expedition against the Franks, pursuing them into their marshes between the Wahal, the Rhine, and Lake Flevo, a submerged territory easy to defend, but badly defended, however, by the barbarians.² He drove them back into Germany,



Roman Vase found in the Neighbourhood of Amiens.²

and distributed his numerous captives under the title of colonists through certain portions of the territory of Amiens, Beauvais, Troyes, and Langres, which had been laid waste by the Bagaudæ.⁴

Carausius was assassinated in 293 by his prætorian prefect Allectus, who took his place and kept it three years; but the new master of Britain had neither the talent nor the authority

¹ . . . bellum quod cunctis provinciis videbatur (*Pan. vet.*, v. 7).

² This bronze vase is part of the collection of M. Danicourt of Péronne. We give it in its actual size.

³ *Illa regio . . . terra non est* (*Pan. vet.*, v. 8).

⁴ As late as the seventh century there existed, near Langres, a *pagus Chamavorum*. (Guérard, *Divisions territoriales de la Gaule*.)

of "the arch-pirate."¹ The prætorian prefect, Asclepiodotus, having collected a fleet off the mouth of the Seine, crossed unseen one foggy day and landed in the southern part of the island. To increase the determination of his soldiers the Roman burnt his vessels. Allectus was awaiting in the Isle of Wight the attack of Constantius, who had another fleet at Boulogne. Rendered anxious by the descent of the prefect, he hastened in disorder to meet him, was defeated and killed; and when Constantius arrived on the coast of Kent the population, happy to be rid of these emperors, who for ten years had isolated them from the rest of the Empire, welcomed him as a saviour (296).



Allectus,
Crowned with
Laurel.

The city of London was already the chief market of England, and the barbarian auxiliaries of Allectus had hastened thither in order to pillage. A part of Constantius's fleet, astray in the fog, had got into the Thames; carried by the tide these vessels arrived before the city in season to save it, a service which the inhabitants recognized with gratitude.²

Maximian had quitted Milan, his usual residence, and had come to exhibit to the barbarians, in the absence of Constantius, the imperial purple, that he might remove from them all inclination to take advantage of the departure of the troops and fall upon Gaul. The expedition being ended he set out for Africa, and the Caesar returned to keep in his turn the guard over the Rhine. This vigilance could not be for a moment slackened, for the Alemanni never resisted the temptation to make a raid into the Gallic provinces. In 301 they crossed the Rhine, the Ill, and the Vosges mountains, and very nearly captured Constantius himself near Langres. He had been wounded and had only time to have himself drawn up with ropes to the top of the rampart.³ Some troops were in the neighbourhood who, hastening up, chased away these marauders; Eutropius represents them as an immense army, speaking of 60,000 killed and an enormous number of prisoners. Eusebius reduces the number of the slain to 6,000, which is still large. The captives were given up, under the title

¹ . . . archipiratam satelles occidit (*Pan. vet.*, v. 12).

² *Ibid.*, v. 17.

³ Eutropius, ix. 23.

of colonists or *Læti*, to the Lingones and Treveri owning land. They thus occupied, with the consent of the Empire, the left bank of the Rhine, where, except in the cities, they caused the German race and speech to predominate.¹ Eumenes saw some of them come as far Trèves and even Autun, "accompanied by their wives and children, sad, desperate, or wildly shaking their chains; but by degrees they grew milder, cultivated the soil which they once ravaged, or, at the call of the generals, they eagerly resumed their weapons, bent to the centurion's discipline, and were willing to fight and die for those who had torn them from the paternal forests."

This Eumenes, whose works we have, was the friend and secretary of Constantius: an unsuccessful rival of Cicero, he wrote panegyrics, where rhetoric and hyperbole have more place than eloquence and truth. Some interesting details, however, are found in his writings concerning the schools of Autun. Constantius caused this city to rise from its ruins; he rebuilt its baths, temples, and the aqueduct which brought abundant water; he also strove to reconstruct the moral city, restoring life and distinction to its schools, whither formerly the Gallic youth flocked in crowds, and he wrote to Eumenes, putting him in charge of these schools, a letter which does him great honour: "Our Gauls deserve from us that we should take care of their children, and what better could we offer them than knowledge, the only thing that fortune can neither give nor take away? Accordingly we have determined to place you at the head of these schools, to which we desire to restore all their former distinction. You will there direct the mind of youth towards the study of better living. Do not fear that in accepting you will derogate from the honours you have already acquired. That you may understand that our esteem for you is proportioned to your merits, your salary will be 600,000 sesterces, paid by the state."²

¹ The *Notitia dignitatum* (ii. 119-122) indicates an extensive distribution of the *Læti* through Gaul, and only there. These *Læti*, who have given rise to so many discussions, did not belong to any one German tribe; they were either captives whom the Empire established upon deserted territory, or German adventurers who had solicited lands in return for military service. Guérard says in the *Polyptique d'Irminon* (i. p. 254): "I have no doubt that the name *Læti* had the signification of *auxilia* in the language of the nations of Germany. The word *lud* or *led* has preserved this meaning in the most ancient monuments of the northern languages."

² *Pan. vet.*, iv. 14. In 376, at Trèves, the professor of eloquence, *rhetor*, received thirty rations: *triginta annonas*; the *grammaticus Latinus* twenty; the *grammaticus Græcus* twelve, *si qui dignus reperiri potuerit*. (*Code Théol.*, xiii. 3, 11.)

We must place it to the credit of this emperor that, in the days of the Roman decline, he had a taste for noble objects, and bestowed magnificent recompenses upon those who kept alive the last embers of the sacred fire, now so nearly extinct.

Eumenes was worthy of his master; he employed his 600,000 sesterces in the reconstruction of the schools, and they were opened with great public ceremonial. The governor of the province presided at the festival, and Eumenes made his finest oration. Words of sincere emotion are found in this address, and even of eloquence, when he exclaims, for example, pointing out to the governor's notice the distant ruins of the gymnasium which is about to be rebuilt: "You have seen on the walls of these porticos the earth represented with its nations, its cities and rivers, with its continents that the ocean enwraps like a girdle, that it separates from one another, or that it cleaves with its impetuous waves. In the presence of these pictures we shall explain the world, and relate the history of our invincible princes. When the messengers of victory come to tell us that our emperors are visiting arid Libya, or Persia with the twin rivers, or the shores of the Nile or of the Rhine, we shall say to the youth gathered about us: 'Do you see this region? This is Egypt, chastized by Diocletian and now reposing after its tumults. Here is Carthage and Africa, where Maximian exterminated the revolted Moors. This land is Batavia; this island Britain, with its gloomy forests, rearing its rough head above the waves, these Constantius holds under his powerful hand. Yonder, Galerius treads under foot the bows and quivers of the Persians.' It is a pleasure to study a representation of the world where there is nothing which does not belong to ourselves."¹ We have been accustomed to believe that our own age invented "object lessons;" but the Romans already had the idea 2,000 years ago.²

The expedition into Africa of which Eumenes speaks took

¹ *Pro restaurandis scholis*, 20.

² *Ibid.*, 20: . . . *quo manifestius oculis discernentur quæ difficiliter percipiuntur auditu*. Horace had already said the same thing in his *Ars Poetica*, 180: Varro (*de Re rust.*) speaks of a picture representing *in pariete pictam Italiam*: Propertius, iv. 3, 37: . . . *e tabula pictos ediscere mundos*. This was, says Florus, at the beginning of his History, a common usage, practised from the time of Alexander, adds Ælianus (*Hist. Var.*, iii. 28), and Agrippa did but follow it. *Erat autem*, says Pliny (*Ep.*, viii. 14), *antiquitus institutum ut a majoribus natu non auribus modo, verum etiam oculis disceremus*.

place in 297. Five powerful Moorish nations had taken up arms. "They were," say the writers of the time, "the most savage of the African races." Like the tribes of the Sahara, always ready for a raid upon the Algerine oases, these Moors had often burned the farms of the African colonists. One of Diocletian's lieutenants had already several times encountered them.¹ In 293 they recommenced their incursions, and threw the whole province into a state of uneasiness, which a usurper, Julian (?) by name, profited by to assume the purple in Carthage. This usurpation rendered the situation so serious that the Augustus of the Western provinces felt it necessary to show himself in Africa. After defeats, concerning which we have no details, Julian died by his own hand; the conquered Moors were pursued into the most inaccessible retreats in the Atlas, and the captives made among them were transported into the provinces. To stifle the last embers of this fire, for a moment formidable, Maximian remained in Africa till the middle of the year 298.

These successes of the Cæsar and the Augustus of the Western provinces were matched by those of Galerius upon the Middle Danube, which river he had in charge. The Iazyges were defeated and a part of the nation of the Carpæ transported into Pannonia (295).

Some years later, in 299, the Sarmatians and the Bastarnæ were also constrained to emigrate to the right bank of the Danube.² This system, begun in the first days of the Empire, was then always carried out; Constantine, Valens, and Theodosius in turn continued it, and the frontier provinces were thus peopled with secret enemies who were to begin by driving out the Roman civilization, and afterwards to open the gates to other invaders. The emperors believed their power eternal—they expected to have time to Romanize these foreign colonists; but it was the barbarians who, from the Schelde to the Save, Germanized the zone of colonization that was given up to them and peopled with Slavs the peninsula of the Balkans.

Diocletian had remained during these years in Pannonia,

¹ *Bulletin de correspondance africaine*, January, 1882, p. 16.

² *Ingentes captivorum copias in Romanis finibus locaverunt* (Eutrop., ix. 25). Even the bodyguard of the emperors was formed of barbarians. (Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 38.)

Moesia, and Thrace, visiting the defences of the Danube,¹ inspiring salutary fear among the barbarians who bordered its left bank, and notwithstanding this prolonged stay on the extreme frontier, remaining in a sense present at all points of the Empire by the attention he gave to its wants. A multitude of rescripts dated from these regions show his legislative activity.² Under the powerful influence of this great prince the Empire revived, security was restored to the provinces, and for this vast body, including all the civilized life of the world, it was enough to bring back prosperity that a strong hand kept the barbarians at bay and the soldiers submissive.



Coin of Domitianus Domitianus Achilleus.³

There was a country, however, in which prosperity did not again revive: turbulent Egypt. In the capital of that country seethed an immense population of men of all races, conditions, and faiths, and under that burning sun men readily became hot-headed. Worshipers of Serapis, of Jehovah or of Jesus, sceptics and *illuminati*, philosophers in search of the absolute, and neophytes who believed they had found it, all detested and despised one another. Hatred brought about riots and riots became revolt; as soon as one man had struck all came to blows; the streets were full of dead bodies, and in the harbour the sea was red with blood. "There is not a Christian," says the bishop Dionysius, "who is not involved on one side or the other." On Easter day the church stood empty, for all men were at the barricades. The murders of which the bishop speaks were in the reign of Gallienus; but the spirit of revolt still possessed the great city. We have seen Aurelian and Probus obliged to visit Alexandria to overthrow usurpers, and

¹ Idacius places at this time the construction of the strongholds in the country of the Sarmatians, on the left bank of the Danube, and inscriptions mention the reconstruction, by Diocletian and Maximian, of cities in Switzerland, Africa, etc. The oration of Eumenes, *pro restaurandis scholis*, testifies to the immense works at that time going on for the fortification of the frontiers along the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. From the *Notitia* have been counted 103 strongholds or fortified positions in the Eastern Empire.

² Letter from Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, quoted by Eusebius, vii. 21.

³ IMP. CL. DOMITIVS DOMITIANVS AVG., surrounding a wreathed head of the usurper. On the reverse: GENIO POPULI ROMANI ALE, around the Genius of the Roman people. (Bronze coin.)

under the reign of Diocletian, Achilleus even ventured to assume the purple there.¹

This rebellion was a misfortune for Rome, as it hindered its provisioning; but it was not a peril to the Empire, since no dangerous enemy could come from Egypt. The emperors, no longer residing in their ancient capital, heard not the starving cries of its populace, who demanded indeed *panem et circenses*, but made no riots. The insurrection breaking out in Alexandria did not turn them away then from the more important cares which detained them upon the northern frontier. This region being pacified, Diocletian directed his route towards Egypt, arriving there in the middle of the year 295. Alexandria held out against all his efforts for eight months, he only entered the city after having cut the aqueducts which brought the water of the Canopic branch. To put an end to these perpetual revolts, which were a dangerous example, he gave the city up to a military execution; it was sacked, and blood flowed in torrents. Coptos and Busiris had the same fate.² The country was then reorganized. Eutropius, who lived nearly a century later, says that this reorganization, of which he does not give the particulars, was in existence still in his time.³ Like Augustus, Diocletian respected the Egyptian religion; but in that land of prodigies and credulity books of occult science were everywhere in circulation, and these the emperor caused to be seized and burned.⁴ He did another service to Egypt by protecting it against the Blemyes, who plundered the caravans coming from ports of the Red Sea and infested the Thebaïd with their brigandage. Instead of wasting his time and strength in tracking

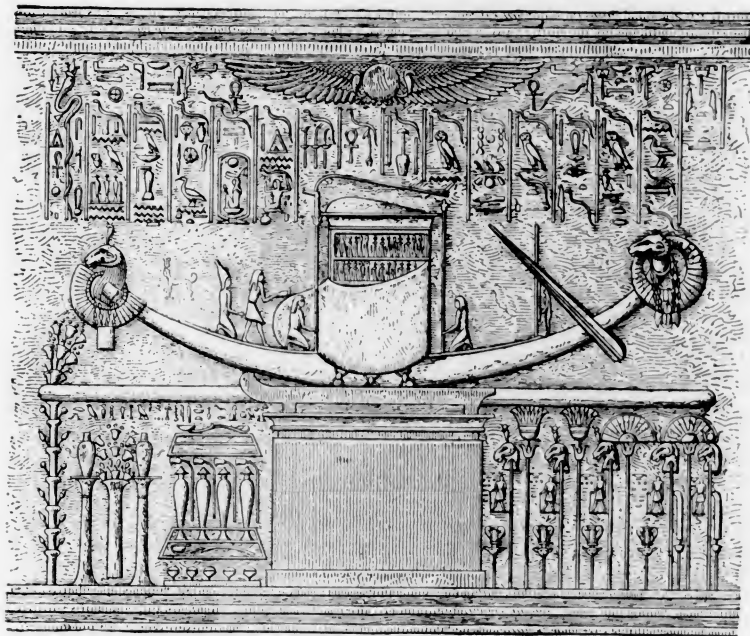
¹ Eutrop., ix. 22; Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 39. On the authority of a medal, Tillemont represents this Achilleus as reigning six years. But Diocletian was not the man to have allowed an insurrection to exist for so long a time that could possibly be suppressed, and Eckhel (vol. iv. p. 96) declares this medal false.

² Malalas (xii. p. 309) relates one of those stories so dear to the Oriental mind: Diocletian had given orders to kill until the blood should come to his horse's knees; but the horse having stumbled over a corpse, got up with his knees bloody. It was a sign sent by the gods; the emperor comprehended it and stopped the massacre.

³ ix. 23: . . . *ordinavit provide multa . . . quæ ad nostram . etatem manent.*

⁴ "Egypt was the headquarters of the occult sciences, to which sciences the Chaldæans seem to have added nothing except horoscopy and prophecy, founded on an examination of the skies" (Reveillout, *Revue égyptol.*, i. p. 147). Diocletian prohibited throughout the Empire divination by astrological diagrams, *ars mathematica damnabilis est et interdicta omnino* (*Code Just.*, ix. 18, 2).

them in their deserts, he called in the little garrisons scattered through Lower Nubia, between the First and Second Cataracts, where they were too feeble to hinder anything. It was a movement of falling back; but the Empire in concentrating made itself stronger. A numerous garrison occupied the island of Philæ and entrenched themselves strongly there; another was posted on an inner line, at Maximianopolis, which had been built on the ruins



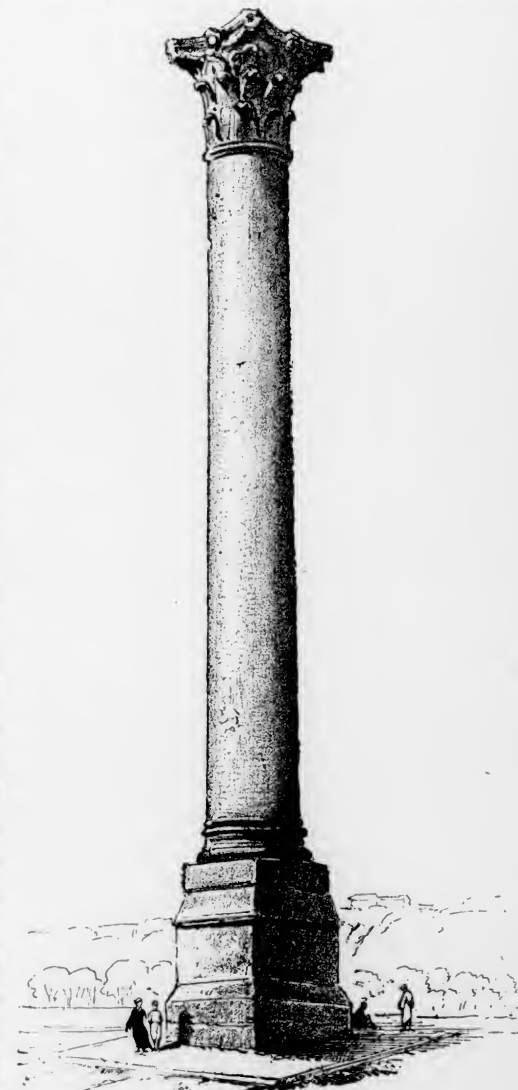
Sacred Egyptian Barque carrying a Shrine. (Perrot's *Ancient Art*.)

of Coptos; a wall, connected with the defences of the island, barred the whole valley, and remains of this wall are still to be seen. Not to neglect any means of making this frontier secure, he negotiated with the Blemyes, who for an annual subsidy agreed no longer to molest Egyptian commerce. The agreement was consecrated by religious ceremonies in the temple of Isis. The Blemyes were fervent worshippers of the Egyptian goddess; they claimed free access to her temple, and the renewal of the old law which authorized their priests¹ to come annually to the island and

¹ Letronne, *Mémoires pour l'histoire du christianisme en Égypte*, etc., pp. 74 et seq.

carry away her image to keep it for a certain time in their country. In an inscription which appears to be of the time of the Antonines we read: "Upon the Nile I have seen the rapid barques bringing back the sacred temples from the land of the Ethiopians." These temples were coffers, most frequently gilded, which contained a statuette of Isis. Diocletian would never have consented to let a Latin divinity make excursions after this fashion; but the supreme pontiff of Rome did not concern himself with regard to the adventures of Isis, and since the Blemyes attached importance to these pilgrimages, he deemed it wise to allow them.

He had written his name in blood on the walls of Alexandria, but he reorganized a method of relief for the poor;¹ and the fickle-minded city saw without displeasure the prefect Pompeius



Pompey's Pillar at Alexandria.

¹ It had already long existed there. See p. 396. Procopius (*Historia Arcana*, chap. xxvi.)

erect a column surmounted with the statue of Diocletian, with an inscription in honour of "the invincible emperor." The statue exists no longer, and the column still standing near the harbour does not even bear the name of Diocletian, "the tutelary Genius of Alexandria;" it has long been believed a monument of him who was defeated at Pharsalia, and is called to this day "Pompey's Pillar."¹

In 294 Narses, second son of the peace-loving Bahram, had assumed in Ctesiphon the diadem of Persia. He was a valiant prince, who occupied himself in re-awakening the martial ardour of his people; Diocletian was at the time in the interior of Egypt and Galerius in Pannonia, and the Persian judged it a favourable moment to attack Armenia, where he drove out the *protégé* of the Romans, and at the beginning of the year 296 he crossed the Tigris with a numerous army. Narses remembered the prosperity of Sapor and he hoped to emulate it, even to excel it, and to maintain it for a longer time.² Warned by the blow struck at Tiridates, Diocletian had already called into Syria the Caesar of the Oriental provinces, and himself was approaching Palestine, but slowly, as suited a monarch whose calm majesty was never disturbed by impetuous movements.

Did Galerius know how and why Crassus had perished? Without calumniating him, it may be doubted if he did; but the defeat of Valerian was recent enough to have been clearly in his mind, and it afforded him no lesson. He crossed the Euphrates and led his legions into that plain of Carrhæ where the sand but scantily concealed so many Roman bones. The scenes of former times were repeated; his cavalry could not resist the shock of the cataphractarii, and his heavy infantry, overcome by heat and by thirst, blinded by the dust, in the midst of the rapid squadrons sweeping around it, experienced the fate of the legionaries of Crassus. It is said that Tiridates escaped only by swimming across the Euphrates, weighed down as he was with his armour. Galerius also escaped with his life and the shattered remnant of

speaks of 2,000,000 *modimni*, equal to 12,000,000 *modii*, dispensed at this time. Cf. *Chron. of Alexandria*, ad ann. 302.

¹ C. I. G., 4,681.

² *Ad occupandum Orientem magnis copiis inhiabat* (Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 9). Concerning Sapor, see above, pp. 423 et seq.

his army. Just outside of Antioch he met Diocletian, who received the defeated general with a severe countenance, and refused to let him enter the imperial chariot. The spectacle was seen of the haughty Caesar clad in his purple mantle, and with shame upon his brow, walking on foot for the space of a mile before the chariot of the angry Augustus.¹

Diocletian rapidly collected the troops from the camps on the



A Cataphractarius. (From Trajan's Column.)

Danube, enrolled barbarians in the army, especially Goths,² and re-formed the Syrian army, which seems to have been very strongly constituted. He divided it into two corps: with one he took up a position on the Euphrates, to defend the fords in case of need; he put Galerius at the head of the other, tracing out for him the plan of a campaign in which the military experience of the former lieutenant of Probus appeared manifest. He directed the Caesar to take, in the favourable season, the route formerly followed by Antony across the Armenian mountains, and gave him for a guide

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xiv. 11.

² Jordanes, 21.

in this country the expelled king Tiridates. At their approach the people rose to meet them; provisions and information came in abundantly to the camp; the legions had all the advantages which the complicity of the inhabitants gives to an invading army. The Persians came to meet them on this unfavourable battle-ground; and filled with confidence by reason of their recent victory, kept so careless a watch that Galerius with two horsemen was able to come into their very camp in reconnoitring the position. By a vigorous night attack, he created a panic among them and made great slaughter. Narses, who was wounded, escaped with



Coin of Narses, Son of Bahram II.¹

the greatest difficulty, but the wives and children of the Persian king were captured, together with the treasure heaped up in the royal tents (297). Since Alexander's victory at Issus, six centuries before, the Oriental barbaric world had suffered no such affront. At the news of this brilliant success Diocletian entered Mesopotamia and joined Galerius at Nisibis. The Cæsar talked of repeating Alexander's expedition. The Macedonian conqueror had not been guilty of too great rashness when he hurled the mass of his army upon the empire of Darius and plunged into the remote East to the banks of Indus, for he had nothing to fear from the nations he left behind him. But the Romans, who on the west and south and north had an immense frontier line always threatened, were not in a position to imitate this dangerous enterprise. Diocletian calmed the too impetuous ardour of Galerius, and the Augustus displayed towards the captives that had been taken a consideration not at all usual at that time. When Narses, won by this conduct, made overtures of peace, Diocletian received them cordially. The first condition claimed by the Romans was however rejected.² They wished the Persians to agree to have all commerce with the Empire pass through Nisibis, doubtless in order to simplify the service of the imperial custom-house, and to concentrate the relations between the

¹ Bust of the prince and a legend signifying "the worshipper of Ormuzd, the excellent Narses, king, celestial germ of the gods." (Silver coin.)

² In the *Excerpta de legationibus*, edit. of Bonn, p. 134, are to be found curious details in respect to these negotiations, preserved to us by Peter Patricius. He lived in the time of Justinian, but was able to examine the archives. Cf. *Fragm. Histor. Græcor.*, iv. 188.

two countries at a single point easily to be watched.¹ Narses refused to agree to this and the project was abandoned; but he admitted the Roman possession of northern Mesopotamia, whose limit on the south seemed to admit of being marked by the fortified city of Circesium, near the confluence of the Chaboras with the Euphrates, and by Singara, at the base of a mountain in an arid region, which rendered an attack difficult, but also difficult the bringing of any succour. Nineveh on the Tigris, where for two centuries a Roman colony had maintained itself in some unknown way,² marks perhaps the eastern extremity of this line. In the upper valley of the Tigris the Persians yielded five Armenian provinces which had been conquered by Sapor I., and these in the hands of Rome were now to be used to cover a part of Armenia and Asia Minor against the Persians.³ Tiridates recovered his kingdom, increased by a part of Media Atropatene, and the princes of Iberia in the basin of the Kour relinquished their allegiance to Persia and accepted the supremacy of Rome (297). This treaty was a brilliant success, worth far more than the recapture by Augustus of the standards of Crassus, for it gave the Empire as allies the nations living near the Caspian and the Caucasus, at the same time that the Roman garrisons were establishing themselves in the mountainous region situated on the north of Mesopotamia,

¹ These questions of import dues had so great a financial and political importance for the Empire that a schedule of duties, recently found at Palmyra (De Vogüé, session of the *Acad. des inscr.* of June 1st, 1883), shows that as early as the reign of Tiberius the Romans had interposed in that city for the drawing up of a tariff of which they doubtless shared with the Palmyrenes the products. (Cf. *Code Just.*, iv. 61, 13.) The Roman domination having crossed the Euphrates, Diocletian desired to have Nisibis occupy the position that Palmyra had held, that of being the desert mart between the two empires.

² See on this point p. 74. Nineveh was still a great city in the time of Amm. Marcellinus (xviii. 6), and this author calls it the capital of Adiabene. Its inhabitants, like the Greeks of Seleucia, had doubtless a sort of municipal independence, which permitted them to incline towards whichever of the two empires seemed for the moment the more formidable. The Persians traversed it freely in 359.

³ Uncertainty exists respecting the names of these five provinces, which Peter Patricius and Amm. Marcellinus (xxv. 7) give differently: Zabdicene, Corduene, Arsacene, Intelene, and Sophene, according to the former; Zabdicene, Corduene, Arsacene, Moxoene, and Rehimine, according to the latter. We are not able even to assign to them all a well-determined geographical position. It is enough to know, however, that they are all north of Nineveh, in the upper basin of the Tigris and on its eastern shore in the Kurdistan of modern times. During the reign of Julian, Corduene had for governor a Persian satrap of Roman name, Jovianus, a man secretly in sympathy with the imperialists. (Amm. Marcellinus, xviii. 6.) The occupation of Corduene by the Persians was merely *de facto*, doubtless acquired in the reign of Constantius, for this province was expressly ceded by Jovian in the treaty of 363.

whereby every attack upon Asia Minor and Syria could be arrested on its advance or defeated by a flank movement. The victory of Galerius and Diocletian's statesmanship bestowed upon Roman Asia a peace that numerous fortresses, built along the eastern frontier, maintained for forty years.¹ The Augustus had well deserved the honour of a triumph; the senate decreed it to him, but he waited six years to celebrate it at Rome.

III.—ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION AND LEGISLATION.

It is in fable only that Minerva springs full-armed from the brain of Jupiter. In history, political creations are prepared by the travail of ages, and these only are lasting.



Large Bronze of Antoninus, representing him with his Head crowned with Rays and a Nimbus.¹

More than one emperor before Diocletian had felt the necessity of taking a colleague, of dividing the great administrations, even of sharing the Empire itself,² and enfeebling the praetorians; more than one had allowed himself to be called lord or god,³ and the coins of Trajan and of Antoninus Pius represent them with the radiate crown. The sacred nimbus, which was assumed by the Christian emperors, does not yet appear in the coins of Trajan, and we also see it around the head of the fabulous bird which in Egypt was believed to spring from its own ashes; but those of Antoninus already give him this symbol of immortality. The nations were displeased neither at these titles nor these crowns, for the state religion made it a duty for them to adore the

¹ Malalas says that the line of fortresses constructed by Diocletian extended from Egypt to Persia. See also Suidas, s. v. *τοῦραία*, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxiii. 5.

² Vespasian had set the example of these divisions of provinces. In the time of Caracalla and Geta a division of the imperial authority had been under consideration. See vol. iv. p. 670, and p. 241 of the present volume.

³ Caligula had assumed to be both; Commodus had caused himself to be called god: . . . *καλῆτρο καὶ θεός* (Zonaras, xii. 5). The decurions of Barcelona declared themselves *devoti numini majestatique Claudii Gothici* (Orelli, No. 1,020). The same words were used in respect to Aurelian by one of the legions (*ibid.*, No. 1,024). Medals of Aurelian and of Carus, struck during their lifetime, gave them the titles of *deus* and *dominus*. (Eckhel, vol. vii. pp. 508-9.)

⁴ See W. Madden, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xviii. p. 9 (1878). A cameo represents Severus, also with the radiate crown, and Gallienus wore it: . . . *radiatus sæpe processit* (*Hist. Aug. Gall.*, 16), and Aurelian did the same.

emperor living, and they were accustomed to erect temples to their dead emperors.

A century and a half before Diocletian, Hadrian had made his council the principal machinery of government; and Caracalla and Gratian had separated the civil functions from the military in not permitting the presence of a senator in the army.¹ The offices of *comes*, *corrector*, and *dux* were very ancient; in the third century A.D. we find the *magister militum* and the praetorian prefect had long had the administration of justice and finance. The system of grants of land made to the soldiers with the condition of military service was an old republican institution, the *colonia*,



Coins of Trajan, representing, on the Reverse, the Phoenix crowned with the Nimbus.

preserved by Augustus, possibly regulated by Alexander Severus; and two of the dangers which were to end by destroying the Empire, namely, the Germanization of the frontier provinces and that of the army, had begun with him. Caesar had Germans in his army in Gaul, and Tacitus shows around the first emperors and in the auxiliary corps of the legions foreigners of every nation.²

A pride in titles was extremely ancient at Rome: we have seen the rigorous classification made by Augustus. From the first days of the Empire it was required to salute the senators as *clarissimi*; the knights of noble family were *illustres*, and under Marcus Aurelius the *eminentissimi* and the *perfectissimi* had privileges which lasted for three generations. A *procurator* under Commodus is called *egregius*. Those of Severus all bore this title, and from the third century or even earlier there existed a sort of heredity for the *curiales*. The nomenclature for the hierarchy was already formed.³

¹ Lampridius says of Alexander Severus, 24: *provincias legatorias praesidiales plurimas fecit*. Borghesi (*Œuvres*, vol. iii. p. 377; vol. v. pp. 397 and 405) thinks that from this time forward the *præses* had the civil administration, the *dux* the military command.

² Tac., *Ann.*, i. 17; *Hist.*, i. 46.

³ *Divo Marco placuit eminentissimorum quidem nec non etiam perf. virorum urque ad*

Language, manners, and the necessities of defence had prepared the separation of the Roman world into two Empires. Asia had repeatedly had governors who were invested with full powers: Agrippa and C. Caesar under Augustus, Germanicus under Tiberius, Corbulo under Nero; and Marcus Aurelius, Valerian, and Carus had relinquished to a colleague half of the provinces.

For many years the Conscrip Fathers had been entirely without authority, and all the power had remained with the imperial chancery. The revival of the senate in the time of the Gordians and of Probus had been but the last flicker of energy in a body whence life was departing; all things were now done in the offices of the sacred palace,¹ for the reason that there was the only force which could set in motion the vast machine. Finally, the industrial corporations and the agricultural colonization had made the beginning of a profound change in the world of labour.

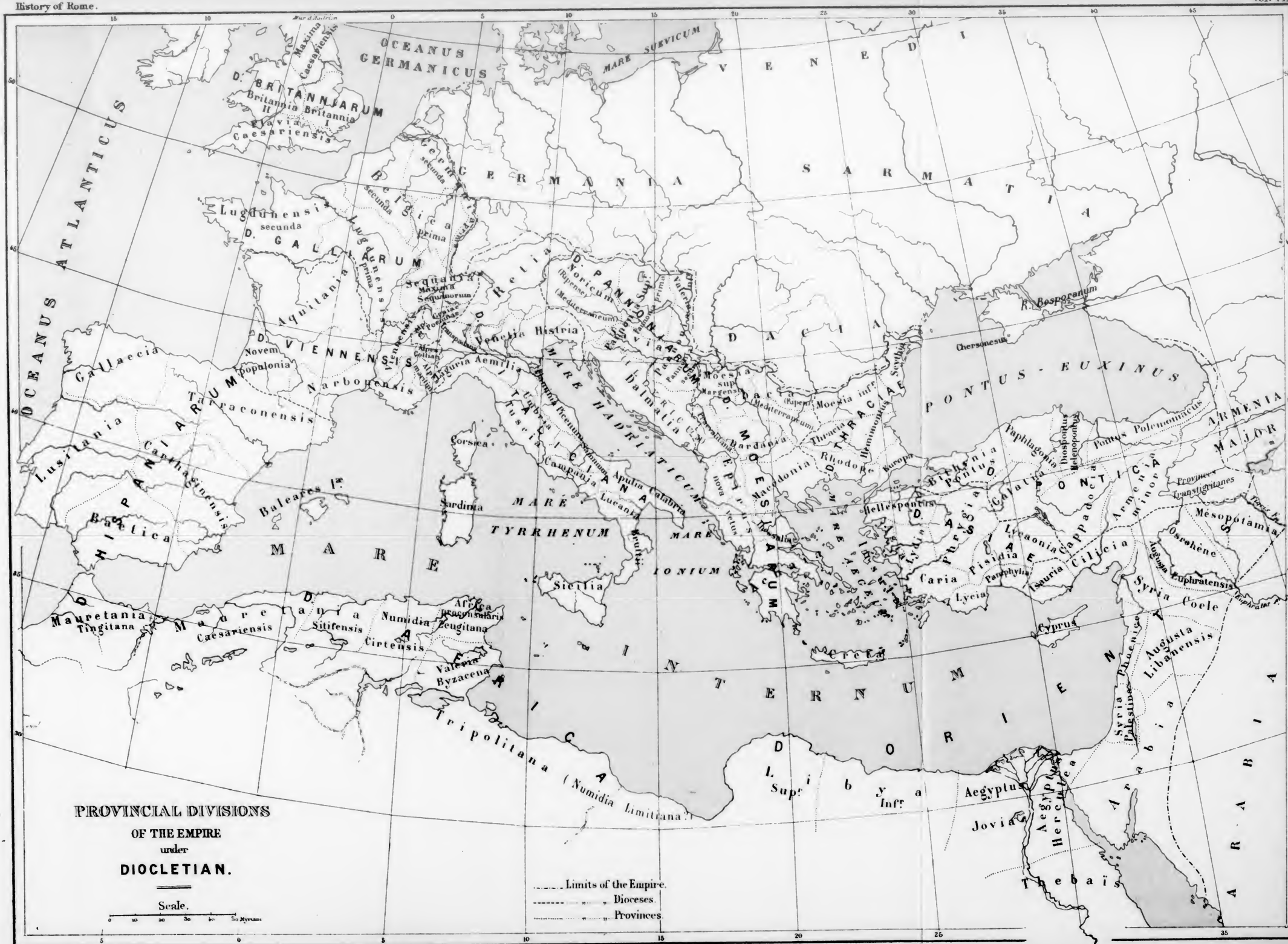
Diocletian therefore did not create in all its parts a new political and social edifice; in reality what he accomplished was a great administrative reform. But the republican exterior so carefully maintained by Augustus, preserved by many of the succeeding emperors, and restored again by Carus, was now thrown off; the master was no longer concealed, *el rey netto*, and the autocratic republic of Augustus assumed its final aspect, that of an Oriental monarchy.²

We have already spoken of the most important of the measures of Diocletian, the establishment of the tetrarchy. To prevent revolutions, by securing the regular succession to the Empire dependent upon the choice of the living emperor; to defeat the intrigues of the ambitious and the riots of the soldiery, by dividing the commands, the armies, and the public treasure—such had been his theoretic conception. His method of execution was to give the

pronepotes liberos plebeiorum pœnis vel quæstionibus non subijci. A dishonourable action, *violati pudoris macula*, arrested, however, the transmission of this privilege which Ulpian recognizes, *decurionibus et filiis eorum* (*Code*, ix. 41; cf. *C. I. L.*, vol. i. 1,085, and vol. vi. 1,603). The use of these exaggerated epithets went very low. In an inscription of the time of Alexander Severus, an iron mine is called *splendidissimus*. (*Rev. épigr. du midi de la France*, No. 257.)

¹ Hirschfeld, *Römische Verwaltungsgeschichte*. We have seen, in the reign of Hadrian and in chap. xcv. § 3, the beginning of the slow evolution which transformed the monarchy of Augustus into an autocratic and Oriental despotism.

² Eutropius (ix. 26) says: *imperio Romano regie consuetudinis formam magis quam Romanæ libertatis inexit.*



Empire, divided equally, two Augusti, one being superior to the other, and two Cæsars, who, subordinate to the Augusti during the lifetime of the latter, should succeed them on their deaths. This form of government was an important innovation, inasmuch as Diocletian was making a rule of what had been hitherto only a temporary accident, and because, instead of emperors reigning together in Rome—where their action, not being divided, might prove conflicting—each of the Augusti and Cæsars had permanently provinces to govern and barbarians to hold in check.

After the division of the Empire and the imperial power, came that of the provinces.¹ The republic had not greatly changed the frontiers of the nations; its domain was divided only into fourteen governments; and at the accession of Hadrian there were forty-five. This increase was due to the conquests of Augustus, Claudius, and Trajan, but especially to the dismemberment of the early provinces. Since the time of Vespasian the emperors had been aware that commands extending over regions as vast as kingdoms gave rise to ambitious desires and dangerous temptations. More than any one of his predecessors Diocletian had felt this peril; and as he had divided the Empire, in order the better to defend it, so he increased the number of provincial divisions in order to rule it more successfully. At the time of his accession there were fifty-seven provinces; during his reign the number was increased to ninety-six, forming thirty-seven new governments,² and these

¹ Aur. Victor, 40; Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, chap. vii.: . . . *provinciae in frusta concisæ, multi præsidēs et plura officia singulis regionibus ac pæne jam civitatibus incubare, item rationales multi et vicarii præfectorum.* In Egypt were created the provinces Ægyptus Jovia and Æg. Herculæ; in Moesia and in Pannonia the provinces Margensis (in honour of the victory gained by Diocletian at Margum) and Valeria (named from the emperor's daughter); in Britain, Flavia Cæsariensis (in honour of Constantius Chlorus); and many others in Asia Minor.

² The *Notitia dignitatum*, prepared about the year 400, gives 120 provinces; a list of 386(?) comprises only 113; another, of 369(?), gives 104. The list given by Mommsen in the *Memoirs of the Berlin Academy* for 1862, p. 489, from a manuscript of Verona, probably dates from the year 297. It enumerates ninety-six provinces, distributed in twelve districts, as follows: 1, the East (comprising Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia); 2, Pontus (the northern and eastern portions of Asia Minor); 3, Asia (the western part of Asia Minor, with the islands); 4, Thrace (between the Rhodope, the Lower Danube, and the sea); 5, Moesia (between the Middle Danube and Thrace); 6, Pannonia (the western part of Illyricum); 7, Italy; 8, Africa; 9, Spain (with Mauretania Tingitania); 10, Viennensis (Narbonensis and Aquitania; later, the district of the Seven Provinces); 11, Gaul; 12, Britain. If it be true that the memoir in which Emil Kuhn (1877) disputes the value of this document has been justly combated by Czwalina (1881), there remain, however, doubts in respect to certain provinces inscribed in the list of Verona, the formation of which appears to date from the second half of the fourth century. See

between the civil and military functions, commenced long before this time, was so rigorously kept up by Diocletian, that the military service, long since prohibited to the imperial nobility,¹ was still further denied to the municipal aristocracy. He closed the legions against the decurions, their sons, and all those persons who by their fortune were eligible to municipal offices.² The army was recruited among the barbarians, and there remained no more military spirit among this people who by it had once achieved such great things.

We shall later show in its entirety the so-called "divine hierarchy," but we must first speak of an important novelty, the formation of an Asiatic court which was to crowd that dwelling which the Nervas and Trajans called "the public palace." Diocletian was an admirer of the Oriental world, its royal customs pleased him, and he copied its stately ceremonial. He replaced by vestments of silk and gold the military tunic, over which his predecessors had merely thrown a scarlet mantle; upon his forehead he wore the royal diadem which Aurelian had already assumed, and his purple slippers were studded with precious stones. To the emperor, whom all men, soldiers and citizens, might freely salute, succeeded the king-god, hidden in mysterious shadow, in the depths of a palace whose approaches were guarded by a crowd of eunuchs and officers. Whosoever obtained from the *magister officiorum* an imperial audience was led to it by a master of ceremonies and introduced by the *admissionales invitatores*. Crossing the threshold guarded by thirty mutes, he fell prostrate and adored "the sacred countenance," scarcely daring to lift his eyes to this motionless and dreadful majesty.³ Those even to whom their rank

16. *Leg. pr. pr. provinc. Pannon. sup.* 17. *Cur. Minicie (porticus), R. P. Nicomedensium, Interamnatum, Nartium item Graviscanorum.* 18. *Praefectus Urbi.* 19. *Cos. II (anno 204).*

Inscription of C. Caelius Saturninus (*C. I. L.*, vol. vi. 1,705):—1. *Fisci advocatus per Italiam.* 2. *Sexagenarius studiorum adjutor.* 3. *Sexagenarius a consiliis sacris.* 4. *Ducenarius a consiliis (sacris).* 5. *Magister libellorum.* 6. *Magister studiorum.* 7. *Vicarius a consiliis sacris.* 8. *Magister censuum.* 9. *Rationalis vicarius per Gallias.* 10. *Rationalis private.* 11. *Vicarius summæ rei rationum.* 12. *Praefectus annonæ Urbis.* 13. *Examinator per Italiam.* 14. *Vicarius praefectorum praetorio bis, in urbe Roma et per Mysias.* 15. *Judex sacrarum cognitionum.* 16. *Vicarius praefecturae Urbis.* 17. *Comes domini nostri Constantini Victoris Augusti.* 18. *Allectus petiti senatus inter consulares.* 19. *Praefectus praetorio.*

¹ See p. 370.

² . . . *Omniibus in fraudem civilium munerum* (*Code Just.*, xii. 34, 2).

³ *Amm. Marcellinus*, xv. 5, § 8: *admissionum magistrum.* Böcking, *Not. dign.*, i. 237, and ii. 305. The *Magister officiorum* commanded the countless personnel of the palace and of the manufactures of arms. His duties explain his insignia.

gave daily admittance were subjected to this servile ceremonial.¹ All became sacred, the palace of the emperor as well as his person, his words and his acts. Never in our European world had man so much encroached upon divinity.

It was not for the gratification of a puerile vanity that Diocletian placed himself outside the pale of common life, and condemned himself to an ostentatious *ennui*. The man who had said that the best monarch, the most prudent, the wisest, always is in danger of being sold by his courtiers,² was not ignorant of the advantages to be derived from a free communication between the sovereign and the subjects; but he believed that there would be fewer revolutions in the state when there should be more respect for the ruler; that imperial majesty would be more imposing in the twilight where he proposed to keep it; that a servility of words and attitudes would guarantee in the interests of public tranquillity a servility in men's minds; that, finally, obedience would be better secured by a pomp of ceremonies and the severe forms of authority. It was a calculation which might indeed be true for old dynasties, the object of public homage, and for a clergy speaking in the name of heaven; but it was false as made by those who demanded of official etiquette a force that historic circumstances did not give it. Diocletian, rising from so low to so high a condition, had experience enough to know what these outside shows were worth, what a burden this sumptuous court, imitated by the other Augustus and by the Cæsars, would impose upon the treasury; what a deleterious effect it would exercise on the already effeminate minds of men, in a time which demanded all possible effort to make them more virile. But the servility of the Asiatic races and of an Empire in its decline made him believe in the happy effects of this stately ceremonial.

Diocletian destroyed the fiction of a delegation of authority by the people to the emperor. He was unwilling to retain any of the former powers, the citizens, the senate, the army; and from the

¹ . . . *quibus aditum vestri dabant ordines dignitatis; et . . . admissis qui sacros vultus adoraturi erant* (*Pan.*, iii. 11). See *Entrop.*, ix. 26. The title of *dominus* is not, however, found on the coins of Diocletian (*Eckhel*, vol. viii. p. 14), but he allowed it to be given him: *Dominum dici passus*, says *Aur. Victor* (*Cæs.*, 39), *parentem egit*.

² *Vopiscus, Aur.*, 43.

authority which his generals had given him he constructed a sort of divine right which he communicated freely to his colleague and to the successors chosen by himself alone. The sovereignty had again changed hands. From the forum and the curia it had passed into the camps; now it was held within the palace.¹ The court of Diocletian was an importation into the European world of customs to which certain modern royalties have fallen heir. It created that factitious social condition in which the mind grows fine and acute, and politeness and elegance give the most charming exterior; but in which manners too often become corrupt and characters degraded—where life is made up of flatteries, of secret treasons, and of beggary. Under Diocletian none of these evils appeared, for the reason that he imposed upon his courtiers a respect for the law as well as for himself; but after him were opened “those voracious mouths”² whereby Constantine suffered his people to be preyed upon, and the splendours of Constantinople were to ruin the finances of the Empire, as later the magnificent follies of the old Bourbon monarchy exhausted the resources of France.

In presence of these innovations the ancient things languished or died. Rome ceased to be the capital of the world; nothing went into it, and all things went out from it—all affairs of importance, gay and noisy life, barrack riots, palace tragedies. To the eye the stage remained nearly as Augustus had constructed it. If there were no longer emperors on the Palatine, there were always consuls in their curule chairs, senators under their laticlaves, an assembly of the dead, in a city which was entering upon its new rôle, that of the greatest museum in the world.

There was no place at all for Oriental kings in a city filled with memories of the senatorial Republic and the popular Empire. The liberty of speech, the habits of familiarity with their rulers that the people had kept, would have been grave infractions of the etiquette of the new court. At the time of the conference of Milan, “Rome,” says the Panegyrist, with his customary bad

¹ The author of the *Actio gratiarum Julio* says that the comitia of Rome were now in the breast of the emperor: . . . *in sacri pectoris comitio* (*Pan. vet.*, xi. 15), an awkward imitation of the words of Plautus in *Epidicus*, i. 2, which are at least witty: *jam senatum convocabo in corde consiliorum*.

² Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 8.



Echeli del. Bosso pinxit

Imp. Fraillery

Damegeorgez chromolith

CONSULAR DIPTYCH OF FLAVIUS FELIX

taste, "Rome looked from her hill-tops endeavouring to catch a glimpse of her emperors in the distance."¹ But she saw nothing coming. The Augusti remained occupied with the affairs of the Empire, and, paying no attention to Rome, returned to protect the frontiers.

Diocletian had received the purple in Nicomedia, at the hands of his comrades in arms; he kept it without asking from the senate a confirmation of his titles. Incessantly he made laws: we have 1,200 of his rescripts, and not one of them was prepared by the assembly which had been the great council of the Empire. Up to this time the senate had appeared to make the consular elections: it was a pure formality, but precious, nevertheless, to the vanity of a body of men who were not at all exacting. Diocletian now took the appointment of consuls into his own hands.² Thus to drop the veil which hid the nothingness of its authority was a public insult; the senate were justly incensed; there followed imprudent words, possibly conspiracies, certainly executions. Diocletian did not pay these senile ebullitions the honour to concern himself personally with them; he gave the matter in charge to Maximian, well suited to such a duty.³

¹ . . . e speculis suorum montium prospicere conata (*Pan. vet.*, iii. 12).

² The coloured plate represents a consular diptych, that of Flavius Felix, "a very illustrious man, *comes* and *magister* of the two military services, patrician and *consul ordinarius*," who was consul of the West in 428. There exists only one more ancient diptych, that of Probus, consul in 406, under Honorius.

The consul standing, in his place in the theatre, holds the long consular sceptre surmounted by a globe, which bears the busts of the reigning emperors, Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. The inscription is as follows: FL(avii) FELICIS V(iri) C(larissimi) COM(itis) AC MAG(istri).

This diptych was long preserved entire in the abbey of Saint Junien de Limoges. The panel here given was brought in 1808 to the Cabinet of Medals in Paris. The other is lost, but we know it from the publications of Mabillon, *Annales ordinis Benedictini*: of Banduri, *Imperium orientale*: of Gori, *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum*, i. p. 120. Ch. Lenormant has also reproduced it in the *Trésor de numism. et de glyptique*. The consular diptychs were double tablets of ivory which the consuls distributed to the senators on taking office. Justinianus, consul of the East in 521, inscribed upon his diptych:

*Munera parva quidem pretio, sed honoribus alma,
Patribus ista meis offero consul ego.*

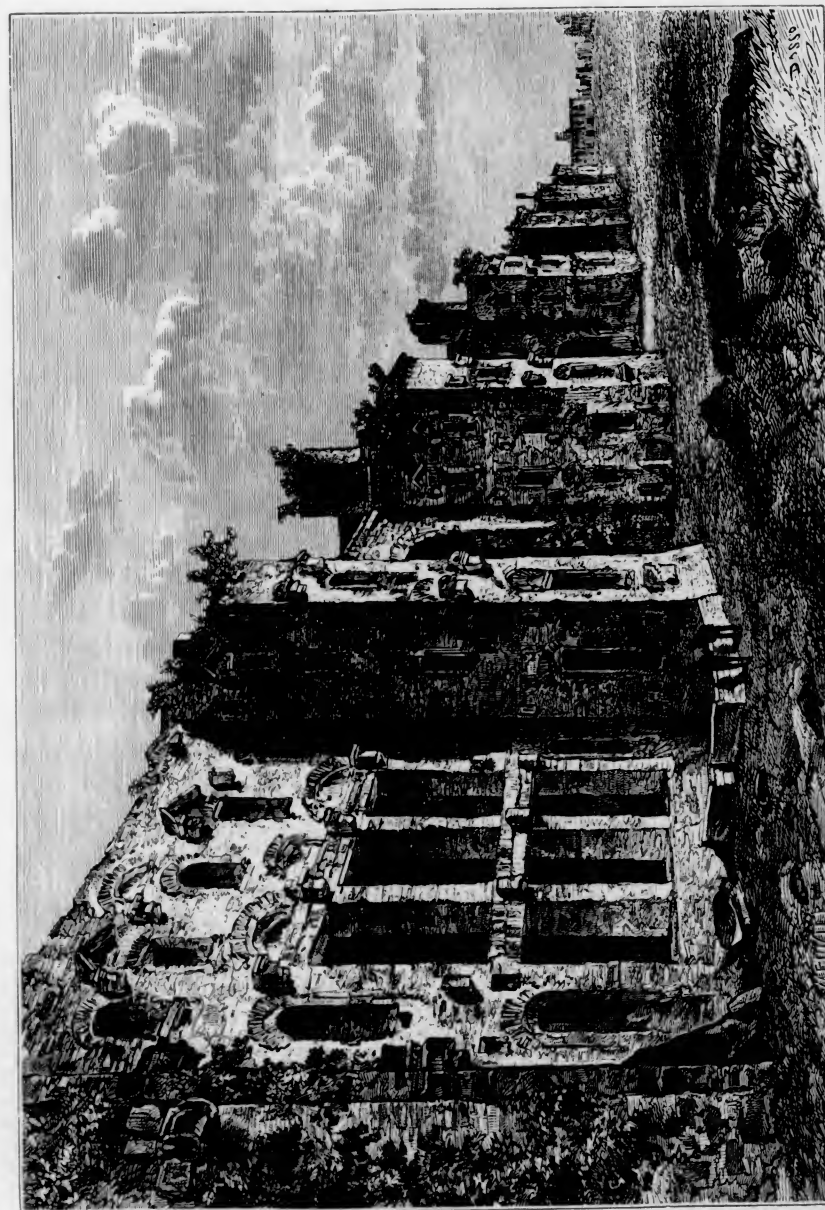
This is the use of the consular diptychs perfectly indicated. A law of the *Theodosian Code*, made in 384 under Valentinian II. and Theodosius, grants to the consuls exclusively the right of distributing these ivory diptychs: *exceptis consulibus ordinariis nulli prorsus alteri diptycha ex eboré dandi facultas sit*. See Chabouillet, *Revue des Sociétés savantes*, 5th series, vol. vi. 1873.

³ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 8: . . . Non deerant locupletissimi senatores qui suburnatis indicibus affectasse imperium dicerentur (*Aur. Victor*, 39).

The praetorian prefect, the man once called "the king's sword," remained a person of importance, but he ceased to be dangerous. His military authority was almost suppressed by the formation of four distinct armies; by the regular and no longer accidental appointment of *magistri militum*, who left the prefect only the care of the commissariat and the pay;¹ lastly, by the suppression of the corps of *frumentarii*, which gave him absolute power over the lives and fortunes of the principal men of the provinces. In the Early Empire it was not considered wise to multiply the administrative *personnel*, and yet many functionaries were necessary for the conduct of public affairs, and particularly for the maintenance of public order, which, necessary in every civilized country, is pre-eminently so in a monarchical country. The army fulfilled this duty. From the first days of the Empire it had furnished officers to protect the interests of Rome in the free cities, for instance Byzantium, or among turbulent allies like the Batavi and the Moors; later it furnished soldiers and centurions who were retained at Rome, *frumentarii*, under the authority of the praetorian prefect. After being trained for their new trade they were sent into the provinces to see and hear, and afterwards tell what they had ascertained. By their reports the *frumentarii* often gave cause for accusations even against the governors of provinces.² Hence their odious reputation, and the joy caused by their suppression. With his new administrative system, Diocletian had no longer need of this vast system of espionage which had given the praetorian prefects so formidable

¹ Under Constantine, who made them exclusively civil functionaries, there were four praetorian prefects; the opinion of Zosimus (ii. 32) seems most correct, that there were but two under Diocletian, as there were but two Augusti. The prefect Asclepiodotus, who aided Constantius against Allectus, was probably Maximian's praetorian prefect, and still held the early military position attached to this office. As to the *magistri*, they had existed from time to time during the third century; thus Aurelian, under Valerian and Claudius, held the *militia magisterium*, either for command or inspection of camps and fortresses (*Hist. Aug. Aur.*, 9, 11, and 17). An officer like this was too useful for Diocletian not to have made it a permanent position. (Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 7.) The exact duties we do not know; it was doubtless a great service of inspection and command, which received from Constantine its definite form when he instituted two *magistri militum*, one for the infantry, the other for the cavalry.

² M. L. Renier has thus explained the character of the *frumentarii*, contrary to the opinion which represented them as officers employed in the commissariat. We know that centurions were employed in mines and quarries as superintendents of the works. With the Romans the army was useful for all purposes.



Ruins of the Baths of Diocletian.

a weapon.¹ He attached so much importance to having it known that all could rely upon the justice of the emperor that, in the rescript entitled: "Concerning those who, through fear of the judge, have not dared to appeal," he says: "If thou hast not appealed from the sentence pronounced against thee it is because thou hast accepted it, for in our sacred court thou hadst nothing to fear."²

As for the prætorians, their number was gradually diminished by sending malcontents into the legions, and the haughty band which had made and unmade so many emperors, descended without resistance to the condition of a guard of city watch, as this senate, which had governed the world, was reduced to being only the municipal council of Rome. And thus the two ancient powers, so long enemies, were perishing together. The strength of the urban cohorts, who were under the command of the præfect of the city, was also reduced.³

The Augusti substituted for their body-guard of prætorians two battalions levied in the Illyrian provinces. These soldiers took the names of the emperors, being called the Jovian and the Herculean, and, proud of being fellow-countrymen of their masters, they exhibited towards them absolute fidelity.⁴

The Dalmatian, who cared so little about the people whom his predecessors had courted, desired to let the Romans behold in

¹ Constantine re-established this police service, intrusting it to *agentes in rebus*.

² *Code Just.*, vii. 67, 1.

³ *Inminuto prætoriarum cohortium atque in armis vulgi numero* (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 39; Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 13). After his victory over Maxentius, Constantine suppressed the prætorians, whose name thenceforward is lost to history. From the middle of the third century, the emperors, always absent from Rome, and always distrustful of the prætorians, had given themselves a private guard, composed of two corps, infantry and cavalry, who were called *domestici* and *protectores*.

⁴ Zosimus, iii. 30. In respect to what may be called the line, Diocletian doubtless began that dismemberment of the legions which Constantine systematically continued. In the time of Hyginus the legion was still composed of 6,000 men; but Diocletian, having constructed many castles and fortresses along the line of the frontiers, wished, no doubt, to have them guarded by small bodies of troops, which should have, nevertheless, their complement both of men and munitions. For this service the legion was too numerous, and it became necessary to reduce it. From his reign on, the word *schola* takes the signification of a detachment of soldiers, a sense in which we find it both in the *Code* and in Amm. Marcellinus. It would seem that Hyginus wrote his book, *de Munitionibus castrorum*, in the beginning of the third century; it is, therefore, useless to us for the period of the tetrarchy; that of Vegetius, *Epitome rei militaris*, composed between 384 and 395, does not distinguish times, so that neither does it give us the military organization of Diocletian.

their city a monument of his ostentation; and he caused to be built on the Viminal, with a disdainful magnificence, baths more extensive than those of Titus and Caracalla.¹

Rome was now but an ordinary city; Italy but a province. Up to this time she had been required to furnish only the provisions necessary for the palace and for the troops stationed in the capital or in the peninsula, *Italia annonaria*. Diocletian subjected her to the land-tax, which since the time of Augustus she had never paid. He thus effaced a privilege offensive to the rest of the Empire rather than created any considerable financial advantage, for the tax was moderate at first. The country adjacent to Rome as far as a hundred miles from the walls, *urbicaria regio*, remained exempt from the contributions to which the rest of annony Italy was subjected.²

The *consilium*, already reconstructed by Hadrian, became the *consistorium sacrum*, a sort of council of state, composed of the principal persons of the Empire, and filling, in the administration, the place vacated by the senate. It deliberated in the presence of the emperor upon subjects which he laid before it;³ this council assisted him in the exercise of his judicial functions, and a part or all of the members accompanied him in his journeys and in his residences at Nicomedia, Antioch, and Sirmium. Finally, we see that he made a reform in the general maintenance of order throughout the Empire.

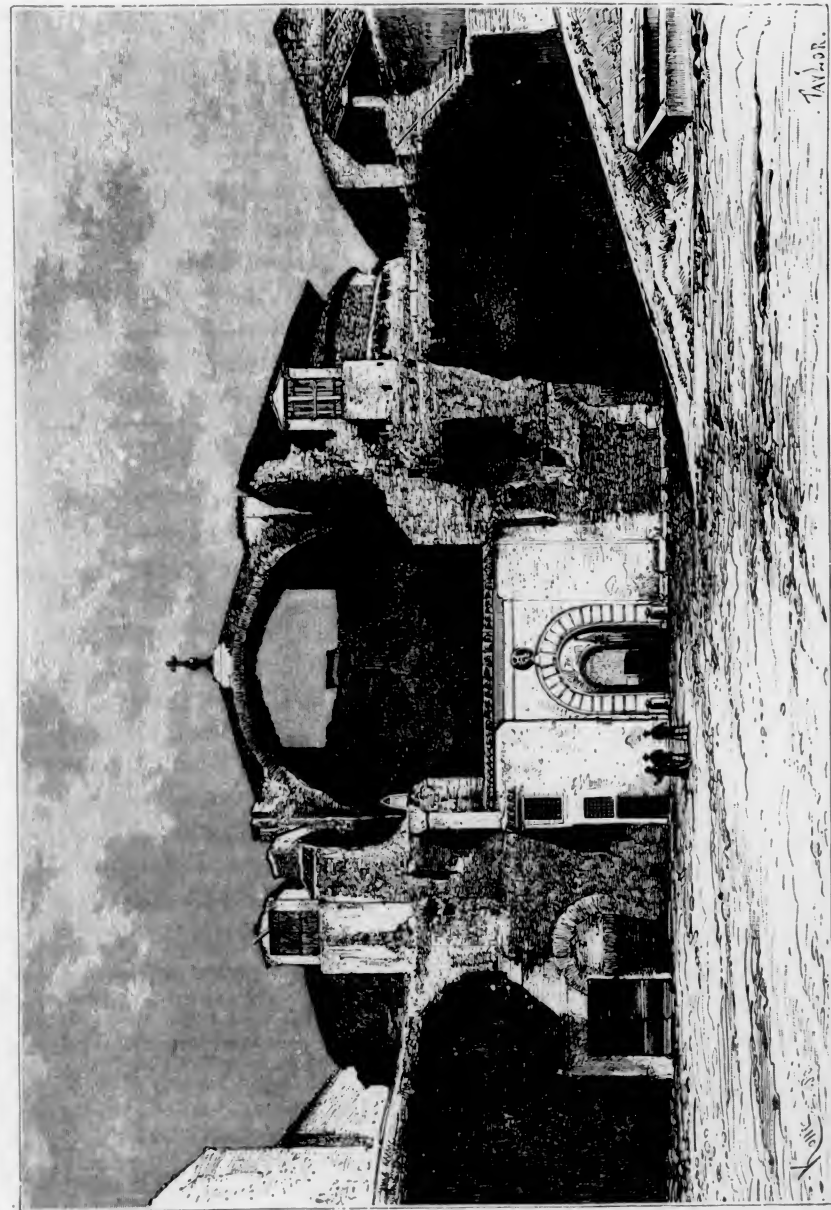
We mention, in passing, the completion of the judicial evolution which had been going on since the beginning of the Empire: the *cognitio extra ordinem*, substituted for the formulary procedure; in criminal cases the *inquisitio* or information, formerly the part of the accuser, now made officially by the magistrate; in civil cases, the twofold prosecution, first before the prætor, *in jure*, and then before the judge, *in judicio*, replaced by the single suit before the judge, a state functionary.⁴ The judicial system of the Republic,

¹ There were many other buildings erected by Diocletian at Rome, at Antioch (Malalas, xii. p. 306), at Nicomedia, etc. Cf. Orelli, Nos. 1,047, 1,052, 1,054, 1,055, 1,056, etc., and Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 7. An inscription very recently discovered shows an African city, which the rebels had destroyed, rebuilt by Diocletian and Maximian.

² Aur. Victor, 39. Cf. Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 23.

³ *Imp. Diocl. et Maxim. A.A., in consistorio dixerunt* (Code, ix. 47, 12). The members of the council received as salary 60,000, 100,000, and 200,000 sesterces, as we know from the inscription of Saturninus.

⁴ The prætor had the *jurisdictio*, that is to say, the right to grant or refuse an action. The



Ruins of the Baths of Diocletian. Entrance to the Church of S. Maria dei Angeli.

which Augustus preserved, was entirely unsuited to the new imperial monarchy. Formerly the magistrate did not intervene in the case except by the *judicis datio*; henceforth, he was to concern himself with it at every stage; and the judges being, as public functionaries, the delegates of the emperor, the sovereign might revise their sentences, either directly or by the *vice sacra judicantes*, who would make in his name a second trial, of which he would accept or reverse the decisions. All civil and criminal justice thus came to be in the emperor's own hands; and thence it followed that when the venality of the last century of the Republic re-appeared in the Later Empire, justice as well as the administration was polluted by it, the two being then blended.¹

The municipal law of Cæsar had ordered for Italy a quinquennial census. To accomplish this for the entire Empire was difficult; accordingly, in the time of Ulpian, it took place only every ten years. The minute description that Ulpian has left us of it proves what scrupulous care the Romans employed in making an equitable apportionment of the taxes.² At the expiration of each decennial period a new valuation of land was made, on the declaration of the owners, subject to correction by the *censitor*. Lactantius speaks of this necessary revision in terms of alarm which have misled later writers; it has been thought that Lactantius revealed outrageous exactions, commenced by Diocletian and continued by Galerius,³ when in reality only one of the most ancient

action being allowed, he named judges who were specially appointed for each case. These judges had the *cognitio*, or first inquiry, and could be readily challenged and set aside. When they were not selected exclusively from one of the great political bodies (as they were in the last century of the Republic), citizens possessed guarantees against the interested sentences of magistrates and against arbitrary action on the part of government. The law of Diocletian, which is of the year 294, is found in the *Code of Justinian*, iii. 3, 2.

¹ In respect to this change, see above, p. 574, and Puchta, *Instit.*, vol. ii. p. 261, § 182; Walter, § 743; Bethmann-Hollweg, iii. 104, and Cuq, *Le Magister sacrarum cognitionum*, or chief of department, who made the preliminary investigation of matters submitted to the emperor. The right of appeal to the sovereign had, since the time of Augustus, modified the judicial organization of the Republic. The reorganization of the imperial council by Hadrian, who made it into a high court of judicature, had prepared the way for the reform accomplished by Diocletian. The emperor was then the source of all justice.

² *Digest*, l. 15, 4.

³ *Agri glebatim metiebantur: rites et arbores numerabantur: animalia omnis generis scribebantur: hominum capita notabantur* (*de Morte pers.*, 23). The *Theodosian Code* (ix. 42, 7) shows the regularity of the work which had been done ever since the time of Augustus and before him: . . . *quod spatium et quod sit raris ingenium: quid aut cultum sit aut coletur: quid in vineis, olivis, aratoriis, pascuis, silvis fuerit inventum.*

customs of the imperial administration should be recognized here. Diocletian, who multiplied offices and lined all the frontiers with defensive works, must have been obliged to create means for so many expenses. Taxes certainly were increased; perhaps it was he who made general the tax of twelve and a half per cent. formerly levied on articles of luxury¹ alone; and if he abolished the five per cent. on inheritances and on enfranchisements, of which we find no trace after his time,² he increased the tax of one per cent. upon sales, which is later mentioned as a very heavy burden;³ but the re-establishment of order and industry prevented the weight of public expenses from being very much felt; Aurelius Victor had already shown us that under Diocletian they were easily borne.

A document recently discovered attributes to this emperor a curious simplification in the administration of the finances.⁴

Like Augustus he divided the lands into various categories: vineyards, olive-yards (two classes), corn-lands (three classes), and meadows, which were taxed in proportion to their supposed productiveness. To render the collection more easy, he formed a taxable unit, *jugum* or *caput*, including lands of different character and unequal extent, which taken together had the same value, 100,000 sesterces or 1,000 aurei (£600), owed the state an equal sum.⁵ Thus five *jugera* of vineyards or twenty *jugera* of arable land of the first quality made a *caput*. Forty *jugera* of second quality and sixty of third were required; 225 olive-trees in full bearing, or 450 mountain olive-trees, *in monte*, to constitute a like taxable unit. The *jugum* or *caput* was therefore not a mathematical but a taxable unit.⁶ Every financial district comprised a certain

¹ *Code Just.*, iv. 61, 7: . . . *octavas* more solito *constitutas*, under Gratian. We have seen Diocletian much occupied during the negotiations with Persia by the question of the *portorium*. The enormous duties paid at Palmyra (above, p. 569, n. 1) show that the tax of 12½ per cent. could not have been a *maximum* established only in certain places.

² An inscription of Gruter does indeed place, under Valens, a *procurator XX hered.*, but this inscription is doubly suspicious, both by the manner in which it is composed and from the writer, Panvinio, who gives it. Orelli (i. p. 59) says of him: *dubia omnino haud raro ejus est fides*.

³ Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, iv. 19.

⁴ The *Syrisches Rechtsbuch*, published by Bruns in 1880.

⁵ *Nov. Major.*, vii. 16; *Nov. Valent.*, iii. 5, § 4; Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, ii. 37. The taxable unit had not everywhere the same name, nor, perhaps, the same extent: in Africa it was the *centuria*; in Italy, the *millena*; and it is said in the *Theodosian Code* (xi. 20, 6): . . . *sive quo alio nomine nuncupantur*.

⁶ Mommsen, *ap. Hermes*, iii. 430, and Marquardt, ii. 219. Every proprietor gave personally

number of them, and this number determined the amount due from the whole district. According to the needs of the government the sum of the whole tax was raised or lowered (*indicebat*, whence *indiction*), as in France the percentages are added or taken off. When government consented to make a reduction in the case of a proprietor or of a city, the number of *capita* were diminished which were ascribed to the city or the man in the registers of the census.¹ Hence the request inspired by the classic souvenir of the labours of Hercules: "Regard us as Geryones; and the tribute, the monster; that I may live, cut off three heads."²

The sum imposed by the state upon the financial district was made known to the decurions of the city, who apportioned the tax among the *possessores*, collected it, and gave over to the agents of the treasury the sum demanded by the emperor. If there was any deficit, it was made good from the property of the decurions; that is to say, they were held responsible for the tax.³ The citizens are always so, since the deficits in the budgets can be made up only by them; but among the moderns, it is the entire mass of tax-payers who make the sum complete; under the Empire it was a particular class, and the responsibility ended by crushing it.

Notwithstanding these precautions the taxes did not always

to the imperial officer, *censitor*, in the presence of the other tax-payers who were interested in his declaration (*professio*) being truthful, the amount of his fortune, as is done in England in the income tax. *Omnia ipse, qui defert, aestimet* (*Digest*, l. 15, 4). If required, discussion followed, and a false declaration entailed confiscation. This is stated in the *Theodosian Code* (vi. 2, 2) in the case of senators, and was still more likely to exist with others. The census, originally quinquennial, later decennial, appears to have been made, after 312, at intervals of fifteen years, which gave origin to the method of reckoning by *indictiones*.

¹ Thus the territory of Autun contained 32,000 *jugera*, which Constantine reduced to 25,000. (*Pan. vet.*, viii. 11.) Julian diminished in Gaul the tax for each *caput* from 15 to 7 aurei. (Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 5, 14.) The *Theodosian Code* (vi. 20, 6) speaks of *capita relevata vel aderata levius*. The basis of the *caput* served even in the matter of furnishing supplies by the *possessores*: in Thrace, twenty *capita*; in Scythia and Mœsia, thirty; in Egypt, in the East, in Asia, and Pontus, thirty-three (?) collectively are required to furnish a military garment. (*Hist. Aug.*, Gordian, iii. 28, and *Theodosian Code*, vii. 6, 3.)

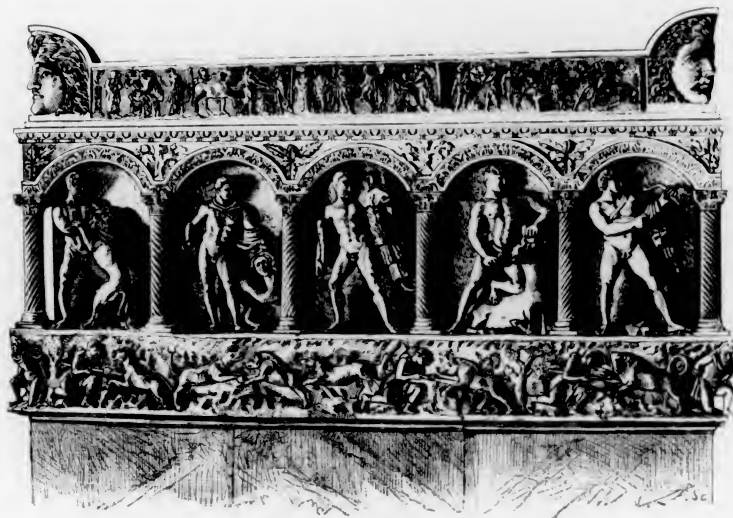
² *Geryones nos esse puta, monstrumque tributum:*

Hic capita, ut viram, tu mihi tolle tria.

(Sid. Apollin., *Carm.*, xiii. 19.)

³ . . . *decaproti et icosaproti . . . pro omnibus defunctorum fiscalia detrimenta resarciunt* (*Digest*, l. 4, i. § 1; 3, § 10; 18, § 26). The latter law (18, §§ 1-30) should be read in all its details in order to understand the extent of the *munera civilia*. The lists of the apportionment were preserved in the *tabularium* of each city by the *tabularii civitatum* (*Theodosian Code*, xi. 28, 3); several of these are in existence; for example, that of the Volceii, in the country of the Lucanians, for the year 323. (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 216.)

come in readily, for the reason that, since the Romans raised their principal public revenue from real estate, this was overwhelmed by the burdens laid upon it. Accordingly there were insolvent *possessores*, ruined *curiales*,¹ proprietors who in order the better to sell their land had kept back the payment of the arrears



The Labours of Hercules.²

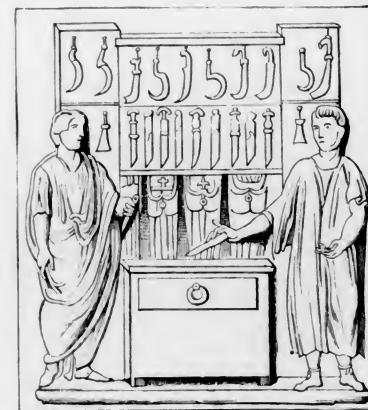
with which the property was burdened, not paying it at all—a dead loss to the treasury, since they possessed nothing else with which to answer to the treasury for their debt.³ Thus arrears accumulated. *reliqua*, for recovery of which the advocate of the treasury instituted proceedings, usually upon information given by a *delator*, whose trade was encouraged by a premium of a fourth

¹ The *curiales* were doubly responsible: first, towards the state, as members of the committee of ten or of twenty (*decemprini, decaproti, icosaproti*), or simply as *curiales* required to collect the tax (Papinian, in the *Digest*, l. i. 17, § 7); second, towards the city as magistrates, financial or administrative (Ulpian in the *Digest*, l. 2, § 8). In each case their fortunes were at stake, and it so often happened that they lost it in the public service, that it was established that in such cases the city owed them support. (*Digest*, l. 2, § 8.)

² Bas-relief from a sarcophagus of the Borghesi villa. Under the principal design is represented the chase of the leopard, the wild boar, and the wild bull. Upon the other side of the same sarcophagus are represented other exploits of Hercules and similar hunting scenes. In vol. v. p. 399, we have already given a sarcophagus, called a cinerary urn, on which are represented subjects of the same kind.

³ Constantine renewed in 319 (*Theodosian Code*, xi. 3, 1) the prohibition long ago made against bargains of this kind (*Digest*, l. 15, 5).

part of the sums recovered, *quadruplator*. From time to time policy dictated to the emperor the relinquishment of these arrears. This was done by Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Aurelian; and later, by Constantine.¹ There is no mention in any document of a like measure adopted by Diocletian; but the relief granted by Constantine in 310 embraces only the *reliqua* of the five years preceding;² which gives ground to suppose that his great predecessor had left none.



Small Trades: a Cutler's Shop.
(From a Bas-relief.)



Field Labourers surrounding a Ploughshare.
(Engraved Stone; Caylus, v. pl. 83, 6.)

Diocletian confirmed all the privileges which had been accorded in preceding reigns to the decurions³ and the authority of the municipal laws, from which the governors were not allowed to derogate;⁴ he even exempted from the capitation tax the artisans in cities, *plebs urbana*, for the small landed possessions they might hold in the country.⁵ But pre-occupied as were his predecessors with securing the performance of all public duties in the cities, he took care not to let the *possessores* withdraw from these cares,⁶ making, however, the obligation of the *munera personalia* cease for them at

¹ Hadrian remitted £8,000,000.

² *Paneg. vet.*, viii. 13.

³ *Code Theod.*, ix. 41, 11, and 47, 12; x. 31, 4, and 42, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 49, 1; xi. 29, 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii. 10, 2. The words of this rescript addressed to the presidents of Lycia and Pamphylia: *sicut in orientalibus provinciis observatur*, show that the immunity granted by Diocletian had been abolished in the provinces of Galerius. (Lactantius, 23.) In 313 Constantine and Licinius re-established it throughout the entire Empire.

⁶ *Theod. Code*, x. 41. 6-10.

the age of fifty-five.¹ That he never accorded exemption from the



Library of the Later Empire. (From Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte crist.*)



Changer or Verifier of Money. (From a Painted Glass.)

urbani exempt from capitation; the *rusticani*, who pay it. These

capitation tax to the rural population was due to the fact that this favour would have been profitable only to the great land-owners who were responsible to the treasury for their coloni;² the peasants therefore remained subject to the capitation, to the *annona*, and to the compulsory labour and the furnishing of extra supplies; but the ordinance *Ne rusticani, ad ullum obsequium devocentur*,³ protected them against all other dues or taxes; and when the cities made an attempt to throw off upon the country the superindictions, under pretence that they were tributes *extra ordinem*, he established distinctly that these were to be paid by the *possessores*.⁴ Finally, by another ordinance, he declared that the colonist who had fulfilled the terms of his contract should not be held responsible for the debts of his landlord.⁵ We have seen the formation of a new social condition, that of the colonist; we now see another division made among the inhabitants of the Empire: the

¹ *Theod. Code*, 49, 3. The exemption was valid only *si inopia civium non est* (*ibid.*, 2).

² *Ibid.*, XI, i, 4.

³ *Ibid.*, xi, 54, 1. An ordinance, undated, but signed with the names of Diocletian and Maximian.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x, 41, 10: . . . *quandoquidem ea patrimonii munera esse constet*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, 10, 3, anno 286.

divisions announce the approach of the mediæval period, the time, that is to say, of inequality and rural distress.

In abolishing the capitation tax for the *plebs urbana*, Diocletian favoured the lesser industries. He attempted to assist legitimate traffic by two other measures, the one excellent, the other bad: a monetary reform which Constantine was later to complete, and the establishment of a maximum price for articles of daily use. We have seen what evils were caused by the monetary crisis of the second half of the third century. Under the idea that to give to a piece of metal whatever value they liked, it sufficed to engrave the emperor's name upon it, the Roman government had ended by putting in circulation pieces of silver and gold which contained neither silver nor gold. But when the buyer offered to a dealer, in exchange for what the latter had to sell, a piece of copper coated with tin, it was natural that the trader should require before parting with his merchandise a large amount of this copper, whatever might be the designation which the authorities had attached to the piece. Very high prices resulted therefore from the depreciation of the currency, and the whole state was disturbed by a false economic idea. Diocletian easily saw the cause of this evil; but he thought he could remedy it by an act of supreme power. "All men know," he says, in the preface to his edict, "that articles of traffic and objects of daily use have attained exorbitant prices, four or eight times their true value, or even more than that; so that, through the avarice of monopolists, the provisioning of our armies becomes impossible. We have therefore determined to fix, not the price of these articles, which would be unjust, but the maximum which in each case they will not be allowed to exceed." Many fragments of this edict remain to us; the following are some of the items:

	£ s. d.
Rye (per bushel)	6 3
Oats "	3 0
Common Wine (per quart)	0 10
" Oil "	1 3
Pork (per lb.)	0 10
Beef "	0 10
Mutton and Goat (per lb.)	0 6½
Lard, first quality "	1 1
A Pair of Chickens	3 0
" Ducks	2 0
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	£	s.	d.
A Hare	7	5	
A Rabbit	2	0	
Oysters (a hundred)	5	0	
Eggs "	5	0	
Field Labourer's Wages (and food) a day	1	3	
Mason or Carpenter's Wages (and food) a day	2	6	
House Painter's " " "	3	8	
Decorative Painter's " " "	7	5	
Shepherd's " " "	1	0	
Barber's " (per person)	1	4	
Reading Master's " (per month, one pupil)	2	6	
Arithmetic " " "	3	9	
Writing " " "	2	6	
Grammar " " "	10	0	
To the Rhetorician or Sophist " " "	12	5	
" Lawyer for an Inquiry	10	0	
To the Lawyer for obtaining a Judgment	2	9	8
" Bath Attendant (per bather)	1	4	
Nailless Shoes of Muleteer or Peasant	6	0	
Horse's Bridle with Bit	5	0	
An Oilskin	5	0	
Hire of an Oilskin (per day)	1	4	
Pack-saddle for a Mule or Camel	17	4	
" " an Ass	12	5	
Woman's Boxwood Comb	8	1	

"As a whole these prices differ but little from city prices in our own time; the dearness of common wine is perhaps the thing most noteworthy, the more so since wine was abundant in all the provinces of the Empire; possibly it paid to the treasury a high tax, comprised in the duty on sales."¹

We have not the right to reproach Diocletian severely for the economic fault he committed, for fifteen centuries later the Convention in France again established by law a maximum of prices. The event showed that no human will could prevail in matters like these against the force of circumstances. The dealers, required to sell at a lower price than they had paid, concealed their commodities; the difficulty increased, street brawls followed, in which blood was shed, and it became necessary to let the law drop into disuse.²

But that which the edict could not effect by order, the monetary reform, which took place between 296 and 301, did by degrees. Diocletian coined *argentei*, of which ninety-six were made

¹ Waddington, *Édit. de Dioclétien établissant le maximum dans l'empire romain*, p. 6.

² Lactantius, 7. The edict of *Preiis* is of the year 301.

to the pound, their weight averaging 3.40 gr.;¹ and *aurei* 60 to the pound, weighing therefore 5.42 gr., which gave them an intrinsic value of about 14s. 2½d.;²

lastly, *denarii* of copper, or *folles*, worth 1/16th of an *aureus*, or 0.62 c.³ This last figure is unfortunately uncertain;⁴

it is therefore proper to exercise discretion in respect to the view we have just given, wherein values are stated on the scale of the worth of the copper

denarii, 0.62 c. But if this list does not give veritable prices, it is at least interesting, as it shows relative values existing



DIOCLETIANVS AVG., Laurelled Head. Felix ADVENT(us) AVGG. NN.; Africa holding a Standard and an Elephant's Tusk. (Medium Bronze.)



IMP. C. DIOCLETIANVS P. F. AVG., Laurelled Head. On the Reverse: GENIO POPVLI ROMANI ALE; Genius of the Roman People. (Medium Bronze.)



Argenteus of Diocletian, marked with the Legal Number XCVI. within a wreath.

between different commodities, and in the remuneration of services. As to the effect produced by the monetary reform, it was inevitable: as the circulation

of good money increased, prices fell back to their natural level.

We have already called attention to the legislative activity of

¹ They were called *milliarii* (μυριαρχίον) because it took a thousand of them to equal in value a pound of gold, which shows us that at this time silver was to gold as 1 to 11.

² We have seen that Cæsar made 40 *aurei* from the pound of bullion; Constantine made 72, weighing each 4.55 gr. This piece, called *solidus*, was not again changed until the fall of the Byzantine empire. It is an ordinance of the year 367 which gives 72 *aurei* to the pound; that of the year 325 (*Theod. Code*, xii. 7, 1) says there shall be 7 *solidi* to the ounce of gold, or 84 to the pound (*uncia* = 1/16 of the *libra*); but it was long ago proposed to read in this text *sex* instead of *septem*. A kilogram of pure gold being worth to-day £133 15s. 3d., a Roman pound of 327 grammes of gold represents about £44, which gives the *solidus* an intrinsic value of a little over 12s. Like the *aureus* the *solidus* always bore the effigy of the reigning emperor, and this usage still lasts. Procopius (*Bell. Goth.*, iii. 33) says that a piece of gold bearing any other than the emperor's head would not be received in trade, nor even have currency among the barbarians.

³ In reckoning, the *folles*, or purse, represented 125 *milliarii*, or two purses were equivalent to the ancient *sestertium* (1,000 sesterces). Throughout the Levant, men still compute by purses, and the purse is equal to £4 12s.

⁴ Mommsen reckons the *folles* equal to 1d., while Waddington to about 1/2d. By weight and chemical analysis we are able to determine exactly what quantity of pure metal is found in a coin, and what is the present value of that metal. But it is almost impossible for us to know its relative value in antiquity, that is to say, what debt could be paid, or what merchandise

Diocletian. The *Codes* have preserved 1,200 of his rescripts. Most of these are administrative ordinances, established to regulate the movements of the great machine which he had set at work. Those which concern civil legislation are often merely the repetition of earlier provisions, but to revive good measures and to restore legal force to them is a merit in itself. In these acts elevated sentiments bear sway, and that spirit of justice which marked the decisions of the Antonines. He will not allow the child to refuse



Coin of Diocletian.

support to those who gave him life, the son to be called to testify against the father, the slave against his master, brother against brother, a ward against his guardian. A father complained that his son had plotted against him. "You have the right to

demand justice," the emperor said, "if the sentiments that you ought to feel for your son do not restrain you;"¹ and he declares that a son can neither be sold nor given in pledge by his father.²

He repeats that the tenant (*colonus*) is not liable for the debts of his landlord,³ and charges the judges to remind lawyers of the law,⁴ and even to supply what may be lacking in the pleas, *si quid minus fuerit dictum*.

Like Ulpian he disapproved of the use of torture, and would have the judge resort to this means of obtaining the truth only after everything else had been tried;⁵ and if he called mathematics applied to astrology a damnable art, he declared geometers useful servants of the state.⁶ His justice was alike for all; he repulsed the solicitations made to his superior authority by those who sought to free themselves from a legal obligation. "We are

purchased with such a piece. Another thing disturbs our calculations: the interest in those days was 12 per cent., sometimes, in traffic, 24 per cent., the rate at which in prosperous times the banker Jucundus of Pompeii lent money.

¹ *Code Just.*, viii. 47, 5; *ibid.*, iv. 20, 6; *ibid.*, ix. 1, 13; *ibid.*, ix. 1, 17: *Iniquum et longe a seculi nostri beatitudine esse credimus*; *ibid.*, ix. 1, 14.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 43, 1 and 2.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 11, 1, under the heading: *Ut quæ desunt advocatis partium iudex suppleat*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 41, 8: *Hac ratione universi provinciales nostri fructum ingenitæ nobis benevolentie consequuntur*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 18, 2.

not accustomed," he wrote, "to grant one man an advantage which may be harmful to others."¹ And, on another occasion: "An imperial rescript cannot undo that which has been done according to the law."²

Under this emperor, who had spent so large a part of his life in camps, the soldier was not allowed to lift his head and his voice too high. To selfish demands made from the army, Diocletian answered: "It is not befitting the gravity of the soldier."³ Certain of the troops assuming to retain as slaves some Roman citizens who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and whom they had set free: "The captives," Diocletian wrote, "will be restored to all their former rights; for they have not been taken, but recovered; our soldiers are not their masters, but their defenders only."⁴

The preambles to his edicts are highly moral. One reproaches men with their avarice; another recalls to mind that it is the gods who have given Rome her prosperity, and that they will preserve it only so long as the Romans lead a virtuous and devout life.⁵ These are but commonplaces, in which the most profligate rulers have sometimes taken delight, but nothing comes to us against this emperor's personal morals, and we know by his laws that he proscribed profligacy.⁶

There remain many edicts issued by Diocletian to defend the person and property of his subjects, to prevent frauds in trade, to protect the unwary, the minor, the slave, even the debtor, whom he would not keep in servitude,⁷ in a word, to regulate all things throughout his vast Empire according to justice and humanity.⁸

It was to be feared that the division of the Empire might destroy the unity of legislation and of jurisprudence. To facilitate the work of the tribunals, Diocletian caused a compilation of the

¹ *Code Just.*, viii. 49, 4.

² *Ibid.*, v. 3, 9. See p. 575, n. 1, the precautions taken by him to increase the guarantees of honest justice.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 52, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 51, 12.

⁵ *Code Greg.*, v. de Nuptiis.

⁶ *Code Just.*, iii. 28, 19; viii. 51, 7, and the numerous fragments of Book ix. 9, 19-28.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 10, 12: *Ob æs alienum servire liberos creditoribus, jura compelli non patiuntur*.

⁸ Naudet, *les Changements dans l'administration de l'empire*, pp. 365-371.

imperial laws to be prepared by one of his juriconsults.¹ The *Gregorian Code* is believed to have begun with an ordinance of Hadrian; it is also with this emperor, his precursor in great administrative reforms, that Diocletian caused the *Augustan History* to be commenced.² He desired to place before the eyes of his subjects the political and constitutional life of the Empire during the last two centuries, and this idea had at once the grandeur and the utility which characterize all the acts of his government, one alone excepted, whose gloomy history it remains for us to relate.

Lactantius reproaches the founder of the tetrarchy with his buildings,³ but Trajan and Hadrian erected a great number; with the ostentation of his surroundings, a splendour really useless, which he made the mistake of believing necessary; finally, with the expense required for the maintenance of four courts, and the increase of the administrative staff.⁴ But the well-being of a state is not measured by the taxes that it pays. Very small taxes are heavy in distracted countries, and heavy ones are light to a prosperous people. Now in Diocletian's lifetime his expenditures had already caused much security,⁵ and they would have occasioned more if his system had endured; for all the productive

¹ The *Gregorian Code* was followed by the *Code of Hermogenianus*; both of them have come down to us in a merely fragmentary condition. The most ancient ordinance given in the former is of the year 196; the most recent of 296 (?). But since the *Gregorian Code* served as a basis to the *Code of Justinian*, which was a collection of the imperial ordinances since the time of Hadrian, it has been thought the ordinances contained in the former commenced with that emperor. The *Codex Hermogenianus* contains, in the *Corpus juris* of Hänel, only the ordinances of Diocletian and Maximian. The *Theodosian Code*, prepared in the reign of Theodosius II., who ordered a collection of all the edicts and ordinances which had been in force since the accession of Constantine, was published in 438. Cf. Hugo, *Hist. du droit rom.*, vol. ii. p. 205.

² Of the six compilers of the *Augustan History*, three wrote in the reign of Diocletian: Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, and Spartianus; the other three, Flavius Vopiscus, Aelius Lampridius, and Julius Capitolinus, were also contemporaries of Diocletian, but do not appear to have published their works until some time in the reign of Constantine. These writers are entirely destitute of talent; but without them we should know almost nothing of the period extending from 117 to 284. We therefore owe gratitude to Diocletian, who stimulated this twofold work of codification and of history.

³ In § 7, *de Morte pers.*, written about the year 313. Diocletian erected palaces and basilicas, baths and porticos, but he also repaired the fortifications of the frontiers and rebuilt many ruined cities. See on this subject, *passim*. Preuss, *Kaiser Diocletian*, pp. 117-120, gives the long list of his public works.

⁴ This augmentation of taxes was, according to Aurelius Victor, easily endured: . . . *Pensionibus inducta lex nova quæ sane illorum temporum modestia tolerabilis, in perniciem processit* (*Cæs.*, 39).

⁵ *Cultura duplicatur . . . ubi silvæ fuere, jam seges est* (*Pan. vet.*, iii. 15).

forces developing themselves in the midst of peace, the Empire would have seen the return of the prosperity which characterized the age of the Antonines. It was great during the twenty years of this emperor's reign; contemporaries attest this, even Lactantius, who extols "the supreme felicity of this period," and the bishop of Cæsarea, who exclaims: "How flourishing was the Empire at that time! Its power increased daily, and it enjoyed an unbroken peace."¹

Peace! this word sums up the whole; Diocletian had been able to secure it, and it might have been preserved by his successors, if, remaining faithful to his system, they had, after the example of the four first rulers, formed, "as it were, a musical choir gathered around the leader who regulated the movement and the measure."²

¹ *Tandiu summa felicitate regnavit, quamdiu manus suas justorum sanguine non inquinaret* (Lactan., *de Morte pers.*, 9; Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 13; see also many passages of Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 39). Burckhardt (*die Zeit Constantins*) discusses the passionate accusations of Lactantius, and leaves none of them standing; he concludes thus (p. 64): *Ueberhaupt möchte seine Regierung, Alles in Allem genommen, eine der besten und wohlcollendsten gewesen sein, welche das Reich je gehabt hat. Sobald man den Blick frei hüllt von dem schrecklichen Bilde der Christenverfolgung und von den Entstellungen und Uebertreibungen bei Lactantius, so nehmen die Züge des grossen Fürsten einem ganz andern Ausdruck an.*

² "Diocletian," says Julian in the *Cæsars*, "presents himself at the banquet of the gods, accompanied by the two Maximians and Constantius, my ancestor. Although they hold each other by the hand they do not come forward in line; they make, as it were, a musical chorus surrounding Diocletian; they would wish to precede him as his guards, but he prevents them because he desires to attribute to himself no honour above his colleagues. . . . After these four, who together formed so beautiful a harmony . . ."

CHAPTER C.

THE ERA OF THE MARTYRS (303-311 A.D.).

I.—THE EDICTS OF PERSECUTION (303).

THE persecution which, commencing under Diocletian, continued for six years after his time, was a terrible one. It has been attributed to the enmity of an old woman,¹ to the cruelty of Galerius, and to the enfeebled mind of an ageing emperor. It was, on the contrary, a well-planned measure of government, a campaign conducted with remarkable ability, but it was also the application of a policy doubly evil, in that it shed blood unjustly and that it did not attain its end; upon Diocletian, who believed it necessary, the responsibility for it must rest.

This Dalmatian, the son of a slave, was worthy of the old Roman stock; he was a man of authority and of cool determination, who decided only after mature reflection, and whose faith in the old cult had not been shaken by the religious novelties brought to Rome from the East. He persecuted the Christians for the reason that he believed them dangerous to the state religion, to military discipline, and to social order. At the beginning of an edict against the Manichæans, he says the same that nine centuries later the Roman Catholic Church was to say, in other words, against the Albigensian Manichæans: "The gods have determined what is just and true; the best men have, by counsel and action, demonstrated and firmly established this. It is not therefore permitted to go counter to this divine and human wisdom, and to assume that a new religion may be better than the old; it is the greatest of crimes to wish to change the institutions of our ancestors."² These are the views of the high pontiff of Rome;

¹ The mother of Galerius, a zealous pagan, whom Lactantius calls . . . *deorum montium cultrix*.

² Preamble to the edict *de Maleficiis et Manicheis* (Gregor. Code, xiv. 4). These were the

the emperor, the statesman, did not at first conform his conduct at all to them. He had respected the edict of Gallienus favouring the Churches, and had suffered the Christians to make their way everywhere, into the army, into the court. Eusebius names many who were living near the emperors and on terms of friendship with them, who were making proselytes even in the very family of Diocletian, whose wife and daughter seem to have been gained over to the faith; and he writes: "It is difficult to tell in what high esteem our doctrine is held, and how great is the liberty which we enjoy. The emperors gave the government of the provinces to many of the believers without requiring them to sacrifice to the gods. They permitted their officers publicly, and accompanied by their wives, their children, and their slaves, to fulfil the duties of religion even in the presence of the emperors themselves. The bishops were honoured and churches were built in all the cities."¹

Mazarin said of the French Protestants of his time: "This little flock browses upon pernicious weeds, but it does not go astray." At this epoch of his reign Diocletian had the same opinion in respect to the Christians. A singular phrase in an edict of 311 aids us to understand this involuntary respect for the Crucified. Galerius, in granting peace to the Christians, says: "Our indulgence lays you under obligation to pray to your God for our health and for the prosperity of the Empire." Galerius manifestly believed that Jesus was a god, and that, like Apollo or Jupiter, he could do men good or harm. With the doctrine of

views of enthusiastic pagans and short-sighted statesmen. The idea that the prosperity of the Empire depended upon an assiduous worship of the gods, was in the mind of the emperor and in the minds of many of his subjects. Vopiscus (in *Caro*, 9) promises Galerius and Diocletian the most brilliant triumphs, *si a nostris non deseratur promissus numinum favor*.

¹ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 6: "Dorotheus and Gorgonus, raised to high office, were loved of the emperors as if they had been their own children." Lucian, chief of the eunuchs, had relations with the bishop of Alexandria, Theonas, who wrote thus to him: *Quanto . . . ipsis Christianis, velut fidelioribus, vitam et corpus suum curandum credidit (Diocletianus), tanto decet vos sollicitiores esse . . . ut per id plurimum Christi nomen glorificetur*. In the same letter Theonas speaks of the peace *per bonum principem ecclesiis concessa*. (Routh, *Reliq. sacr.*, iii. 439.) This letter, the passage of Eusebius which has just been quoted, and the whole history of the reign of Diocletian, prevent us from admitting the opinion, supported by various Roman Catholic writers, that there was an official persecution in the first years of this reign. Official, I have said, because there may have been isolated condemnations, pronounced for assumed crimes against the common law. In respect to Christians who were friends of the emperor, see Le Blant, *Suppl. aux Actes de Ruinart*, p. 76.

the *δαίμονες*, all is explained. In that time of philosophic and religious confusion, pagans and Christians believed in demons: the evil ones were the opponents' gods; the good, those whom the individual himself adored, and all men accepted the miracles attributed to both classes. Diocletian certainly held this opinion, and continued to hold it so long as toleration did not seem to be dangerous.

To prevent revolutions, to render hopeless the intrigues of ambitious men and the insurrections of the soldiery, and to condemn to tranquillity and apprehension the enemies outside, such had been the object of his reign; and up to this time all had yielded to his prudence and his arms. But within a grave difficulty remained which was increasing every day. For forty years the Christians had enjoyed freedom of worship, and their courage had increased with their numbers. They might be heard passionately accusing the whole human race of having lived in mental darkness, save in one remote corner of the world. Nothing had as yet impaired the Roman idea of the family: the domestic worship was always performed on the hearthstone of the parental abode, or at the tombs of their ancestors, and now these beloved dead were condemned to eternal flames. At a time when the state, accepted as a divine existence, claimed the right of governing men's consciences as well as their outward acts, the Christians were in revolt against the gods, and nearly so against the constituted authorities. "Who are you?" Galerius said to them; "a turbulent Jewish sect, which has denied the God of its fathers, and then attacked the gods of the Empire; which has made laws for itself according to its own caprice, and gathers in seditious assemblies."¹ And, in truth, they formed in the midst of the sickly and disordered pagan world a state full of life and hope, for this new republic had what the old had long since ceased to possess: its popular assemblies, its elections, its leaders chosen by common consent, and in its councils that representative system whose force had never been brought to bear in the Empire. Upon whatever

¹ These are the terms of the edict of 311. Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 17; and Lactantius, 34: *Volueramus . . . juxta leges veteres et publicam disciplinam, Romanorum cuncta corrigere atque id providere, ut etiam Christiani, qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam, ad bonas mentes redirent.*

point in the provinces the emperors turned their eyes, they beheld communities of men at once enthusiastic and disciplined, docile at the voice of their pastors, sometimes rebellious against that of the magistrates, having other manners and another spirit from that possessed by their fellow-citizens, strangers in the midst of their native country, indifferent to her and to her fate. Certainly it was a peril for the pagan state, and for the social order which the state represented. In the administrative and in the official world there were many who regretted that the misfortunes of the time, the captivity of Valerian, the weakness of his son, had not permitted the extirpation from the social body of this hostile element which undermined it, and certain incidents seemed to justify this feeling on the part of those blind adherents of a perishing past.

Eusebius speaks of a great agitation of the Churches about this time. Was it perhaps a revival of the old Montanist spirit? Were some hot-headed disciples of Tertullian¹ declaring that the camp-life was incompatible with the Christian life? This we do not know. The soldiers were not volunteers; the service was obligatory, and once enlisted the soldier must remain in the camps for many long years. The tedium of barrack-life, the anxieties of conscience, brought many of them to regard it as impiety to serve idolatrous rulers and as a sacrilege to share in national festivals which the army celebrated with military pomp. It is probable that through the different corps the Christians lived separately, forming *conciliabula* which excited suspicion; that in the cities secret visits to Christian communities were detected which had the air of being intrigues leading to plots. The *Acts* of St. Victor give this last motive as the cause of that martyr's condemnation.

The bishop of Caesarea was the contemporary of the events which he relates, and his testimony is to be received when he has no interest in altering the fact. Now his words authorize us to believe that there were in the army excesses of zeal, and for the sake of religion violations of the military law; that Christians refused to be enrolled, which was desertion; that they refused to

¹ See the *de Corona milit.* of Tertullian, and what he says in chap. xi.: *Credimusne humanum sacramentum divino superduci licere?* "Is it to be believed that the pledge to the emperor can be placed higher than the pledge to God?"

fulfil certain services commanded them, which was a disobedience; or certain obligations resting upon every soldier as such, like the carrying of particular standards, etc. The *Acts* of the martyrs confirm this interpretation.

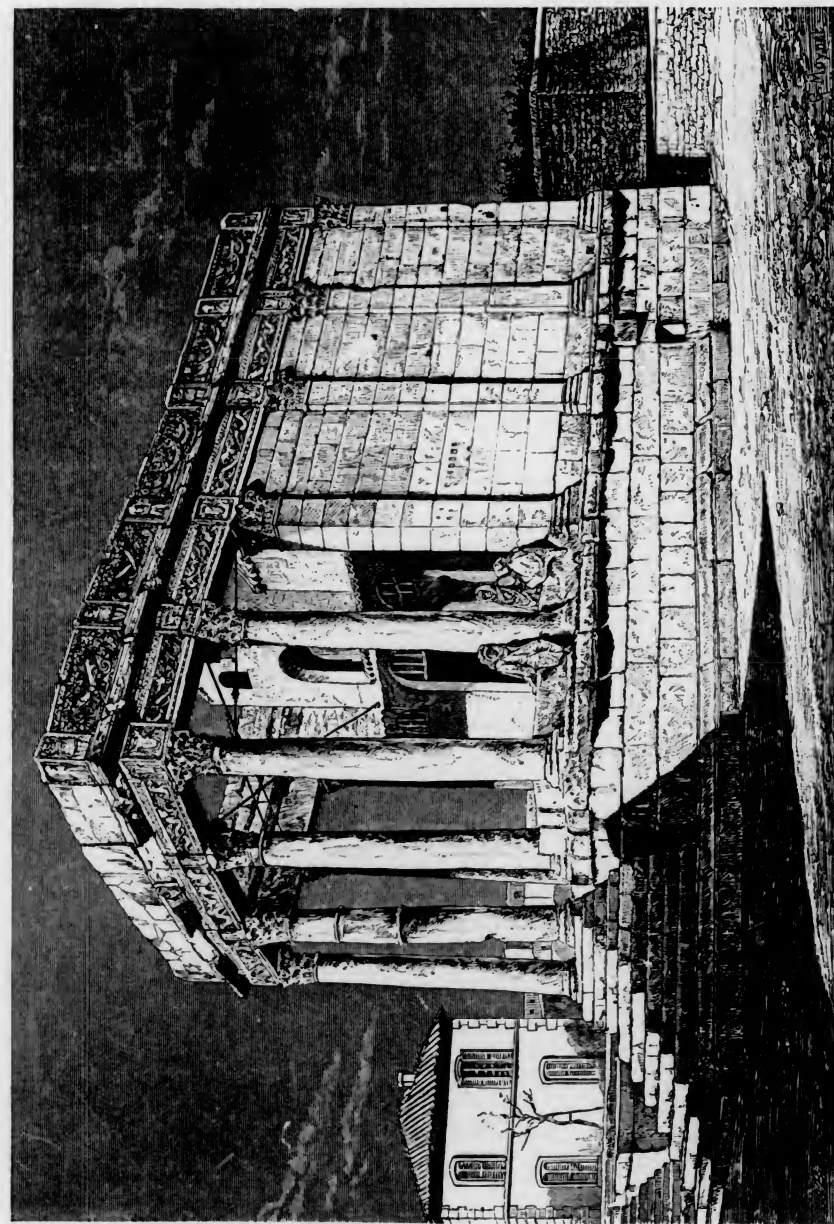
At Theveste, a citizen who, by the amount of his land-tax, was bound to furnish a soldier, led to the proconsul his son Maximilian, whom the recruiting officer had accepted as good for the service. Upon the order to place himself under the measure that his height might be marked, Maximilian replied that, being a Christian, he could not be a soldier. The magistrate paid no attention to this, but caused him to be measured; then ordered that the cord should be put around his neck to which was suspended the leaden tablet which bore the description of each soldier. "I shall break it," Maximilian exclaimed, "and never wear anything but the token of my only master Jesus Christ." The proconsul explained to him that he could, as so many others had done, freely fulfil all his religious duties; but the Montanist persisted and was put to death for the refusal of the military oath. The sentence makes no reference to the Christian faith.¹ A little later, in this same Africa where Tertullian had lauded desertion from the army and had urged to martyrdom,² at Tingis, on one occasion when the garrison were celebrating the birthday of Maximian, the centurion Marcellus threw down at the feet of the soldiers his vine-branch, his military belt, and his weapons, saying: "I will no longer serve your emperors, and I despise their gods of wood and stone." Instead of silently taking advantage of what the government at that time allowed, liberty of conscience, or even his dismissal from the army, he insulted, in the midst of a solemn ceremony, both the state religion and the emperors; this was a public provocation which could not be tolerated, and he was put to death.³ The law commanded this punishment, and Marcellus had sought it.

The government at last began to notice these acts of disorder.

¹ Extract from the official Acts: *ut a notariis excepta: . . . in sacro comitatu Christiani sunt et militant* (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, p. 299). This took place in the year 295 or 296.

² See above, chap. xci. Tertullian says, in the *de Fuga*, 9: *Spiritus omnes pæne ad martyrium exhortatur*.

³ *Acta sincera*, p. 302. The date is uncertain; it may have been 298.



Principal Façade of the Temple of Minerva at Theveste (modern Tabessa).

It had need, both for itself and for the Empire, to be sure of its troops, and it was not so with soldiers who proposed to limit their obedience. A purifying of the army was resolved on; those who declared their religious faith incompatible with their presence under the standards were discharged.

"Many," says Eusebius,¹ "left the service. A general having given his soldiers the choice of renouncing their religion or their military grade, they preferred to confess the name of Jesus and part with their worldly advantages."

This consideration for soldiers who refused to submit to the common rule was not habitual with the Romans.² Galerius was indignant at it; he saw in it the loss of discipline, in which he was right; and it would have been satisfactory to him to use against all Christians the means of intimidation employed against those in the army.

Although Diocletian had shown in Egypt that he did not hesitate in shedding blood when it was a question of chastising rebels, he hesitated to strike those who were not in open opposition to the law. He hoped that an execution now and then, in virtue of military law, would suffice to repress everywhere the extremes of religious zeal. But now civil society, in its turn, becomes unsettled, and the great administrative instrument of the Empire, the municipal system, begins to work badly and threatens to become useless. The Christian is no more willing to be a citizen than a soldier.³ He refuses the office of duumvir, even of decurion, because of the pagan observances these offices impose; he divides or distributes his property that he may no longer possess the twenty-five *jugera* which condemn him to the curia, and the Christian emperors later were compelled to take severe measures

¹ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 1 and 4. The measure was general, *datis ad propositos litteris*, says Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*, 10); and he adds: *nec amplius quidquam contra legem aut religionem Dei fecit*.

² The edict was not formally obeyed everywhere. The *Acts* of SS. Julius, Nicander, and Marcian, show soldiers put to death for having refused to burn, along with their comrades, a grain of incense upon the altar, on receiving the largess given by Galerius on occasion of the tenth anniversary of his accession. Generals accustomed to punish severely all disobedience had felt themselves, in condemning these soldiers, to be acting in accordance with the military law.

³ "Public affairs are not our affairs." *Nec ulla magis res aliena quam publica* (Tertullian, *Apol.*, 38).

against those "who serve the Church, rather than the senate;"¹ such is the penury of the *honestiores* that Diocletian permits the duties of the decurionate to be imposed upon freedmen, and even upon persons who have been branded as infamous.²

At this time also, between philosophers and Christians, and between differing sects, disputes recommence or continue, and the air is full of clamour. From Persia, that perpetual enemy of the Empire, comes a new sect, the Manichæans. Formed at the expense of the doctrines of Zoroaster and of Jesus, it agitates men's minds in the border provinces of the two Empires, and as usual the magistrates accuse it of a thousand crimes which S. Epiphane relates, turning against these sectaries the accusation of scandalous mysteries with which the Christians had long been pursued.³ In Egypt Meletius makes a schism;⁴ Hierax begins another. In Africa the language exchanged between the bishops at the Council of Cirta (305) shows the violence of some of these men of peace, and announces that of the Donatists, who a few years later covered the province with blood and ruins. Porphyry, or a Neo-Platonist of his school, composes at this time his treatise against the Christians, which doctors and bishops combat with sharp refutations.⁵ A famous rhetorician, Arnobius, attacks the Church which later he was to defend, and a great functionary of the Empire, Hierocles, viceregent of the district of Bithynia,

¹ *Curiales qui ecclesiis malunt servire quam curiis* (Code Theod., xii. 104, 115).

² *Infames persone . . . curialium vel civilium munerum vacationem non habent* (Code Theod., x. 56 and 57).

³ Before becoming an orthodox Christian, S. Augustine had been for nine years a Manichæan, which leads us to believe there could be no immorality in this cult. The ordinance of Diocletian says: . . . *de Persica adversaria nobis gente . . . multa facinora committere, populos quietos turbare* (Code Greg., xiv. 4). The chiefs of the sect shall be burned with their books; the adherents of low estate decapitated; the *honestiores* sent to the mines. The date of the rescript is uncertain.

⁴ "Separating himself from Peter, his metropolitan, and the other bishops, he published calumnies against them." (Fleury, *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 24 [about 301].)

⁵ Lactantius mentions a philosopher who, in 303, wrote at Nicomedia three books against the Christians. It has been questioned that this philosopher was Porphyry, because the author of the *Divine institutions* (v. 2) speaks of his disorderly life. But Lactantius never hesitates to calumniate his adversaries, and we know from S. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, x. 32) that Porphyry was still living at the time of the persecution. At least it is established by the words of Lactantius that a philosopher wrote at Nicomedia even against the Christians at the moment of the promulgation of the edict, which suffices for our statement. Some critics place the composition of Porphyry's book between the years 290 and 300. S. Methodius combated it in a poem of ten thousand lines. (S. Jerome, *de Viris ill.*, 83.) Eusebius also refuted it.

mingles in the fray. The latter publishes his *Philalethes*,¹ "the Friend of Truth," setting over against the miracles of Jesus those of Apollonius of Tyana, "who, however," he says, "was not made a god for that." And it is not questions of dogma which are in dispute; to such the people would not care to listen. Porphyry, with murderous accusation, shows the plague ravaging cities, and Æsculapius failing to drive it away, because he himself has fled far from the abominations of the Christian faith.² To the strifes of doctors corresponds that of the crowd. Some exclaim that the gods of Olympus are demons, and assume to themselves the power of driving them out; others dread this satanic power, and imagine that the sign of the cross will hinder sacrifices from being completed.³ No man ever saw the gods flee away or the flame upon the altar go out at a Christian's gesture; but the pagan world believed them capable of every crime, and reviled them while waiting to be allowed to drag them into the arena.

The Christians fight among themselves also. "The liberty which we enjoyed," says Eusebius, "had caused the relaxation of discipline. The war began among ourselves by violent language; bishops against bishops, people against people. When the evil had reached its height, divine justice raised its arm to punish us. The believers who followed the profession of arms were the first to be persecuted. After this warning from the Lord, instead of seeking to propitiate him, we added crimes to crimes; our pastors, despising the divine rules, disputed bitterly with each other and strove for the highest rank. Then, according to the word of Jeremiah, the Lord from Heaven overthrew the glory of Israel."⁴

¹ *Ausus est libros suos nefarios ac Dei hostes Φαλαθηθῆς annotare* (Lactantius, *Div. inst.*, v. 2, and what remains to us of the treatise of Eusebius against Hierocles).

² Euseb., *Præp. Ev.*, v. 1; Lactantius, *Div. inst.*, iv. 27.

³ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 10: *cum adstiterint immolanti imposuerunt frontibus suis immortale signum, quo facto fugatis demonibus, sacra turbata sunt*. Prudentius also relates that the sacrifices of Julian were disturbed by the presence of a Christian. "On occasions of temptation the Christians add to the sign of the cross the blowing to drive away the demon." (Fleury, *les Mœurs des chrétiens*, p. 63.)

⁴ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 1. These sad quarrels continued throughout the persecution. Eusebius breaks off in his account of the martyrs in Palestine to say again: "I will not speak of the ambition of some men, of their rash and unlawful laying-on of hands, of the differences and disputes of the martyrs themselves, of the divisions by which they tore the members yet remaining to the Church." See Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 98, 100, and 103, in respect to the disorders at Rome; the canons of the Council of Elvira for those which it was necessary to repress in Spain; the acts, first scandalous, later abominable, of the African *circumcelliones*;

It was in the East that religious animosities were the most bitter, and from February, 299, to the beginning of the year 302, Diocletian resided there almost constantly.¹ When in the autumn of this latter year he returned to Nicomedia, his mind was made



Coin of Nicomedia.²

up that it would be necessary to put an end to these agitations and bring back tranquillity into civil society, as he had brought it back into the legions and into the provinces. Galerius had long been of this opinion. But what means should be adopted? During the entire winter the two rulers discussed this terrible question. Lactantius asserts

that Diocletian would have been content with prohibiting the army and the palace to the Christians, that is to say, military and administrative duties; that finally he laid the matter before the consistory, and that this council gave their opinion as the same



Didymæan Apollo, on a Coin of Miletus.³

with that of Galerius. The measures with which Diocletian would have been willing to stop would not have been more severe than those which excluded from public office and the liberal professions the Protestants of France up to the time of the Revolution and the Roman Catholics in England to our own time. But the obstinate conservatives of the

day made every effort to force the Augustus into the most sanguinary road. The contradictory feelings of the statesman and the pagan which fought within him threw this strong soul into a trouble whence he sought escape by asking advice of heaven. He decided that the question should be laid before the oracle of the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus.⁴ Apollo could have no indulgence for those who ruined his priests and blasphemed his

the wretched intrigues attributed by S. Athanasius to the Eusebians; the denunciations sent in to Constantine in 325 by the bishops against several of their brethren (Rufinus, i. 2), etc., and we shall be convinced that along with great virtues the Christian communities had many weaknesses, which is very human, and that it will not do always to accept the Church of the legends as the real Church of history.

¹ So we infer from the date of many rescripts. (Mommsen, *Zeitf.*, p. 444.)

² ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΩΝ ΔΙΟ ΝΕΚΡΟΠΩΝ. Love fleeing from a kneeling Psyche. (Reverse of a bronze of Maximus.)

³ ΔΙΔΥΜΕΩΝ ΜΙΑΗΛΙΩΝ. The god standing, holding a bow and a small figure of a stag. (Reverse of a bronze of Claudius.)

⁴ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 11.

name; the oracle made reply that the enemies of the gods must be destroyed. The Christians therefore appeared to be condemned both by human and divine wisdom.

If we may believe Lactantius, Galerius proposed to have those who refused to sacrifice burned alive. Diocletian hoped to attain the suppression of the Church without bloodshed. The resolution he was about to take was a very serious one, and he asked the pontiffs to designate a propitious day for its execution. They indicated the festival of the Terminalia (23rd February, 303) as the day on which the accursed sect should be brought to an end.



Bas-relief from the Temple of the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus. (Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, pl. 140, fig. 2.)

At daybreak the prætorian prefect, accompanied by *duces*, tribunes, and soldiers, presented himself before the church in Nicomedia, forced an entrance, and seizing the sacred objects committed them to the flames. He would have set fire to the buildings, but Diocletian, who from the roof of the palace surveyed what was done, fearing that a fire might spread among the adjacent buildings, ordered the temple to be demolished. On the following day appeared the first edict of persecution: the Christian churches were to be destroyed, the religious books burned, and the sacred places and cemeteries confiscated.¹ Those who refused to sacrifice were to be branded with infamy, of whatever rank they were, declared incapable of filling any public office, and in case of condemnation for any crime subjected to the penalties denounced against the *humiliores*. All judicial proceedings would be authorized against them, while they could institute none against others;² their

¹ De Rossi, *Roma sotterr.*, ii. p. viii. and 378. Constantine, in his turn, ordered the books of Porphyry to be burned.

² To leave to the Christians no way of eluding the law, *ave in secretariis et pro tribunali posita, ut litigatores prius sacrificarent* (Lactantius, 15).

assemblies were prohibited; he who was already placed by his condition among the *humiliores* was made a slave of the treasury,¹ and the Christian slave could never be enfranchised. This first edict did not go so far as that issued by Valerian; it did not order the death of the Christians, but it made of them a people of pariahs. Measures nearly similar to these were adopted upon the

revocation of the Edict of Nantes: a double iniquity which was the consequence and has remained the condemnation of state religions.

Violence calls for violence. Diocletian would have been glad to have escaped shedding blood, but it was to flow in torrents. An indignant Christian tore down the edict and destroyed it with loud reproaches against the Augustus and the Cæsar: "These are their bulletins of victory over the Goths and Sarmatians!" he cried ironically. To pluck down an imperial edict was a crime of high treason, and the man was burned on a



Mutilated Statue, found in the Ruins of the Temple of the Didymæan Apollo. (Texier, *ibid.*, fig. 3.)

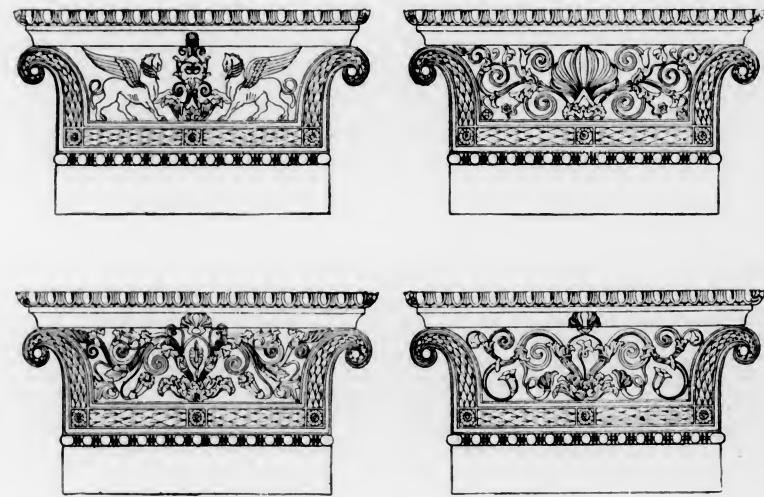
fire of charcoal.² Soon after this a fire broke out in the palace, and fifteen days later a second fire occurred near the rooms occupied by the emperor. It is difficult to impute this double fire to chance. Lactantius makes Galerius responsible for it, who then threw the blame upon the Christians in order to exasperate Diocletian, and Eusebius makes Constantine relate to the Fathers at the Council of Nicæa that he had seen a thunderbolt, the instrument of divine justice fall upon the palace and set it on fire.³

¹ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 1, and the *Actes*, of S. Theodosius of Ancyra. (Bollandists, May 18th.)

² *Legitime coctus*, says Lactantius, that is, burned according to the established rules (*de Morte pers.*, 13). It is remarkable that the first edict was not promulgated in Syria till fifty days later, and in Africa after four months. With his habitual prudence, Diocletian waited to see the effects of the blow he had struck at Nicomedia.

³ *Orat. ad S. Coet.*, xxv. According to this passage, the damage done by the fire must have been very considerable.

But the Constantine of Eusebius often saw, between heaven and earth, things that no other person ever witnessed. It was more natural to accuse the Christians, and the life of the emperors appeared threatened by an extensive conspiracy. If this danger was really imaginary, they had at least reason to dread the revenge of individuals, and the Christians were now so numerous that there were to be found among them, beside resigned victims,



Fragments of the Entablature of the Temple of the Didymæan Apollo.¹ (Louvre.)

men of war who would not submit to injustice. Galerius was no longer safe in Nicomedia, and he quitted the city. Left alone in the palace, Diocletian, who also felt himself surrounded by assassins, ordered a severe search to be made, and all those who could be suspected of being adherents to the new faith to be required to sacrifice. The wife and daughter of the emperor, who seem to have been reluctant, set the example; others followed; but certain slaves, freedmen, and eunuchs refused, and this refusal appeared to convict them as authors or accomplices in the recent crime, and they were cruelly put to death. The investigation was pursued outside of the palace, and suspicion produced culprits; the

¹ See in vol. iii. p. 595, the bases of the columns of this temple, and, in vol. v. p. 71, a view of its ruins.

bishop of Nicomedia was beheaded, and many persons of humble condition were burned or thrown into the sea.

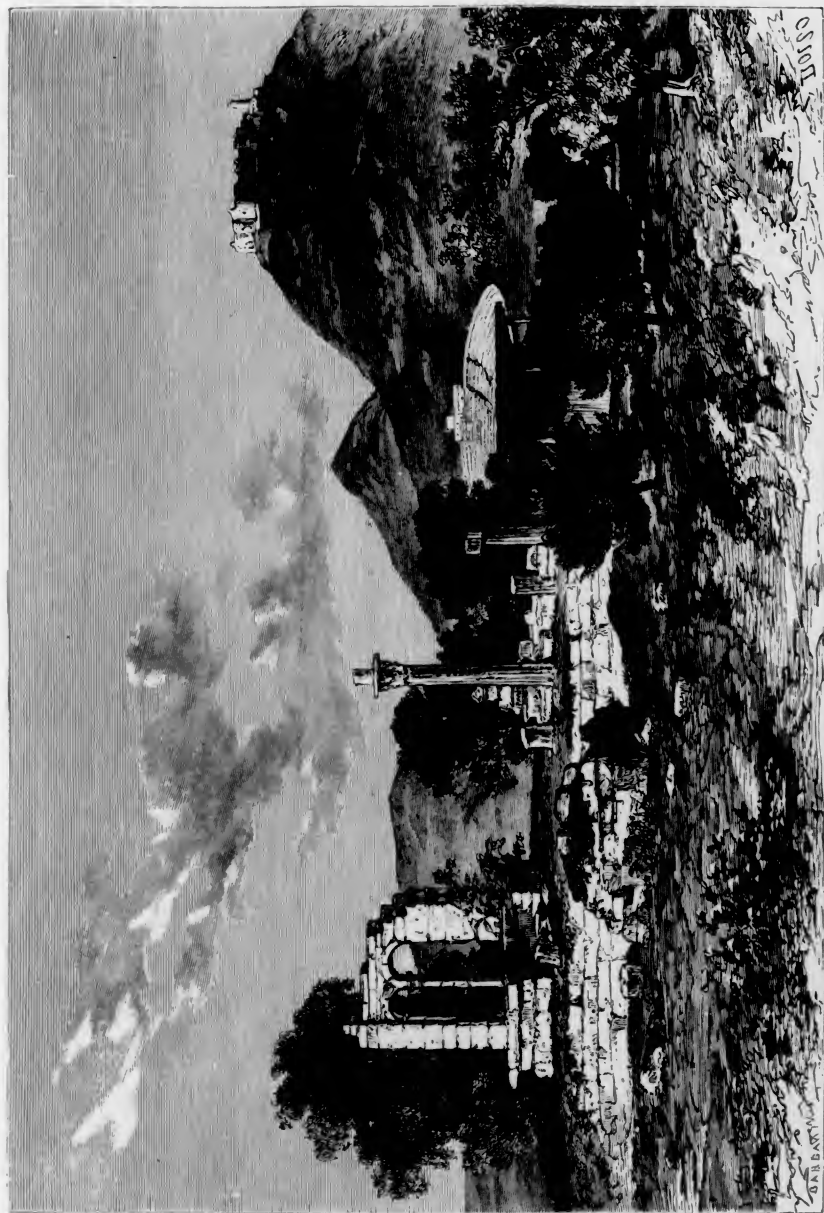
At Nicomedia, the Christians suffered as incendiaries; in the provinces, they were accused as rebels. It appears certainly that to the exasperation caused at certain points by the destruction of the churches, may be attributed two insurrections which—a thing unknown in twenty years—broke out, one at Antioch, the other in the Melitene on the upper Euphrates. Nothing is known of the latter, which might have become dangerous owing to the neighbourhood of Armenia, where Christianity, preached by S. Gregory Illuminator, was at that time making great progress.¹ As to the revolt in Syria, Libanius represents it, eighty years later, as a foolish freak of the soldiers.² But the leader of these soldiers had assumed the purple, and the magistrates of Antioch and of Seleucia with many of the inhabitants were put to death. If the Christians had not been in some way concerned in these movements, Eusebius would not have mentioned them, especially he would not have indicated them as the cause which determined Diocletian to issue a new and more severe edict.³ In the eyes of the emperor this had been an attempt to transfer the Empire to the Christians; and it was an attempt by no means absurd, since, though unsuccessful in 303, it did in fact succeed eight years later. In the last year of the persecution, the governor of Palestine, hearing a martyr speak of the heavenly Jerusalem, formed the idea that the Christians proposed to build a city and fortify themselves in it against the Romans. This governor is ridiculous, but his apprehension was not so; for he naturally believed that the persecuted, whose ardour to meet death he could not understand, would seize any method of escaping from persecution.

A century earlier they aspired to heaven only; but their strength increasing with their numbers, they began to concern themselves with the affairs of earth. Sagacious as he always was,

¹ Simeon Metaphrastes relates the story of the thirty-three Christians martyred at Melitene, but Tillemont (*Mém. eccl.*, v. 171) does not believe that these *Acts* are trustworthy. If they have historic foundation, we must still see in them, according to their own details, an execution for refusal of military service and for blows and wounds inflicted on the recruiting officers.

² *Disc.*, xiv.

³ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, ii.



Ruins of Seleucia. (Léon Delaborde, *Voyage en Asie Mineure*, pl. 72.)

Dioeletian was aware of the evolution which went on unconsciously in the minds of many, but was revealed to him by the fire in the palace and the two revolts breaking out amidst the profound calm of the Empire. For twenty years this emperor, who placed the interests of order above everything else, had constrained his gods and their priests to toleration; from the moment when he believed the public peace in danger he sought to save it by energetic measures, still, if possible, without bloodshed. He bethought himself of an old law of the Empire which permitted him to punish, without leaving them the resource of an appeal, those who were regarded as *seditionum concitatores vel duces factionum*; ¹ and against the insurrection, or the propaganda that he dreaded, he took the clergy as hostages. His second edict ordered the arrest of bishops, priests, and deacons, who should refuse to deliver up the Holy Scriptures. By demolishing the churches he prevented the Christians from holding their assemblies and celebrating their religious rites; by depriving these communities of their pastors, he hoped that, left without direction or discipline, these societies would dissolve or would cease to be dangerous; lastly, by the destruction of their sacred books, he expected to put a stop to teaching, and by all these methods to extinguish the faith. ² In the moral condition of the world these measures must have remained powerless; the future belonged to Christianity, and against it two emperors will waste their strength.

The two edicts of the year 303 did not mention the death penalty; Dioeletian had counted upon their comminatory effect. ³ The Christians, at that time numbering several millions, could not be all punished, but the emperor hoped to intimidate all, to cause apostasies among the leaders, and easily bring back the frightened crowd into the temples of the gods. The *Acts* of S. Romanus,

¹ *Digest*, XLIX. i. 16.

² An edict of Constantine (Euseb., *Life of Const.*, ii. 30-34) gives liberty to Christians detained in islands, quarries, or mines; restores their property to those who, without being *curiales* by birth, had been *addicti curiae*, which had placed their fortune at the disposal of the municipal administrations; and gives back their grades, or the *honesta missio*, to officers and soldiers who had been expelled from the army, their honours to those who had been branded with infamy, their condition of free-born to those who had been made slaves, etc. This edict completes our knowledge of the penalties pronounced against the Christians.

³ See the *Acts* of S. Hilary (Bollandists, March 16th): . . . *ut ipso tormentato, universi ejus corrigantur exemplo*. (Le Blant, *op. cit.*, p. 42.)

though mingled with legend, prove that Galerius even dared not pronounce a death sentence. He was himself at Antioch when Romanus was condemned to be burned alive, less perhaps on account of his generous persistence in confessing his faith than for words which his judge considered acts of treason; for example, these: "Christ alone is my king." The authorities dared not proceed to execution without the order of Galerius, and the Cæsar did not give the order.¹ At Carthage the same hesitation was manifested, not in torturing, but in taking life. The proconsul permits S. Saturninus to proclaim his faith openly, and makes this no ground of accusation; but he asks whether Saturninus has taken part in assemblies contrary to the imperial law, and whether he has kept books of magic.² The saint replies with this sentence which has been ever since the Church's teaching: "First of all we must obey God." The Christians refused therefore to submit to the laws of exterior order. That these laws were bad no man doubts; but the revolt against them was none the less a revolt against the established government; and still the proconsul, after having put the accused to the torture in the hope of obtaining from them a word which will permit him to set them free, sends them to the public prison, and there he leaves them.³ On the subject of these *Acta*, we shall remark further that the magistrate carefully separates the question of religion from that of public order. When the brethren cry out to him: "We are Christians!" he replies: "That is not what I ask you;" and the sole question that he puts to them is this: "Have you been at the assembly?" or "Have you in your possession forbidden books?"⁴ These gatherings having been prohibited by the sovereign power, fell under the action of the old laws against secret societies, and the *Evangelists* which propagated the faith, and the *Passiones* which

¹ Euseb., *Mart. de Palest.*, 2. The same happened in the case of Alpheus and Zaccheus: *Χριστὸν βασιλεῖα Ἰησοῦν* (*ibid.*, 1). Procopius, being called upon to burn incense in honour of the four rulers, replies with a line of Homer: "It is not good to have so many masters; we desire but one." The judge considers these words an insult to the emperors, a revolt against the government, and orders the punishment of treason. (Euseb., *ibid.*) Many of the judges made the attempt to transform the prosecutions against the Christians into political prosecutions.

² Ruinart, *Acta sinc.*, p. 387; *Acta SS. Saturnini, Dativi*, etc., § 12.

³ Bollandists, February 11th, §§ 7 and 16.

⁴ Ruinart, *Acta sinc.*, p. 367.

extolled it, seemed to the pagans to have the character of books of magic, which were proscribed.¹

Meanwhile the imprisonment of the priests did not produce the expected effect; a third edict ordered the setting at liberty of those who would sacrifice, and the constraining of the rest by all possible means to abandon their faith.² The government had been able legally to prohibit assemblies which it believed dangerous, and to require of its functionaries that they should sacrifice to the gods of the Empire; but it had not the right to impose this obligation upon all Christians. Drawn on by the fatal progression of a bad design, the intelligent but severe man who ruled at Nicomedia was about to make his reign, until then peaceful and renowned, the era of the martyrs.

As is the case in all times of persecution there were governors who, averse to violence, closed their eyes, or contented themselves with an apparent submission. The bishop of Carthage, Mensurius, had left only a few heretical treatises in his church; these the proconsul seized, and when he was informed where the sacred books were concealed, he refused to make search for them. All the churches also were not demolished; several of them were only closed, and some even were allowed to remain open.⁴



Marble Head found in the Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Nicomedia.³

¹ Prudentius (*Perist.*, i. 75) says that many of the *Acta* of the martyrs were at that time destroyed. We have seen Diocletian in Egypt burn books of occult science.

² Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 6.

³ This antique head, now lost, was drawn by Peyssonnel at the time of his journey in 1745. The unpublished MS. of this journey is in the library of the Institut de France, whence we have taken the above sketch.

⁴ Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 29, 37, etc.

In other places much ingenuity was used in finding ways for the Christians to satisfy the law against their own consent. "A man," says Eusebius, "being dragged to the altar and constrained to touch the abominable viands, was set free as if he had willingly sacrificed. Another had held out his hand towards the box containing incense, but had taken none from it; and the pagans cried out that he had sacrificed to the gods. The former, half dead from the blows he had received, was cast in with the renegades; the latter vainly protested that he had not done what was required of him, they stopped his mouth by force, so eager were these wretches to have it believed that they had succeeded in their attempts."¹ Elsewhere the judge said to the Christian: "Sacrifice to whom you will, even to your own God;"² and to make those present believe that a Christian had yielded, drinking the wine of libations, there was offered him water in a red glass.³ "I have seen," Lactantius further says, "governors boasting of never having pronounced a single death sentence, and proud of having conquered the Christians."⁴ It was not that persecution always offended their consciences; for their reputation of skill one apostasy was worth more than ten condemnations. The Donatus to whom Lactantius dedicated his book, *de Morte persecutorum*, was nine times put to the torture, never in a manner to be fatal, but always with such cruelty that there was reason to expect recantation. In many *Acta* we even read of money offered and honours promised in return for an abjuration.⁵

When, on occasion of the festivals which celebrated the twentieth year of his reign, Diocletian, according to custom, proclaimed an amnesty,⁶ the prison doors, opened for all ordinary convicts, remained closed upon the Christians. He had put the clergy in confinement through fear of an insurrection, and as he still retained that fear, he kept his captives. By the two first edicts

¹ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 1. However, in certain places there existed a strong antipathy: not only did men crowd the scene of execution as a spectacle, but they pillaged the goods of the prisoners and fugitives. (*Actes de S. Théodule d'Ancyre*, Bollandists, May 18th.)

² Bollandists, March 3rd and July 14th.

³ Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, p. 422.

⁴ *Div. instit.*, v. 11.

⁵ Léop. Delisle, *Note sur un manuscrit de Prudence*, p. 6. Cf. Edm. le Blant, Supplement to the *Actes of Ruinart*, p. 35.

⁶ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 2. This is the *abolitio generalis* of the *Code Just.*, ix. 43.

the Christians had been degraded from civil honours, deprived of the protection of the laws, and declared criminals if they did not surrender their sacred writings or if they continued to hold their meetings.¹ The third had directed the employment of all means to obtain conversions, without however authorizing in the first phase of the persecution the extreme penalty. There were executions for offences regarded as crimes against the common law:



Fragment of a Glass Disc, representing the Commemoration of the Twentieth Year of Diocletian's Reign.²

insults to the gods, to the emperors, secret assemblies or forbidden meetings; and, as it were not possible that an angry policy like this should be everywhere conducted with moderation, privations and tortures had caused many captives to perish in prison. Many, also, under the weight of moral and physical sufferings, had yielded to weakness. The *lapsi* who sacrificed, the *traditores* who gave up the sacred books, the timid who concealed their faith,³ had been

¹ Euplius, a deacon, was beheaded at Catana, August 12th, 304, for having, contrary to the edicts, called together the Christian community; likewise Philip of Heracleia in Thrace, the martyrs of Abitina in Africa, S. Saturninus, etc.

² *Bulletin de la commission archéologique de Rome*, tenth year, No. 3, pl. xx. (July to September, 1882).

³ The canons of the Council of Elvira, held in 305, show that many believers had concealed their faith, had filled the offices of duumvir, flamen, and sacrificer, had given money for pagan festivals, for spectacles, and games; the Council even gives them permission, if they fear to be denounced by their slaves, to keep idols in their houses, on condition of paying them no worship, etc. This is not contradictory to what has been said above of the decline of the municipal system through the unwillingness of Christians to accept office. The penances imposed by the Council of Elvira are evidently addressed to certain rich men who have commuted with their consciences in order to preserve their wealth, and these capitulations occur in all ages of the world. The heresy of the Donatists began in 311, when Donatus attacked the election to the see of Carthage of Cæcilianus, who had been ordained by a bishop *traditor*.

numerous and became, after the persecution had ceased, a subject of violent dissensions in the Church. At Antioch, a great city whose inhabitants were half of them Christians, Romanus was the only person left in prison.¹

It seemed then that one more blow would suffice to beat down this Church whose pillars were tottering, and to bring back the whole Empire to the old faith. Maximian and Galerius thought so, and when in 304 the long and serious illness of Diocletian left them masters of the government, they revived in all its original vigour the last edict of Valerian. The *Acta* of S. Sabinus, of which the authenticity is doubtful,² relate that when Maximian was present at the games of the circus at Rome, all the people cried out, "Let the Christians die!" and that the emperor caused it to be proposed to the senate by the prætorian or urban prefect that a decree should be prepared condemning the Christians to sacrifice or die.³ This is improbable on the face of it, the abandoning to the senate of a legislation so important being contrary to all that the history of the time teaches us. We should therefore reject this decree mentioned in *Acta* of such doubtful authenticity were it not that Eusebius speaks of imperial letters ordering all men to be present at the sacrifices and take part in them.⁴ Maximian must therefore have written them, or Galerius caused them to be signed by the second Augustus, in a moment of excitement, and the crime of Christianizing was again inscribed in the laws. Thus war, unchained by the three wild beasts, as Lactantius says, raged with fury.

The persecution was destined to last eight years. What part, in this tragic history, belongs to Diocletian? We have seen his repugnance to extreme measures. The hatred of the Christians did not concern itself with him; it is Galerius whom they have pursued with their maledictions. We must also remember that the just horror inspired by these cruelties has deceived the world in respect to the number of victims. Palestine was full of Christians, but in the year 304 ten only perished, of whom six came of their

¹ *Móvoc*, says Eusebius (*Mart. de Pal.*, 2).

² Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 41 and 603.

³ *Ap. Surius*, December 31st.

⁴ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 3.

own accord to the executioner.¹ Italy and Spain had few; at least, in those countries the *Acta* are rare, and mostly of doubtful authenticity,² and we see that the Roman believers wishing to obtain relics went at that time to seek them in the East. Illyricum, too near the barbarians to possess great cities given up like Antioch and Alexandria to theological quarrels, occupied itself first of all with its terrestrial safety. It had few bishoprics, and the martyrs given to it are few in number; one only became popular, S. Irenæus of Sirmium.³ In Britain and in Gaul, Constantius Chlorus contented himself with destroying a few churches: "He did not destroy the temple built up to God in the hearts of the faithful."⁴ In Egypt and in the Oriental provinces, the martyrs executed, and still more the confessors sent to the mines after cruel tortures, were very numerous.⁵ But one thing is singular: in the chapter in which Eusebius relates the glorious deaths of the "pastors of the Church" during all the persecution, he names only nine bishops.⁶ But the imperial government knew them all; they were the heads of the Churches, and according to the system of Diocletian the head was to be struck; but we have seen that he did not wish to strike mortal blows.

It does not seem even that the administration made search after the Christians, *inquisitio*; otherwise it would have been necessary to employ one part of the Empire in exterminating the

¹ During the eight years that the persecution lasted, Eusebius, who was on the spot and has written the history of it, enumerates, in Palestine only, eighty martyrs. From this number Gibbon estimates that there may have been, throughout the entire Empire, 2,000 martyrs in the eight years, a sad and monstrous number, certainly, for one single victim would have been too much; but every estimate must be uncertain.

² Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 41, 58, 74, etc. The most celebrated of the Spanish martyrs of that time was S. Vincent, whose *Acta* are a legend filled with miracles. The famous inscriptions of Clunia are ranged by Hübner (*C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 233) among the apocrypha, and are in their right place.

³ Bollandists, March 25th. For the *Passio SS. IV. coronatorum* (Gurius, November 8th), see Hunzicker, *Zur Christenverf.*, p. 262, and de Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. crist.*, §§ 3 and 4, No. 11.

⁴ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 15. Eusebius (*Life of Const.*, i. 17) maintains even, very mistakenly, that mass was celebrated in his palace at Trèves.

⁵ Cedrenus (*Hist.*, p. 467) mentions an edict ordering the right eye of condemned Christians to be plucked out. We cannot tell whether this was an official order or a practice of certain judges. Eusebius often speaks of this punishment and of the burning of one of the tendons of the foot in the case of Christians sent to the mines by Maximin.

⁶ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 13. Sixteen had already occupied in succession the see of Alexandria; the last one only died by martyrdom in 311.

other. Moreover the search was needless, for most accounts speak of the Christians giving themselves up. This one overthrows an altars of the gods; that one burns a temple of Cybele; another goes straight up to the governor, who is offering a sacrifice, and plucks the incense from his hands; another insults him by word and act. "They were," says S. Augustine, "arrows of God shot by the saints at the faces of the oppressors."¹ Then there was seen something like an epidemic of religious suicides. Contrary to the Church's teaching, which disapproves of men by voluntary acts of imprudence or provocation rushing to meet their martyrdom, the *Acta* show a multitude of Christians eager to exchange their mortal life for the blessedness promised by the Scriptures.² And we must also say with a bishop of the time,³ among these saints of the eleventh hour were found—a thing less strange than it appears—men who speculated upon torture, hoping doubtless that it would not be carried to the fatal point: others, ruined with debts, to finish gloriously a worthless life; others, to live in prison on the charity of the Christian society; still others, incapable of a high spirituality, to gain salvation by a last effort of bodily endurance. But, on the other hand, how many admirable instances of devotion and stoical deaths! As we read some of the answers

¹ S. Augustine, in *Psalm*, xxxix. § 16; Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 4 and 5: λόγους τε καὶ ἱργούς. Cf. Bollandists, February 7th, S. Theodore of Amasia.

Martyr . . .

Infremuit usque tyranni oculos

Sputa jacit.

(Prudentius, *Peristeph.*, iii., S. Eulal., 126-128.)

Cf. Le Blant, *Supplément aux Actes de Ruinart*, p. 33.

² Like the three Cilician martyrs, Tarachus, Probus, and Andronicus (Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. p. 285), and a crowd of others. Sulpicius Severus (*Hist. sacra*, ii. 46) says: "They ran to meet these glorious combats, and men sought for death more eagerly than now cupidity seeks for bishoprics." On the question of voluntary martyrdom, and on the means employed, on the other hand, to urge to his death a brother disinclined to it, see p. 232.

³ See the letter of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage (ap. S. Augustine, vol. ix. p. 568), who was anxious that those who voluntarily provoked punishment should not be reckoned as martyrs: . . . *quidam facinorosi et fisci debitores qui, occasione persecutionis, vel carere vellent onerosa multis debitis vita, vel purgare se putarent, et quasi ablueret facinora sua, vel certe adquirere pecuniam et in custodia deliciis perfundi de obsequio Christianorum.* Thus did the Peregrinus of Lucian. There is also mention in the *Acta* of S. Theodoret, ap. Ruinart, of debtors seeking death to escape the severity of the treasury or of their creditors. Cf. Le Blant, *Suppl. aux Actes de Ruinart*, pp. 105 et seq. The fate of insolvent debtors was so cruel that Constantine was obliged to moderate it, but long after him, even, Valentinian I. put to death insolvent debtors to the public treasury (Amm. Marcellinus, xxvii. 7). I have mentioned (p. 233, n. 5) the banquets and the intoxicating liquors by which the courage of certain irresolute martyrs was stimulated.

given at the trial, we seem to hear the songs of a virginal purity already far above the level of earth.¹

Political history does not record all the acts of courage in a battle, and of the soldiers who die for their country she preserves only the memory of their victory. Neither is it within her province to relate those triumphant deaths which have been the strength and are the honour of the Church. This duty belongs to religious history, which must determine what deeds are to be remembered, a long and difficult work, begun long since and not yet ended. We refer the reader therefore to the hagiographers for the story of those heroic and horrible scenes where human wickedness exerted itself to discover new methods of causing the flesh to cry out, and in which the victims suffered for the noblest of causes, liberty of conscience. Like the sufferers by persecution, Diocletian also was to endure his pain; this man, so sagacious, who near the close of his reign thus lost his wisdom, was to behold from the retirement of his palace at Salona the death of his gods and the triumph of Christ.²

II.—ABDICATION AND DEATH OF DIOCLETIAN (305-313).

At the close of the year 303 the two Augusti were approaching the twentieth year of their reign, and they had taken together at the altar of their gods a pledge to mark this anniversary by a deed which has been imitated but once, at which posterity is amazed, and which, in the interests of the Roman world, it would have been better not to have done. In the spring of 303 Diocletian quitted Nicomedia and travelled slowly through Thrace and the Danubian provinces towards Italy. He had at last decided to visit that Rome which he had never seen since his accession, and to celebrate at one and the same time the festival of the *Sacra Vicennalia*, and the triumph which the senate had long before

¹ For instance, that of S. Theodora of Alexandria.

² The Christians followed him in later ages with their maledictions, as was their right; and, so far as the persecution was concerned, it was justice. A historian of this emperor, Casagrandi (*Diocleziano*, p. 368, No. 1) has even put this question: *Quale è stata la mano che dalle storie di Ammiano e Zosimo strappava le pagine dedicate a Diocleziano? Chi ha distrutta la vita che di lui scrisse il suo segretario Eustenzio?*

decreed to the two emperors.¹ But as he did not love an unwholesome popularity, and was not of the number who stoop to obtain or to keep power, he proposed to make but an official and brief visit to the old capital of the world. On the twentieth of November he entered the city with Maximian in a chariot drawn by four elephants, as a memorial of his Asiatic victories. Behind him were borne figures representing the king of Persia whom he had conquered, the wives and children of the latter captured in the camp at Narses, all arrayed in the purple robe embroidered with pearls; then came the trophies recalling the successes gained over the nations adjacent to the frontiers. According to the custom on these anniversaries he granted an amnesty which opened the prison doors to all the Christians excepted, and gave largesses in all the great cities. The people of Rome had their large share in this: a *congiarium* of 310,000,000 denarii, or 1,500 denarii apiece, if they at this time numbered 200,000.² Games and combats of animals were the necessary accompaniment of these ceremonies, and they were accordingly given by Diocletian, but seem to have been lacking in magnificence. In the hunts, few animals were killed; in the amphitheatre, few gladiators. The people cried out against the niggardliness of the emperor; they murmured still more when they heard reported this saying of Diocletian's, which made parsimony the rule: "In presence of the censor there should be moderation." At bottom this captious crowd displeased the ruler, who cared much more for the needs of the Empire than for those of the populace of Rome;³ content with having flung them gold, he scorned to take pains to amuse them.

¹ A learned numismatist, M. Lépaule, in his *Note sur l'Atelier monétaire de Lyon*, 1883, announces, from three denarii in his collection, found in 1880, a fact which is nowhere mentioned, namely, the celebration of the Secular Games by Diocletian about fifty years later than those of the emperor Philip. The authority of the coins is great, but the silence of historians on this important fact is very singular, especially of Zosimus, who speaks at great length of the Secular Games, and knows nothing of those of Diocletian, although in speaking of them he mentions this emperor.

² It is more probable that this sum of 310,000,000 denarii (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 648) represents the entire amount granted by Diocletian to the great cities of the Empire, *πάσιν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ*, says Malalas (*Chron.*, xii. p. 300, *ad ann.* 302). The *Alexandrian Chronicle* mentions also, p. 514, for this same year a distribution in Alexandria of *panis castrensis*. The triumph of Diocletian was not, as it has been said to be, the last triumph ever witnessed in Rome. Constantius celebrated one in 357 and Honorius another, after the victory of Stilicho over Alaric.

³ *Cum libertatem populi Romani ferre non poterat* (Lactantius, 17).

This disdain of his is comprehensible when we read what Ammianus Marcellinus has to say of the frivolity of these men, wholly absorbed in their sanguinary amusements, or shaking the folds of their togas to call attention to the fringe of the border and the curious tissue of tunics, embroidered with figures of animals.¹

The senators were treated with no greater consideration. The ceremony of the installation of the consuls was approaching; it was for the senate and the city a festival in which the emperors formerly shared, but Diocletian did not attend it. On the 18th of December² he left Rome, which had not been able to detain him for an entire month, and visited Ravenna, where he took possession for the ninth time of the consular office (304). This triumph and these festivals, which had now brought to men's minds all the successes of his reign, were a matter of policy with the skilled statesman. As his mind was made up to seeking, in the retirement he had long before made ready, that which contemporaries have called the repose of the Augusti, *quies Augustorum*,³ but which was for him the putting in practice of a deep design, he had elected to retire from the world after having given this brilliant manifestation which was to immortalize his fame.

From Ravenna he went to Aquileia and Istria, doubtless went as far as Salona to make sure that all things were ready for his reception,⁴ and returned to Nicomedia in the middle of 304. From this city is dated one of his last rescripts, on the 28th of August of that year.

Diocletian had been seriously indisposed during this journey. But he was not yet sixty years old; he had a robust constitution, and, with his habitual tenacity of purpose, he returned to the city where he had assumed the purple, and where he proposed to lay



The Repose of the Augusti, QUIES AVGG. (Medium Bronze.)

¹ xiv. 6.

² Lactantius, 17. It is probable that, before leaving Rome, he caused Maximian to renew in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus the engagement to abdicate at the same time with himself. (*Pan. vet.*, vii. 15.)

³ *Pan. vet.*, vi. 11, and Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 14.

⁴ Conjecture authorized by the words of Lactantius, 17: *per circuitum ripe Istrice Nicomediam venit*. Diocletian, in feeble health and habituated to eastern climates, was likely in January, 304, to avoid the valley of the Danube, through which certain authorities represent him as passing, a region subject to cold so excessive that the mighty river is sometimes frozen.

it off. His illness increased during the winter; all the gods, assailed with prayers for the recovery of him who had protected them, remained deaf to these supplications. On the 15th of December he had a fainting fit, the palace was in tears, and a rumour of his death spread through the city. When this report was contradicted many refused to believe that he was still alive, thinking that it was designed to conceal the truth until Galerius should arrive, lest there might be an outbreak among the soldiery. The emperor did not appear again in public until the Kalends of March. "He could scarcely be recognized," says Lactantius, "so greatly had he changed; and, if he had recovered his health, his mind had become so impaired that he never again had his reason but for more than a few moments at a time."¹ But Lactantius, his enemy, takes pleasure in showing the persecutor of the Christians deprived of his dignity as a man by the divine justice, of his imperial crown by the Caesar whom he had himself made, and the entire edifice he had so laboriously erected falling into ruins over his head. The historian has seen in the secret apartments of the palace, Diocletian groaning, with tear-stained face; he has heard the hard words and threats of Galerius, and the humble answers of the old emperor, a rhetorical embellishment which obliging writers have taken for an historic scene.² This abdication which Galerius is supposed to have extorted from a feeble and irresolute old man, was one of the conditions of existence of the new political system which reserved power for the prime of manhood. This Diocletian himself affirmed on the day when he ordered the sons of the Caesars to be only additional soldiers in the imperial army; and the keenest joy that this valiant mind could have anticipated for his latter days must have been to behold his great institution subsisting without him. He had succeeded

¹ Lactantius, 17: *Demens enim factus est, ita ut certis horis insaniret, certis resipisceret.*

² To render this scene less improbable, Lactantius had shown Galerius since the year 297 inflated with pride on account of his victory over Narses, and exclaiming: *Quousque Caesar?* "How long must I remain Caesar?" The skilful rhetorician is mindful of the rule of his art, that great effects must be prepared for long in advance. But he refutes himself when he says, later, in chap. xxvi., that Galerius was determined also to abdicate after his *Vicennalia*, showing that abdication after twenty years of rule was to be regarded as the principle of the new government. Aurelius Victor knows nothing of any enfeeblement of Diocletian: "He renounced the cares of government," says this author, "being in full vigour of body and mind, *valentior curam reipublicae abiecit.*"

in preventing military usurpations by giving himself colleagues who acknowledged his superior authority. Moreover, to secure in the future the peaceable transmission of the supreme power, he had resolved to limit for himself its exercise to a period of twenty years, both in order to give by his own example an obligation of unselfishness to future Augusti, and to calm the impatience of new Caesars by showing them that the hour of sovereignty would come for them also. Thus was to be made secure the system which had been the great work of his life; succession according to merit taking the place of the principle of heredity or the accident of military favour. We have two decisive proofs that such was really his intention: the care that he had taken during nine years in the construction of his palace at Salona, in a remote corner of the world far from all public life and business; and the fact that he had so carefully obtained from the ambitious Maximian the promise to abdicate at the same time with himself. Upon a coin struck on occasion of the abdication, these words are to be read: "To the victorious Fates." For the pagans, fatality was the supreme will of Jupiter, "Master of Destiny," and human wisdom was an inspiration from the god. The resolution of the two emperors was therefore attributed to Jupiter himself, *Fatis Victricibus*,¹ and in retiring they obeyed the divine will.

When, in the month of December, 303, Diocletian had celebrated at Rome his *Vicennalia*, he was in his twentieth year of imperial power, which was not completed until the 17th September, 304. The time that he had fixed for his abdication had then come, but he waited some months longer to allow Maximian to begin the year in which, twenty years earlier, he had been made Caesar. By this voluntary delay he did not overpass the limit he had marked for himself, while he attained that when he could claim from his colleague the fulfilment of his promise.

The Empire at this time was in the enjoyment of a profound peace, which to the imperial ear was not disturbed by the far-off cries of martyred Christians. In the interior, no disorder; from



Victorious
Destiny, FATIS
VICTRICIBUS.
(Reverse of
a Gold Coin of
Diocletian.)

¹ Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 6. An inscription found at Carlsburg (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 1,090) calls Jupiter, *divinarum humanarumque rerum rector fatorumque arbiter*. Cf. Pausanias, v. 15, in respect to Jupiter *μοιραγέτης*.

without, no threat of danger. In face of this so well ordered government, and of these so well guarded frontiers, ambitious men held their peace, and the barbarians remained in an attitude of respect and fear. Nothing therefore prevented Diocletian from making the experiment, so formidable in an absolute monarchy, of the transmission of the supreme authority.



Severus II,
SEVERUS
AUGUSTUS.
(Gold Coin.)

Three miles distant from Nicomedia, upon a low hill overlooking the city, stood a column surmounted by a statue of Jupiter. It was on this spot that Diocletian had given to Galerius the purple of the Cæsars. Hither the old emperor caused his throne to be brought, and came to sit upon it for the last time. The nobility of the Empire, the officers of the palace, and the representatives of all the legions having been assembled in their order around him, he arose and announced his resolution. His strength, he said, was decreasing, and, after so many labours, repose was needful to him; he gave back to the god whose image glittered above his head that which the god had given him, and he transmitted the Empire to younger men, to the late Cæsars, whose places would thenceforward be filled by the experienced generals Severus and Maximin Daza. The latter, a nephew of Galerius, was present. Diocletian summoned him, and taking off his own purple mantle laid it upon the young man's shoulders. On the same day, May 1st, 305, Severus was proclaimed Cæsar at Milan by Maximian, and Diocletian, now "Dioles" again, quitted Nicomedia to seek the seclusion of his palace at Salona.¹



Maximin Daza,
Laurelled,
MAXIMINUS
P. F. AVG.
(Gold Coin.)

It was a grand and beautiful scene. This emperor who, not like Charles V. in the decline of his power, but in full prosperity and as yet far short of the limit of his life, abandons the imperial power that he may so give a solemn sanction to a political system, was a man of distinguished ability. "After him," says an old

¹ . . . *et iterum Dioles factus* (Lactantius, 19). This remark of Lactantius is not more truthful, however, than many other things that he says. Dioles, on the contrary, remained Diocletian, with possession of all imperial honours. Coins struck after the abdication represent him as crowned, and have the legend: *Domino nostro Diocletiano, beatissimo seniori Augusto*. On others is the following: *Eterno Augusto, or Providentia deorum, quies augusta*. Maximian withdrew into Lucania.

historian, "the decline of the Empire began, and by degrees barbarism gained upon it."¹

On the shore of one of those beautiful bays with which the Adriatic indents the Dalmatian coast, where the calm water is protected by islands from the angry waves of the open sea, now stands the town of Spalato,² which once was almost completely occupied by the palace of Diocletian. On one side was the sea with its changing aspects; on the other, wooded hills, vineyards, and villages; and the air was always sweet and fresh, except in the burning heats of summer. In this favoured spot Diocletian had erected the sumptuous edifice wherein he proposed to end his days near the scenes of his youth. The vast structure covered a surface of more than eight acres. Its exterior wall, defended at the four corners by huge quadrangular towers, gave admittance, under fortified gateways known as the Gates of Gold, of Iron, of Brass, and of the Sea, to four streets bordered by colonnades of red granite. The old soldier had designed his palace after the likeness of his Empire. Seen from without it was a camp and a fortress. But the interior told of its imperial occupant: baths, a forum, halls of reception and council, barracks for the guard, and two temples for his favourite divinities: Æsculapius (?) and Jupiter (?). The latter temple, octagonal without and circular within, with arches resting on the columns instead of the architrave placed directly upon capitals, was a prelude to the Byzantine architecture.³ A thick wall, rising from the sea, supported an open gallery 590 feet in length, the roof resting on fifty columns: an incomparable *loggia*, whence the view extended beyond the islands over the open sea, at that time crowded with vessels. By great

¹ Zosimus, ii. 7: . . . βαρβαροποιία [ἡ] Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή].

² Spalato, corruption of *Salone palatium*. The stone, almost as beautiful as marble, of which the palace was built, was obtained from the quarries of Tragurium. Much porphyry also and Egyptian granite was employed in the edifice.

³ M. A. Choisy, the learned author of *L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, says very well, p. 152: "It has been customary to date the Byzantine architecture from the fourth century. According to the accredited opinion, Justinian was its originator and S. Sophia its first example. In fact, no style of architecture ever comes into existence thus at a fixed date and with a masterpiece as its first work." The author mentions, as examples of the beginnings of Byzantine art in the Empire, two tanks at Constantinople, constructed in the time of Constantine, the palace of Spalato, etc., and he very justly finds its origin in Assyria: "Byzantine art," he says, "existed from the Roman epoch beside the official architecture, and waited only the decline of classic traditions to make itself conspicuous."

underground passages opening on this side, supplies were brought into the palace, and quietly distributed. In the neighbourhood was a hunting park; but where was the famous garden which Diocletian cultivated with his own hands, and from which he wrote to Maximian, who was begging him to resume the purple: "If you could see the fine vegetables I am cultivating here, you would never speak to me again of such wearisome tasks." The place is



Interior View of the Temple of Jupiter at Salona. (From the *Atlas* of Cassan.)

unknown to us; but the answer lives in history, and men weary of public life delight to quote it.

This dwelling was not that of a philosopher; but Diocletian was not inclined to philosophize. He had done a political action which implies an uncommon grandeur of soul; and the sacrifice being made, it pleased him to preserve as a private individual all the magnificence of imperial station. The temple of Jupiter, so-called, received the daylight only through the door of entrance, and it is a very small building; scholars have been disposed to



Spalato. (From the *Voyage en Dalmatie* of Cassan.)

think that it was a tomb. At the summit of power Diocletian had prepared a stately shelter for his old age; it is quite probable that, while in retirement, he constructed for his last home a sumptuous tomb.¹

The emperor passed eight years at Salona, respected by those whose fortune he had made. An inscription of the year 305 calls him "the father of the emperors." When his baths were inaugurated at Rome his name was left to the colossal edifice;² and on coins of this period he is called "the eldest of the Augusti," *Augustus senior*.³ Galerius consulted him in respect to the elevation of Licinius, and in 310 Eumenes extolled in the presence of Constantine the great emperor who was surrounded by the veneration of the new masters of the world.⁴ But he saw the ambitions that he had restrained break out anew; civil wars and murders of emperors succeed one another; Christianity obtain a legal recognition: his wife the empress Prisca, and his daughter Valeria, the widow of Galerius, despoiled of their possessions and confined in a place of exile.⁵ These blows, falling upon the emperor, the husband, and the father, were not enough for the hate of the Christians. They depicted him as steeped in insults and trembling for his life. Constantine throws down his statues, has his name effaced from the public edifices,⁶ and writes him menacing



VALERIA
AUGUSTA,
Daughter of Dio-
cletian and
Wife of Galerius.
(Gold Coin.)

¹ For a temple, the edifice is remarkably small, 42½ feet in diameter, 60 in height. The columns are but 23 feet high, but are surmounted with a heavy entablature and a second order of pillars 11½ feet in height. On the other hand, tombs were never placed so near dwellings; but Diocletian perhaps was desirous to place his own within the fortifications of his palace. Lanza places the tomb in the temple of Æsculapius.

² *C. I. L.*, vol. vi. 1,130: . . . *Seniores Augusti patres imperatorum et Caesarum*.

³ Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 14.

⁴ *Divinum illum virum . . . quem vestra tantorum principum colunt obsequia privatum, . . . multo iugo fultus imperio et vestro tegitur letus umbraculo* (*Pan. vet.*, vii. 15).

⁵ The two empresses were decapitated, by order of Licinius, early in the year 315, and their bodies thrown into the sea. A son of Galerius, Candidianus, whom Valeria had brought up tenderly, was at the same time put to death.

⁶ *Statue revellebantur* (Lactantius, 42). Constantine, he says, caused to be destroyed the paintings in which the two Augusti are represented together, overthrew those of their images where the statue of Diocletian formed a group with Maximian's, and effaced the inscriptions which were common to the two. This posthumous proscription was addressed to Maximian, whom Constantine had caused to be murdered. As for the mutilation of the inscriptions peculiar to Diocletian (*L. Renier, Inscr. d'Alg.*, 108; *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. 1,439; and Wilmanns, 769A, 1,060), we must see in this an act of rage on the part of the Christian populations,

letters;¹ Maximin makes no reply when Diocletian begs, with humble messages, that his daughter be restored to him; and the last days of this mighty monarch are so sad that he poisons himself or dies by voluntary starvation. The Christians will have the eternal damnation of their persecutor begin in this present world. Since no man killed him, it must needs be that he kill himself in the midst of all the anguish of despair. Thus justice would be done.



Diocletian,
"the Eldest of the
Augusti."²

The scene is dramatic, and the legend that it embodies lives yet; but Eusebius, a contemporary and an enemy, and Eutropius, an indifferent person, have no knowledge of these sad horrors. The latter represents him as growing old in honoured tranquillity; the former only tells of a long illness which, in the end, carried him off.³

In an ordinance published a few days before the death of Diocletian, Constantine still calls him: "Our lord and father,"⁴ and, lastly, he permits the senate to decree him apotheosis, although the ex-emperor at Salona was no more than a private individual.⁵ The senators, protectors of the state religion of Rome, took pleasure in protesting against the victory of the Christians by causing their persecutor to be enrolled among the gods. But the act could not be done without consent of the reigning emperor; it was therefore by the will of Constantine that Diocletian was apotheosized;⁶ upon earth honours to his memory

avenging themselves upon their persecutor, rather than the execution of an order from government.

¹ Constantine is said to have endeavoured to compel him to attend the conference at Milan in 313, and, on the old man's refusal, to have written a letter which decided him to take his own life. The senate is said to have condemned him to death, etc. Cf. Tillemont, *Hist. des empereurs*, vol. iv. p. 54.

² *Præclaro otio senuit* (Eutrop., ix. 28; Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 17).

³ D(omino) N(ostro) DIOCLETIANO BEATISSIMO SENIORI AUG(usto). The reverse: PROVIDENTIA DEORUM QUIES AUG. (Medium bronze.)

⁴ *Theod. Code*, xiii. 10, 2: edict of the Kalends of June, 313. Diocletian, not being called *divus*, was yet living at that date. It may be inferred from Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*, 35-45) that he died before Maximin (July, 313), consequently a few days after the date of the edict.

⁵ *Contigit ei ut, quum privatus obisset, inter Divos referretur* (Eutrop., ix. 28).

⁶ Under the Christian emperors the word *divus* was retained to designate the dead emperor. The reign of Diocletian has given rise to many discussions which it would be out of place to repeat here; they will be found in various special works, of which some are excellent: Hunziker, in the *Untersuch. zur röm. Kaisergesch.* of Max Budinger, vol. ii. pp. 115-284, 1866; Preus, *Kaiser Diocletian*, 1869; Casagrandi, *Diocleziano*, 1876; Mason, *The Persecution of Diocletian*, 1876; Coen, *L'Abdicazione di Diocl.*, 1877; Morosi, *L'Abdic. dell' imp. Diocl.*, 1880;

were not lacking: his tomb remained always covered with the imperial mantle.¹

The conqueror of Actium gave the Empire its first form, namely, absolute power concealed under a republican exterior, with liberal institutions of the cities and provinces. Diocletian undertook to abolish whatever remained of the government of the Cæsars, in order to establish in its stead a skilfully organized monarchy whose agents should be everywhere present. The union which could not be made between low and high by means of free institutions, was to be made between high and low by administrative ties which would enwrap the whole Empire, and were destined to keep a portion of it standing for ten centuries. We have seen how much ancient material was employed in the construction of the new edifice; it is always so. In public affairs the successful innovators are those who organize well, rather than those who invent, for the present, in order to stand securely, must begin by resting upon the past.

The close of the reign of Diocletian is the natural end of the History of Ancient Rome. The confusion which followed his death is but the prelude to the advent of Constantine, and with him of a new capital, a new state religion, and a new order of things—in fact, of Christian and Mediæval Europe.

Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen*, 1880. For a part of the chronology of this reign there exists a learned paper of Mommsen's, *Ueber die Zeitfolge der Verordnungen Diocletians*, which we have already had occasion to quote.

¹ Amm. Marcellinus relates (xvi. 8) that a certain Danus was, under Constantius, accused of treason for having taken away from Diocletian's tomb a purple covering, *velamen purpureum*.



Temple of Rome. (Bronze Coin.)

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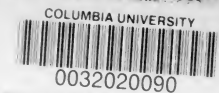
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